WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 36

7 January to 9 December 2005
(Issues Nos. 839-860)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 839 C-701 7 January 2005

For a Class-Struggle Fight for All Our Rights!

Down With Bush/Democrats' "War on Terror"!

AFP

McCoy/U.S. Navy

Helicopter surveillance of New York City during protests against Republican National Convention, August 2004. Hooded and chained prisoners at Guantánamo Bay torture center.

On December 17, riding high on his election "mandate," President Bush signed the Intelligence Reform Act, landing the opening blow in a renewed attack on civil liberties. Codifying the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission, and heavily pushed during the elections by John Kerry and the Democratic Party, the Intelligence Reform Act is touted as the most sweeping reorganization of the imperialist state's spy apparatus since the formation of the Central Intelligence Agency nearly 60 years ago. The Act centralizes all federal spy activity—including the CIA, Homeland Security, Pentagon and National Security Agency—under the umbrella of a single National Intelligence Director.

Passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in Congress, the 563-page Act expands the "anti-terror" laws and gives legal sanction to what the government previously did in secret to individuals or organizations it deemed enemies. Like the "war on terror," this Act has nothing to do with fighting "terrorism," (whose main architects occupy the Pentagon and White House raining terror on the peoples of Iraq), and everything to do with expanding the arsenal of state repression to crush dissent and shred civil liberties at home.

Despite Bush's blather about his "mandate," the fact is that this administration stole its first election through the disenfranchisement of black voters and others, and whipped up a crusade of Christian fundamentalist loyalists against gay marriage and other "sins" to secure his second coming. As for the Democrats, they ran for the White House complaining that Bush was detracting from the "war on terror," and promising that they would do the job more effectively. Furthermore, the draconian anti-terror laws the Bush gang has employed and enhanced were inherited from the Democratic Clinton administration, such as Clinton's 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, under which most post-September 11 detainees were held.

Republicans and Democrats alike want to conduct U.S. military campaigns overseas, and repress labor strikes and political struggles at home, without the encumbrances of Congressional approval, judicial oversight, or even a nod toward the fundamental democratic right of free speech. Since capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. has thrown its unchallenged military might around the globe. Domestically, America's rulers amassed dramatic increases in their profits and wealth by increasing the exploitation of the working class and slashing virtually all social programs benefiting the poor, particularly the black ghetto masses.

It is in this context of glaring social inequality, and in fear that working people pushed to the wall will fight back in social struggle, that the Democrats and Republicans reinforce the capitalist state's arsenal of repression. The "war on terror" is the panic button they push to cynically create and manipulate fear in the population, to convince people that giving up fundamental civil liberties is a lesser evil than what might happen to them if the government is unable to wage war against a bogus enemy with no state and no army.

Among the new assaults on everyone's rights in the new anti-terror Act is the invention of a category of so-called "lone wolf terrorists," i.e., individuals the government can't link to any foreign government or "terrorist" organization, who can be secretly wiretapped anyway, without court order. Border crossings will be monitored by drone spy planes and funding provided to hire thousands more border guards and expand facilities to detain 8,000 more immigrants.

A national ID card system is in the works via standardizing state driver's licenses, while Homeland Security is designing "biometric" identification scanners to track individuals at airports. Although "biometric" face recognition systems tested in 2002 at airports failed as much as half the time, Big Brother aims to iron out the glitches and with a few mouse clicks track who's shopping for the "anarchist cookbook" at amazon.com; who turned up at the antiwar demonstration; who boarded a downtown "A" train en route to Manhattan's City Hall on the day of a labor protest; who drove to the beach while calling in sick to work Friday morning.

"Material support to terrorism" is so vaguely defined that *any political activity the government doesn't like can be declared "terrorist."* Donate to rebuild a hospital in Sri Lanka and you may find yourself accused of supporting Tamil Tiger independence fighters; buy a cupcake from a student group's bake sale to fight famine in Sudan and maybe you'll be found to have given "material support" to "Islamic terrorists." The new law is flexible enough to deal with the illogical exigencies of the U.S. government. A case in point is the People's Mujahedeen, an Iranian opposition group, which the U.S. has officially designated a "terrorist organization." But this year the U.S. declared 3,800 members of the group in Iraq "protected persons" because their fire is aimed at the Iranian government, an American enemy. A "senior American official" told the *New York Times* (27 July 2004) that "a member of a terrorist organization is not necessarily a terrorist." Except, of course, when the U.S. deems otherwise: thus while the U.S. is "*protecting*" the People's Mujahedeen supporters in Iraq, it is *prosecuting* seven Mujahedeen supporters in Los Angeles because they donated money to the group! On December 20, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the seven defendants cannot even argue that

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In Defense of Sex and Science

KINSEY A Review Page Four

Science in Service of Humanity Could Have Saved Thousands

Tsunami Catastrophe in South Asia

JANUARY 3—A magnitude 9.0 earthquake centered off the Indonesian island of Sumatra on December 26 triggered a catastrophic tsunami across the Indian Ocean, killing more than 150,000 people. The death toll rises daily and may never be known as entire towns and villages were obliterated, and many thousands of people are homeless, seriously injured and displaced. This staggering event makes one grasp for historical comparisons to comprehend the human tragedy. It was "possibly the deadliest tsunami in 200 years" (Reuters, 28 December 2004), set off by the biggest earthquake in 40 years. Some 40 nationalities were among the victims, including many vacationing tourists. Children are estimated to be one-third of the dead. The death toll is expected to skyrocket as diseases such as cholera and typhoid spread, due to the lack of clean drinking water and the contamination of existing sources by decomposing bodies. Hospitals and clinics were destroyed, as were roads, train tracks and communication systems.

The mind-numbing death toll, and the deaths yet to be counted, are the result of disaster magnified by class inequalities and the subordination of science to capitalist rule. Science cannot prevent earthquakes or tsunamis, but early warning systems do exist, and some tens of thousands of lives could have been saved. The earthquake and tsunami smashed coastal populations in some of the world's poorest and most densely populated regions. Especially in areas of the globe kept backward by imperialism, human life is deemed expendable; poverty and disasters are fertile fields for spreading the hocus-pocus of religious missionaries, rather than investment in social infrastructure and scientific/technological advancement.

The quake occurred in a known seismically active region where one of the tectonic plates of the Earth's crust is constantly slipping under another, sometimes in sudden shifts; the abrupt vertical motion of the seabed creates a massive wave of water which can travel at a speed of over 600 miles per hour and a distance of thousands of miles. This tsunami spread across the Indian Ocean, hitting nearly a dozen countries including Indonesia, India, Thailand and Sri Lanka and causing devastation as far as Somalia, 3,000 miles away on Africa's east coast. When the traveling wave hits coastal regions, it can reach great heights with unstoppable power to sweep away people, boats, houses, cars and just about anything else.

Countries located along the Pacific "ring of fire" can get warnings from the Pacific Tsunami Warning Center (PTWC) established by the United States in 1949 and headquartered in Hawaii. The PTWC monitors seismic activity and ocean surface level, and utilizes the most modern communications channels of the U.S. military. Rich countries can also afford to deploy additional expensive technology to protect their own populations. Japan has long been known to have a system using hundreds of seismometers enhanced by undersea detectors to warn their public. The *Economist* (online, 28 December 2004) reports that the U.S. has deployed an even better system of "tsunameters" which transmit data to surface buoys and then to the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration by satellite.

Even though the Indian Ocean is officially outside of the PTWC domain, scientists running the warning system could perceive a tsunami threat and reportedly sent an alert to 26 countries, including Thailand and Indonesia. As scientists scrambled to alert the world, government officials did next to nothing! According to the London *Independent* (*Democracy Now*; 29 December 2004) the huge U.S. military base on the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean was warned.

This speaks loudly to how the value of human life and property is calculated by America's imperialist rulers. Diego Garcia is a key base, and prior to the seizure and occupation of Iraq, it was the main U.S. launch pad for death and destruction in Iraq and Afghanistan. Aircraft from Diego Garcia dropped more ordnance on Afghanistan than any other unit in the "war on terror" (see www.globalsecurity.org).

Scientists on Australia's remote Cocos Island, 600 miles from Sumatra, alerted Australian emergency planners of the tsunami, but "key officials within Indian Ocean nations could not be reached" (*Belfast Telegraph*, 28 December 2004). Surely the Pentagon and the Australian government have phone numbers for some top-ranking officials in Jakarta! In 1965, Indonesia's military slaughtered half a million people with lists drawn up from the CIA and with help from the Australian embassy. Since then, the U.S. has been funneling millions in aid to the bloodthirsty Indonesian generals, who continue their slaughter in the very province of Aceh, which is nearest to the earthquake's epicenter. Though U.S. military aid was allegedly cut off in 1999, a lot of it was resumed by the Bush administration in the name of the "war on terror." In Thailand the U.S. has been using the Utapao Air Base since the Vietnam War, conducted joint exercises with the Thai military there in 2002, and flew combat aircraft from there for the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. No phone numbers there, either?

The allocation of aid is similarly instructive. The initial U.S. offer of a paltry $15 million is less than half the amount President Bush plans to spend on his upcoming inaugural balls and celebrations! World outcry has forced the U.S. to dig a little deeper. There is also a lot of politics behind the aid, which the U.S. and other powers will use to bolster their

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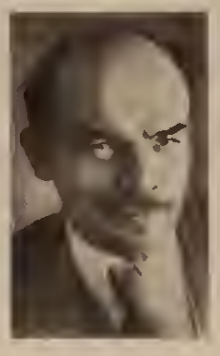
TROTSKY



LENIN

On Socialist Man

Isaac Deutscher, international Marxist and biographer of Leon Trotsky, addressed the New York Socialist Scholars' Conference in 1966 on the subject of "Socialist Man." Generating lively controversy, his speech and summary targeted the then-fashionable theories of Herbert Marcuse. Against New Left idealism, Deutscher upheld the materialist viewpoint, insisting that the working class was the necessary agent of revolution, while outlining a Marxist approach to what humanity might look like after the success of socialist revolutions internationally.

We do not maintain that socialism is going to solve all predicaments of the human race. We are struggling in the first instance with the predicaments that are of man's making and that man can resolve. May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex, and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on. In doing so they have naturally been inclined to ignore or belittle man's other predicaments. But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?

In fighting against social inequality and oppression we fight also for the mitigation of those blows that nature inflicts on us....

Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these. And if his nature remains aggressive, his society will give him immeasurably greater and more varied opportunities than bourgeois man has for sublimating his instinctual drives and turning them to creative uses. Even if socialist man may not be quite "free from guilt or pain" as Shelley dreamed he would be, he may be still "scepterless, free, uncircumscribed, but man equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless, exempt from all worship and awe." The average member of socialist society may yet rise, as Trotsky anticipated, to the stature of Aristotle, Goethe, Marx, who, whatever their sexual instincts and aggressive drives, embody some of mankind's highest achievements so far. And we assume that "above these heights new peaks will rise." We do not see in socialist man evolution's last and perfect product, or the end of history, but in a sense only the beginning of history. Socialist man may indeed feel the *Unbehagen*, the unease and discomfort, that civilization imposes upon the beast in man. Moreover, this may, indeed, be the most essential of his own inner contradictions and tensions that will impel him to evolve further and scale heights which are beyond our imagination.

—Isaac Deutscher, "On Socialist Man" (1966), in *Marxism in Our Time* (Ramparts Press, 1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 4 January.

No. 839 **7 January 2005**

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In Honor of Gregg Best

Gregg Best, an ardent socialist and longtime supporter of the Spartacist League, died suddenly of a heart attack on December 16 while at work. Gregg was 51 years old. We extend our condolences to Gregg's wife of 24 years, Phyllis; to his sons, Alex and Zach; to his family; and to his many friends and co-workers. We were all stunned by his tragic and untimely death.

Gregg was known to many as an outspoken opponent of racism and bigotry of any kind. He fought against the oppression of women and homosexuals. He opposed any support to either the Republicans or the Democrats because both parties centrally represent the interests of the bosses. He fought for a revolutionary workers party to represent the interests of workers, blacks and other minorities. He knew that this kind of fighting workers party was the weapon we need to bring about a society where those who labor, rule.

A few days after Gregg's death, about 60 of his co-workers and friends gathered together to share their grief and remembrances of Gregg with his family, including his mother Wilma and sister Cheryl. Those workers that had apprenticed under Gregg spoke movingly about his abilities as a teacher and his insistence that all work must be done safely and efficiently. We were told that one former apprentice spoke about how Gregg always tried to make things better for the workers; she told a newly hired electrician that the new tools, computers and equipment in their crew room were the result of Gregg's efforts. She talked about how Gregg mobilized his co-workers to go down to the picket lines during the 2002 West Coast longshore lockout and the recent San Francisco hotel workers strike.

A good friend and fellow electrician, now retired, said that from the day Gregg started on the job, he was the first male co-worker to treat her as a competent journeyman, not an "affirmative action girl," and he made others treat her that way as well. Another told friends that he only went to union meetings because of Gregg, who showed three qualities he admired at these meetings: one, he had a clear idea what he wanted; two, he was a straight shooter and did not believe in diplomacy; three, he always had a plan to put what he wanted into action. Everyone spoke of his sense of humor and commitment to standing up and fighting for what he believed in—a more just world for working people and the oppressed.

A family funeral service was held in Gregg's hometown of Sandusky, Ohio on December 23. Gregg's son, Alex, spoke of his father: "Whether it was a fern, a lily, a bird of paradise, or a cactus, and he sure had a lot of cacti, he cared for each and every one of his plants. I think he appreciated the small details, their intricacies, their unique differences. Dad was like this with people as well; he appreciated their differences, their uniqueness." Alex went on to say: "He had what I would call a faith in humanity. He believed that we all have the ability to make this world a better place and he spent the majority of his life dedicated to this ideal."

Phyllis captured Gregg's artistic abilities and unique sense of humor in how he decorated their home when she said: "He got endless compliments on the way he decorated—his choice of artwork displayed—from tribal masks to our children's finger paintings to prints of Diego Rivera, Matisse, or Kandinsky. But he liked to personalize his art a little. So observant viewers might find a goldfish sniffing Frida Kahlo's armpit or teddy bear eyes glued onto the Mona Lisa in our bathroom." Gregg's integrity and humanity radiated through his work and demeanor and was always tempered with a delicious sense of irony and big-hearted good humor.

Gregg first came in contact with the Spartacist League in 1978 in Los Angeles while he was attending the Peoples College of Law after graduating from Oberlin College with a BA in History. He and Phyllis moved to Cleveland, Ohio where Gregg worked as a service representative for Ohio Bell. He eventually got a job at the General Motors stamping plant in Parma, Ohio as an electrician's apprentice, where he earned his journeyman's card. Gregg and his family moved to the Bay Area in early January 1991. Gregg was hired by East Bay Municipal Utility District as an electrician. He was an active member of his local union, AFSCME Local 444.

Best Family

1953-2004

Gregg was involved in many cases and causes covered in *Workers Vanguard* over the years. Due in no small part to Gregg's initiative, his union has a long, proud history of defending former Black Panthers Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Both Pratt and Jamal were targeted as part of the ruling class' COINTELPRO witchhunt of militant blacks in the late 1960s and early '70s and framed up for murders they did not commit. Gregg led the squads of union marshals for the emergency demonstrations in 1995 to stop the impending execution of Jamal and to abolish the death penalty. Gregg helped build the Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners organized annually by the Partisan Defense Committee to provide monthly stipends for those, like Jamal, who are imprisoned for fighting against the exploitation and racist injustice of American capitalism. This year Local 444 made a generous donation to Jamal's legal defense and many members bought tickets for the Holiday Appeal.

In its August 2004 issue, *WV* printed a letter from Gregg, and the article he wrote for his union newspaper, about an arbitrator's ruling upholding the firing of Charles DuBois. DuBois, a black union militant and active member of Local 444, was framed up on bogus charges of "workplace violence." Gregg reported on the "bitter and infuriating outcome of the long struggle by members of both Local 444 and our sister Local 2019 to defend Charles DuBois and defend our unions." Gregg was one of the initiators of the joint union committee to defend DuBois set up after his firing in July 2003, which mobilized more than 100 union members and supporters, from both AFSCME Locals 444 and 2019, in a spirited rally on 17 September 2003 to defend Charles and demand his reinstatement. At that rally, covered by *WV*, Gregg told the crowd: "'Workplace violence' witchhunts are also being used as part of the so-called 'war on terror' which in fact targets labor, blacks and immigrants—a ***bipartisan*** war backed by both Democrats and Republicans. National unity is a lie!" (*WV* No. 810, 26 September 2003). Five years earlier, Gregg had been active in the defense of Randy Kim, a longtime union activist fired in a similar "workplace violence" witchhunt.

When the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated the first labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrants and in opposition to the USA-Patriot and Maritime Security Acts in Oakland, California in February 2002, Gregg was instrumental in winning his union local's endorsement. Carrying their union banner, Gregg and other co-workers were active participants. In his union, Gregg was known as an opponent of U.S. imperialism who fought for labor to oppose the invasion and occupation of Iraq. He marched in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents organized by the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense in demonstrations against the war.

Gregg knew that it was labor's job to lead the fight to smash Klan/Nazi race-terror, which aims for a "white-only" America where trade unions don't exist. On 3 November 1979 five anti-Klan demonstrators were gunned down by the KKK, in collusion with government forces, in Greensboro, North Carolina. Emboldened by the massacre, the Michigan Klan declared they would march in Detroit—a predominantly black city and union stronghold. In response to the threat, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization against the Klan. Gregg (who was living in Cleveland at the time) joined us there under the demand "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

When the Klan threatened to parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. in November 1982 against the so-called amnesty provisions of the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill, Gregg joined 5,000 protesters, overwhelmingly blacks and unionists, who stopped the KKK from marching. More recently, Gregg helped build and organize the labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Gary, Indiana in January 2001 when the KKK threatened to march to celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr.

One friend told us that "Gregg will not only be remembered by us for his commitment and his history, but also his benevolence, his clarity, and his fantastic laugh. He was a genuinely good and honest person." We mourn the loss of this workers' leader. Comrades, coworkers and other friends who knew Gregg and worked with him over the years will undoubtedly have other contributions to make.

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relations with the regimes of the region.

To put the relief effort in perspective, weigh today's promise of $350 million against the average $228 million the U.S. spends every day in Iraq! Indifference to the fate of South Asians echoes the contemptuous, racist U.S. rulers' attitude toward black Haiti last September after hurricanes slashed through the Caribbean and then Florida, a key state in Bush's reelection campaign. Florida was offered billions in aid, but Haiti, one of the poorest countries in the world, ravaged by mudslides and run by a puppet regime installed by U.S. troops only a few months earlier, was initially offered an insulting ***$50,000*** in aid. Proportionate to available means, the donations pouring out of the pockets of working men and women through their union organizations in Australia, Japan, and around the world are much more generous.

So when anyone in high places refers to the massive loss in human life as an "act of God," or an "unavoidable natural disaster," they are merely providing cover for the criminal negligence and priorities of the capitalist system. We applaud the words of evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins (letter, London *Guardian*, 30 December 2004):

> "Not only does science know why the tsunami happened, it can give precious hours of warning. If a small fraction of the tax breaks handed out to churches, mosques and synagogues had been diverted into an early warning system, tens of thousands of people, now dead, would have been moved to safety.
>
> "Let's get up off our knees, stop cringing before bogeymen and virtual fathers, face reality, and help science to do something constructive about human suffering."

Speaking from the summit of Soviet power in 1925, Leon Trotsky noted that science has the "capacity to increase man's power and arm him with the power to foresee and master nature" (*Problems of Everyday Life*). But the capitalist class largely constrains science to the narrow purpose of accumulating profits, and today it is even denigrated by a religious-minded U.S. administration. The road of progress can be unblocked only by toppling rapacious capitalist rule through a series of socialist revolutions and establishing a worldwide planned socialist economy.■

William H. Dellenback

In Defense of Sex and Science
KINSEY

A Review by Helen Cantor

"I now see one Alfred C. Kinsey, author of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (human *American* male, Ned Rorem noted, since our habits differ from Moroccans', say, none of whom is 'gay' while all indulge, when possible, in same-sexuality).

"I got to know Kinsey in 1948—his book came out a month after *The City and the Pillar*, and the shocked *New York Times* would not advertise either.... I like to think that it was by observing the easy trafficking at the Astor that he figured out what was obvious to most of us, though as yet undreamed of by American society at large: Perfectly 'normal' young men, placed outside the usual round of family and work, will run riot with each other.... Kinsey gave me a copy of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, with an inscription, complimenting me on my 'work in the field.' Thanks, Doc. But it wasn't *all* work."

—Gore Vidal, *Palimpsest* (1995)

"Although species may be discrete, they have no immutable essence. Variation is the raw material of evolutionary change. It represents the fundamental reality of nature, not an accident about a created norm. Variation is primary; essences are illusory.... Kinsey, who understood the implications of evolutionary theory so well, was a radical antiessentialist in taxonomy.... His antiessentialist perspective proclaimed two truths about variation for wasps and people alike—apparently homogeneous populations in one place (all college students at Indiana or all murderers at Alcatraz) would exhibit an enormous range of irreducible variation, and discrete local populations in different places (older middle-class women in Illinois or poor young men in New York) would differ greatly in average sexual behaviors."

—Stephen Jay Gould, "Of Wasps and WASPs," *The Flamingo's Smile* (1985)

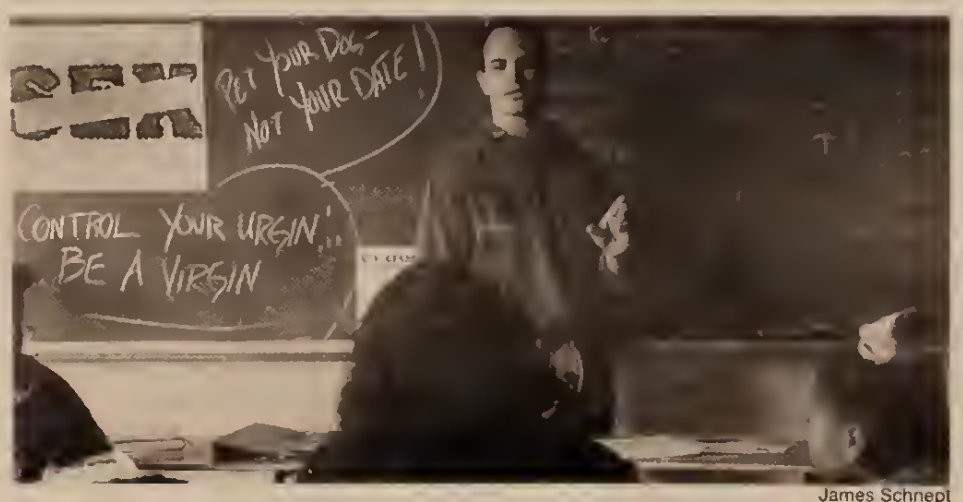
Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey's great contribution to the extension of human knowledge—and diminution of human misery—was his fearless exploration of human beings' real sexual behavior which had never before been studied in such a broad and objective way. The appreciations above, fittingly, are from two other great "secular humanist" intellectual figures of 20th-century America. Writer Gore Vidal is a critic of the follies of the American Empire and Christian cruelty through the ages. Evolutionary biologist and paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould's writings have popularized the discoveries of evolution and modern science. All three have done much to counter the forces of blind bigotry and religious superstition used by the ruling class to keep people mentally crippled, fearful and divided.

The recent movie *Kinsey*, starring Liam Neeson and directed by Bill Condon, is a welcome antidote to the blood-drenched religious hysteria of Mel Gibson's creepy blockbuster *The Passion of The Christ*. *Kinsey* is a sensitive portrayal of the scientist, his researchers and wife and family, as well as some of those thousands of people across America who poured out their sexual histories in response to his thorough face-to-face questionnaire technique. The movie is based on the sympathetic biography, *Kinsey: Sex the Measure of All Things*, by Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy (Indiana University Press, paperback edition published in 2004), with some condensing and small changes for "artistic license." (Unless otherwise noted, facts cited are from the book.) As the author points out, "Kinsey was unique in three things: the rigour of his scie ice, his invention of a totally new form of interview, and above all...Kinsey was read or known by, not just the whole of America, but at one time nearly the entire Western world." In other words, millions of people ***knew***, for the first time in history, what was ***really*** going on over at the neighbors' (and down on the farm), at least in mid-20th century America. They got quite a shock.

Kinsey's two works were each around 800 pages long. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953, published the same year Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* came out in English) were bombshells. They laid out in amazing and undeniable detail the fact that 19 out of every 20 Americans had broken at least one law having sex. James A. Morone, in *Hellfire Nation* (Yale University Press, 2003), a survey of "the politics of sin in American history," summarizes a few of Kinsey's results:

> "85 percent of the white male population had premarital sex, 30 [actually 37] percent had reached at least one orgasm through homosexual contact, 50 percent had committed adultery, and one out of six farm boys had copulated with the animals.... One wife out of four had committed adultery; one of two had sexual relations before marriage; 62 percent of the married women regularly masturbated—higher frequency correlated directly with more education."

Also among Kinsey's most shocking findings was that 4 percent of white adult males were exclusively homosexual throughout their lives. The Kinsey research team took almost 18,000 sexual histories; the male and female volumes each used material from around 5,000. His two initial books (many more were planned) used only about 10 percent of the total data Kinsey and his researchers collected!



James Schnept

Today's "abstinence only" anti-sex school programs perpetuate ignorance and fear, which Kinsey sought to alleviate through scientific inquiry. Top photo: Kinsey with interview subject in 1950.

Science vs. Religion

Kinsey was born in 1894, literally in the horse-and-buggy era. In fact, when Kinsey began teaching at Indiana University in 1920, university president William Lowe Bryan still came to work in a horse and buggy. The world was a very different place. By Kinsey's death in 1956, Christine Jorgensen had the first "sex-change" operation, the U.S. had the atomic bomb—and the workers in Russia, who made a revolution in 1917, by 1956 lived in a state which was a "superpower" rivaling the U.S. Two world wars between competing imperialist powers, slaughtering millions in the name of profit, had raked their bloody claws across the century. Yet movie audiences watching *Kinsey* today, another half century later, still find much that is painfully familiar, especially the vehement religious and political reaction to Kinsey's research. We see today similar assaults on sex and science—centrally evolution—by bigots in and out of government.

Why have things changed so much and yet so little in this regard? Capitalism has developed industry, and therefore science, tremendously, yet people remain divided into classes whose interests are irreconcilably opposed. Racial oppression, inequality, poverty, bigotry of all sorts and the subordination of women remain. People's real sexual lives and the laws continue to conflict—look at the explosion of reaction over gay marriage. To justify this contradictory, seemingly irrational situation, irrational justifications are necessary—thus the continued value of religious superstition to class society.

The story of Kinsey himself is one of continual conflict between science and religion. As the movie shows, he found escape in nature from the strict Methodism of his father. The influence of his high school teacher, Natalie Roeth, who forthrightly taught him about Darwin and evolution, was profound. These revelations, as Kinsey's biographer Gathorne-

Hardy puts it, "were to he the single most important intellectual influence on Kinsey's life; that, and science itself, were gradually to replace Christianity as his spiritual centre of gravity." As Marxist working-class revolutionaries who want to change this world and end human exploitation and oppression, we're firmly on the side of science, which studies the natural world and validates theories by observation and experiment, as opposed to religion which asserts blind faith in an unreal, supernatural power controlling events.

Kinsey had a long career as a scientist, studying gall-forming wasps, before he got into human sex research. In 1926 a hasic text he wrote for high school classes, *An Introduction to Biology*, was published. The hook stated as scientific fact Darwin's principles of evolution and natural selection. But at that time, anti-evolution frenzy was sweeping the country—especially in Tennessee (scene of the Scopes "Monkey Trial" the year before), Arkansas and North Carolina. In Mississippi the teaching of evolution was banned from all schools, while populist William Jennings Bryan and his followers managed to get anti-evolution legislation introduced in 14 more states. Kinsey and his editors thus had to change the word "evolution" in his book to "changes with time."

What Kinsey thought would be his life's work, the study of the tiny, winged yet flightless gall wasp, occupied almost 20 years. Known as "get a million" Kinsey for his relentless pursuit of specimens, Kinsey eventually managed to collect over five million individual gall wasps. And the most important thing about them, he told his students, was that each one was different. Why is this so important?

The late biologist and essayist Stephen Jay Gould, in "Of Wasps and WASPs," gives two related reasons. First, Kinsey's work was based on the principle that variation itself is the fundamental reality of nature. The key principle here, as Gould puts it, is that "species...have ***no immutable essence***" [emphasis added]. That is, there is no "norm," no abstract baseline for what is the "right" or "ideal" form of a species. Thus to understand a given

Reuters

Boston, 2004: Christian fundamentalist bigots demonstrate against rally in support of right to gay marriage.

We lose criteria for judgment by comparison to some ideal: short people, retarded people, people of other beliefs, colors, and religions are people of full status." To put it another way, to hate and fear change and variation is a hallmark of reaction and religious superstition.

The Kinsey Reports: Facts vs. Morality

> "[It] is a fact-finding survey in which an attempt is being made to discover what people do sexually...."
>
> —Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, Introduction to *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*

> "[Kinsey's results] reveal a prevailing degradation in American morality approximating the worst decadence of the Roman empire. The most disturbing thing is the absence of a spontaneous, ethical revulsion from the premises of the study."
>
> —Dr. Henry Van Dusen, president, Union Theological Seminary

In 1948, following World War II, the first "Kinsey report" on males, applying the basic principles of science to study of the human animal, produced an uproar. Of course, accurate sex histories depend on the reliability of the interviewees, as Kinsey was aware, thus his meticulous

UPI

Senator Joseph McCarthy spins tales of "Communist conspiracy" at 1954 hearing.

population; variations within it *must* be studied, and the larger the sample the better. Ohviously this relates directly to Kinsey's sex research.

The second important aspect of seeing variation as the raw material of evolution is in its social impact. Like many great ideas and innovations, evolutionary principles arose in conflict with older ways of thinking. Evolution directly counterposes itself both to the rigid, authoritarian, unchanging precepts of religion and to what is ultimately merely religion's secular guise, the philosophy of "idealism." Living things—wasps, flowers, people—do not have an "immutable essence," or "ideal form" around which variations cluster. In real life, each one is individual, and that individuality itself is one of their most valuable aspects. Kinsey's ability to extend this approach to human beings, and to their sexual behavior, enahled him to extract, with great sensitivity and patience, amazingly frank sexual histories from people of all social classes and hackgrounds.

There are hroader social implications, as Gould notes: "Antiessentialist thinking forces us to view the world differently.... research techniques. The war, as all major conflicts do, had already brought out some rather dramatic changes in human behavior. Here the swashbuckling young "literary lion" Gore Vidal enters the scene, hoth as subject of a Kinsey history and guide to the very gay (albeit publicly unacknowledged) world of New York City at the time. He reminisced in his memoir *Palimpsest* about the era in which he met Kinsey:

> "I also discovered, that magical winter [1945-46], the Everard Baths, where military men often spent the night, unable to find any other cheap place to stay. This was sex at its rawest and most exciting, and a revelation to me. Newly invented penicillin had removed fears of venereal disease, and we were enjoying perhaps the freest sexuality that Americans would ever know. Most of the boys knew that they would soon be home for good, and married, and that this was a last chance to do what they were designed to do with each other."

Kinsey, who himself enjoyed same-sex encounters, spent a fair amount of time in the Everard Baths, and did research at Gore Vidal's fondly remembered Astor Bar, where, as Vidal wrote, "At any time of day or night, hundreds of men would be packed six-deep around the long oval black bar."

A valuable book hy Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (Free Press, 1990), describes the impact military life had on previously isolated gay and lesbian youth, who found one another in conditions of both intense stress and license. This "anything goes" context explains some of the strange frenzy of the later McCarthyite crackdown on homosexuals as well as Communists. There really were, as it turned out, thousands of homosexuals in the State Department, and the rest of the government, and the rest of society, and ***everywhere***, for that matter (unfortunately not the case with Communists). And there was Kinsey with his massive scientific book to ***prove*** it. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover actually tried to get Kinsey to testify on behalf of the government's witchhunts of gays; horrified, the scientist quite properly refused. (The term "gay" or "homosexual" is used here for convenience; Kinsey felt humans exhibited such a range of sexual behavior that to force all same-sex encounters into such a rigid category was inaccurate.)

Obviously it's impossible to summarize some 1,600 pages of his published research. This review can only touch on a few highlights, those that most cut across the grain of prevalent morality, then and, sadly, today. Kinsey's overall finding that humans are not inherently very monogamous, that is, "faithful," was probably less of a shock than spokesmen for "respectable society" claimed (a casual survey of hlues or country & western lyrics leads inexorably to the same conclusion). What was shocking was that a "high culture" intellectual, a Harvard-trained scientist, should count promiscuous behavior, or "sleeping around," as a legitimate expression of sexuality just as worthy of consideration as married sex, and that the history of a poor, working-class homosexual should be just as valuable as that of a wealthy, upper-class academic in terms of understanding human sexuality.

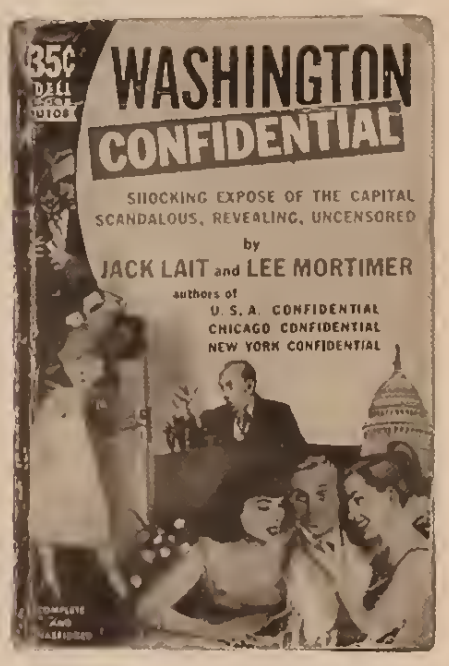
If for males, the prevalence of "gay sex" was the big shocker, the 1953 volume on women was most shocking in its assertion that women *are* sexual beings, and show quite a bit of independence and determination in finding satisfaction, too. As noted before, the 1953 survey showed that half of women had sex before marriage, one-quarter had committed adultery and 62 percent of married women masturbated. Here Kinsey comes up against that icon of the 20th century, the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, for whom he didn't have much use—although it is undeniable that Freud's work helped shatter Victorian strictures hy making sex a legitimate topic of study, at least among intellectuals, thus making Kinsey's own work easier (so did Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 19th-century studies of "deviant" sex and Magnus Hirschfeld's pioneering sex questionnaires based on large samples). In Kinsey's view, not only were Freud's theories huilt on unreliable, minimal field data (anathema to such a relentless collector), but masturbation and homosexuality, heing neither rare nor abnormal, could not possibly be evidence of neurosis. Most significantly for women, Kinsey vehemently disagreed with, and disproved, the then popular Freudian and male-chauvinist theory of "the vaginal orgasm," to which healthy, mature women were supposed to aspire. As Kinsey proved through clinical studies, the vagina has practically no nerve endings to stimulate. The clitoris, as most women know, is the center of orgasmic reaction (which is why clitoridectomy, cutting it off, is such a harharic crime, as we wrote in "The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation," *Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992).

Kinsey's biographer Gathorne-Hardy relates:

> "He had heard in 1949 ...ot a little township in deep Kansas where all the women were reputed to have orgasms easily, routinely and always in ordinary intercourse. This was not usual. Kinsey drove down and found that they had developed a way of soothing their little girls, a rubbing and petting technique of the genital area which did soothe them but also brought them to orgasm, a learnt reaction they thereafter retained."

This raises the extremely tricky question of childhood sexuality. The movie portrayed a Kinsey interviewer recoiling in open disgust (something they were rigorously trained not to do) and Kinsey himself giving a stern little lecture on consensuality to a male subject who admitted to sex with children. As the Kinsey biography points out, however, "At its most basic Kinsey saw sex as simply a matter of physiological reactions and sensations which were fundamentally pleasant.... Theoretically, therefore, as far as Kinsey was concerned, there was nothing automatically wrong with child-adult sex." Nor is there; the problem with such encounters is the inherently unequal power relationship and determining what is really ***effective consent***. This for us is the determining factor, not artificial and repressive laws.

Another question, not really touched on in the movie, is why weren't results



Scandal-mongering 1951 publication popularized moralistic crackdown on "anything goes" post-World War II climate.

from black people included in the studies? It was not because of racism on Kinsey's part. In fact, he made intensive efforts to seek out black men and women for his surveys, though he apparently felt his sample was inadequate. Stephen Jay Gould noted that: "True to his convictions about the fundamental character of variability, Kinsey knew that he did not have enough data to reach conclusions about black Americans or to extrapolate to other nations and cultures."

Anti-Sex Reaction Then and Now: "Why kNOw?"

"Why kNOw?" is the grotesque name, highlighting the word "NO" in "know," for an "abstinence only" group seeking to expunge real sex education from the public schools today. This can only lead

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Young Spartacus

Anarchist Idol Nestor Makhno and Peasant Counterrevolution

Letter

19 August 2004

Dear Workers Vanguard,

The leaflet protesting an anarchist attempt to exclude Spartacists from a radical event at the Democratic National Convention, reprinted in the August 6, 2004 issue of Workers Vanguard, contains a historical inaccuracy.

It refers to the "counterrevolutionary exploits of Makhno and others who sided with the imperialist-allied White Guards against the Soviet workers state."

Petrichenko, the leader of the semi-anarchist 1921 mutiny of the Kronstadt sailors, did indeed have connections with White Guards and foreign imperialists, as is documented in anarchist historian Paul Avrich's book, "Kronstadt 1921."

Nestor Makhno certainly perpetrated numerous counter-revolutionary exploits. His secret police tortured and murdered many communists. His Ukrainian peasant followers committed frequent pogroms against Jewish petty shopkeepers and merchants. But his guerilla bands did side with Soviet forces against the landlord-backed White Guards.

Trotsky describes in his "Military Writings" how Makhno's mutiny in the spring of 1919, which reflected Ukrainian peasant antagonism to the overwhelmingly Russian and Jewish working class of the Ukrainian cities, played a major role in the collapse of the Southern front, and led to White Guard commander Denikin's seizure of the Ukraine that summer. But Makhno never sided with Denikin. To the contrary. The Makhnovite insurgency played a major role in the collapse of White rule in the Ukraine that fall. And when Denikin's successor, White Guard commander Wrangel, invaded the Ukraine in 1920, a Bolshevik-Makhnovite alliance was reconstituted, which lasted until Wrangel was driven out.

Makhno did attempt to ally with other anti-Bolshevik forces in the Ukraine. Notably, there was Makhno's attempt to ally with the forces of fellow former Red Army commander Grigorev. Grigorev had the worst record of murder, rape, torture and other atrocities committed against Jews of all the peasant bandit leaders ravaging the Ukrainian countryside during the Russian Civil War.

This alliance ended badly for Grigorev. Makhno murdered him, and Grigorev's peasant followers joined Makhno's rebel army—but continued to commit pogroms.

Makhno himself was not personally anti-Semitic, indeed there were Jews in his "collective." In a sense, it could be said that Makhno was simply following anarchist principle. If his secret policemen were torturing prisoners, and if his peasant followers were committing pogroms, what right did Makhno, as just one member of the "collective," have to object?

Fraternally,
John H.

University of Washington

Nestor Makhno (center) with his peasant army.

***YSp* Replies:** While it is true that there was no formal military alliance or documented connection between Makhno and the White armies in the Ukraine, these facts do not change the substance of the de facto bloc in action between the two. The formulation on Makhno in the Boston Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club leaflet is a part of a polemic against the "anti-authoritarian" Bl(A)ck Tea Society (BTS), for whom "democracy" is a cudgel to wield against communists:

> "The BTS follows in the worst of the anarchist tradition, from Prince Kropotkin who preferred the hapless bourgeois politician Kerensky to the Bolsheviks, to the counterrevolutionary exploits of Makhno and others who sided with the imperialist-allied White Guards against the Soviet workers state. At bottom, there isn't much to distinguish the BTS from social democrats and liberals who have and will resort to any means to smear communists as 'authoritarian,' denouncing the 'extremism' of right and left, giving oh-so-'democratic' aid and comfort to the forces of bourgeois repression."

This formulation does not pretend to characterize the nature, extent or evolution of Makhno's relationship with the White forces or the Red Army. We have previously addressed at some length the history of the Makhnoite movement when replying to an anarchist recycling numerous lies and distortions in its defense (see "An Exchange on Nestor Makhno: Peasant 'Anarchism,' Pogroms and the Russian Revolution," *WV* No. 656, 22 November 1996).

Especially since the late 1930s—when Trotsky devastatingly exposed the treachery of the Spanish anarchists, who joined in a capitalist government which suppressed workers revolution—anarchists have raised a hue and cry about the fate of the Makhnoite movement (and the Kronstadt mutiny). Today, a popular Anarchist FAQ (3 October 2004) purports to show among other things why the Makhnoite movement was an "alternative" to Bolshevism.

In the section of the FAQ titled "Did the Makhnovists support the Whites?", the authors quote from one of Leon Trotsky's writings on Makhno: "Undoubtedly Makhno actually cooperated with Wrangel, and also with the Polish *szlachta*, as he fought with them against the Red Army." This translation from the Russian text, taken from Michael Palij's book on the Makhnoite movement, makes it appear that Trotsky—the head of the Red Army—had claimed that Makhno fought ***directly together*** with Wrangel and the Polish gentry. In this same piece, Trotsky disavows all rumors of a formal alliance between Makhno and Wrangel. By so rendering Trotsky, the anarchists paint him as purposefully deceitful or woefully ignorant about the relationship between Makhno and the White generals and they dodge the substance of Trotsky's polemic against Makhno. Here is what Trotsky actually wrote: "Without a doubt, Makhno provided de facto aid to Wrangel, as well as to the Polish gentry, since he fought at the same time as they did against the Red Army" (translated from "Makhno and Wrangel," 14 October 1920, *Kak vooruzhalas' revolyutsiya* [*How the Revolution Armed*], Vol. 2, Book 2 [1924]).

What was posed in Russia during the Civil War was whether the fledgling workers state would survive or succumb to the organized might of the bosses and landlords. To claim Makhno did not ***in effect*** side with the imperialist-allied White Guards against the Soviet workers state for extended periods of time because there was no formal alliance is to accept the alibi for Makhno's counterrevolutionary exploits. The Makhnoite movement showed on the battlefield how there is no "third camp" between the army of the workers state and the military organization of the bourgeoisie.

John H. lists a number of those counterrevolutionary exploits committed by the Makhnoites. The authors of the Anarchist FAQ charge the Bolsheviks with having "engineered" Makhno's outlawing and expulsion from the Red Army. But even when he was a commander in the Red Army, Makhno sabotaged defense of the social revolution, from commandeering supply trains to refusing to collect surplus grain for the Soviet government, while engaging in an anti-Bolshevik ideological campaign. This campaign directed at the Bolsheviks, the lone group in the revolutionary crisis of 1917 to fight for a regime based on soviet power and spearheading its defense, could only serve White Guardism. For example, in May 1919, while still allied with the Red Army, Makhno adopted a neutral position toward Grigorev who was calling for an alliance of all anti-Bolshevik forces, including the White armies.

In writing about the Makhnoite movement, Trotsky recognized that the conflict between the Red Army and Makhno was not one primarily between the ideas of Marxism versus anarchism but rather involved defense of the Soviet workers state against peasant-centered counterrevolution. Many anarchists, e.g., Bill Shatov, a veteran of the American Industrial Workers of the World, actively collaborated with and supported the Bolshevik forces throughout the Civil War. Trotsky later recounted how in 1918 he and Lenin had thought of recognizing an autonomous region for the anarchist peasants of the Ukraine. But this idea was scrapped partially because Makhno's Insurgent Army showed its true loyalties in battle.

In the first instance, these loyalties were dictated not by ideological but by class conflicts. German and Austrian occupation delayed the development of the Russian Revolution in the Ukraine so that the drawing together of the working people and poor peasants against the exploiters and kulaks was incomplete. Makhno's army was drawn from all layers of the peasantry. The fundamental desire of the peasants was not

Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky organized the Red Army to defend Soviet workers state.

the creation of an anarchist utopia but to possess the land and then to be left alone by gentry, officials, tax collectors, recruiting sergeants and all external agents of authority. The wealthier kulaks in particular did not want the landlords to return but feared above all the rule of the working class and poor peasants.

The anti-state prejudices of the Makhnoite leadership, shared by its peasant base, led them into the camp of ene-

Antiwar Movement...

(continued from page 12)

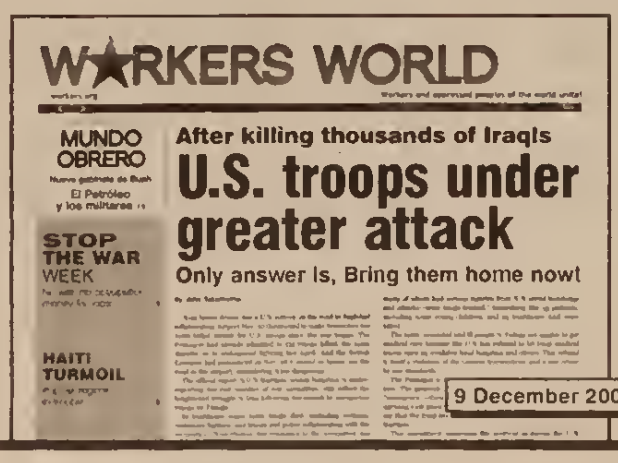
platform for bourgeois liberals, the reformist protest organizers helped them do this.

The Democratic Party's purpose is to administer imperialist rule in the interests of the capitalist ruling class of this country. It is precisely because the Democratic Party is widely perceived as the party of working people that it has historically been the *preferred* party of war for the imperialists. The last century was filled with war crimes carried out by Democratic administrations: the incineration of Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the monstrous carpet bombing of Vietnam in the 1960s; and the genocidal UN sanctions that killed one and a half million Iraqis under the Clinton administration. By appealing to "progressive, antiwar" Democrats, the liberal misleaders of the antiwar movement obscure the fact that this party is simply the *other* capitalist party of war and racism.

In building for the January 20 counter-inaugural demos, the misleaders are pursuing the same losing program of limiting the protest demands to what is acceptable to pro-capitalist liberals. So, while groups like Workers World and the ISO may hail the Iraqi resistance against the U.S. occupiers in the pages of their press, the main demand for January 20 is "Bring the troops home now," which is an accommodation to the social-patriotic "support our troops" wing of the anti-war movement. The slogan is designed to appeal to those whose opposition to the occupation is driven solely by concern over the deaths of American soldiers rather than out of any concern for the peoples of Iraq or opposition to the crimes of U.S. imperialism. A 9 December 2004 *Workers World* front-page headline made this appeal fairly clear. Running shortly after the massive American assault on Falluja, *Workers World* prominently emphasized in its front-page headline complex, "U.S. Troops Under Greater Attack," adding afterward: "Only Answer Is, Bring Them Home Now!"

We do not groove on the deaths of American soldiers. They are also being sacrificed to U.S. imperialist militarism. However, U.S. troops are the imperialist armed forces, the instrument of American conquest and enforcers of occupation. As revolutionary Marxists, we have a side in Iraq: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys and for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops. Youth and workers should mobilize in protest on the basis of defense of the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression and for the military defense of forces on the ground in Iraq when they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers. As we have stated many times previously, every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed all over the world.

At the same time, we recognize that, in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of any of the reactionary Shi'ite or Sunni forces who apparently compose the "resistance" today is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism than by their fighting against it. We oppose the deadly communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations which is often carried out by the *very same forces* fighting the occupation armies; we make it clear that a revolutionary party in Iraq today would mobilize against the U.S. occupation first and foremost, but also against the reimposition of anti-woman Islamic *sharia* laws, against communalist, sectarian attacks. Such a party would mobilize the workers movement and unemployed in strikes and demonstrations against the occupiers, the parasitic clerics and nationalist demagogues. This perspective is far removed from that of Workers World and the ISO, which combine pandering to the Democrats at home with uncritical, vicarious cheerleading for the "resistance" in Iraq.


WORKERS WORLD

MUNDO OBRERO

STOP THE WAR WEEK

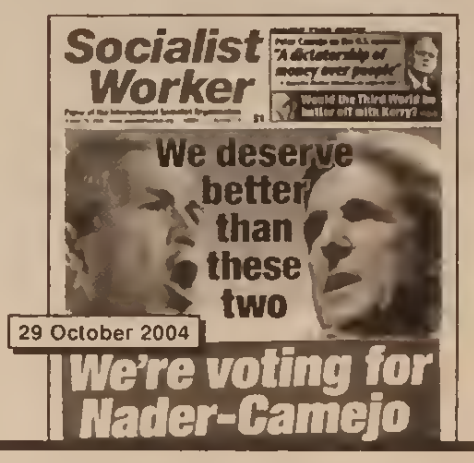
HAITI TURMOIL

After killing thousands of Iraqis

U.S. troops under greater attack

Only answer Is, Bring them home nowt

9 December 2004


Socialist Worker

"A dictatorship of money over people"

We deserve better than these two

29 October 2004

We're voting for Nader-Camejo

Left: *Workers World* panders to social-patriotic "support our troops" sentiment. Right: ISO promotes capitalist politician Nader, phony "alternative" to Democrats.

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

We Spartacists waged a relentless political battle during the early antiwar movement, as we do today, against the reformist misleaders whose program of appealing to the Democrats can only result in the disorientation and demoralization of those youth and others who genuinely wanted to find a way to end imperialist war. We organized revolutionary contingents at the 2003 antiwar protests with the aim of winning antiwar youth to the understanding that they must break with the capitalist Democratic Party of war and racism and take the side of the working people and oppressed internationally. Our banners—"Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party to Fight for Socialist Revolution!" and "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!"—expressed the revolutionary program of a small, fighting propaganda group whose goal is to build the party that can lead the working class and oppressed in battle against the capitalists.

We met a lot of youth in the course of the antiwar movement who responded with enthusiasm to the idea of a workers party that mobilizes against the capitalist ruling class. Many of them claimed they had no illusions in the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil" and that they were desperate to find an alternative to it. But seeing little prospect for the kind of class-struggle fight we described, these same youth often reluctantly concluded that there was no "realistic" alternative but to vote for the Democrats to get rid of Bush. The ostensibly "socialist" organizers of the antiwar movement—whose stated opposition to the Democrats is at variance with their *practice* of tailoring antiwar protest to be acceptable to them—bear responsibility for this. Having rejected a class-struggle fight against the twin parties of capitalism, they led these youth to the conclusion that there was nothing to be done other than to vote Democrat.

Now the ISO piously sighs: "It can be argued without much difficulty that Kerry's campaign, in fact, *strengthened* support for the 'war on terror' and damaged arguments for immediate withdrawal from Iraq. This was only magnified by the fact that the antiwar movement had no independent public voice with which it could put forward actual antiwar arguments" [emphasis in original].

But what "independent public voice" did the ISO look to for "actual antiwar arguments"? Not independent working-class struggle, which would require a break with the Democratic Party. Having shamelessly pandered to "Anybody but Bush" sentiment, the ISO then threw all of its energies into supporting Ralph Nader for president, another *capitalist* politician whose "opposition" to the war in Iraq was and is paper-thin. Nader's "three-step process" for removing U.S. troops has as its first point: "Under the auspices of the United Nations an international peace keeping force, from neutral nations with such experience and from Islamic countries, should be assembled immediately to replace all US troops and civilian military contractors doing many jobs the Army used to do more efficiently" (19 April 2004 posting on votenader.org).

So Nader's for a war against Iraq that's carried out more efficiently with fewer American casualties, by the UN! The UN starvation blockade killed more Iraqis, by orders of magnitude, than has the war and occupation carried out under Bush. The UN is a cabal of the imperialist powers and their victims, which operates as a fig leaf for its most powerful member, the U.S. And what "Islamic countries" should suppress the Iraqi peoples, including the Kurds? Turkey, maybe? How about the Iranian theocratic state, or the Saudi monarchy?

Nader's "opposition" to the Democrats is also empty. Two days after the elections, on November 4, he issued the following press release: "During the campaign Nader/Camejo went so far as to send staff members to Kerry's headquarters carrying ten silver platters each with a method of how to beat George W. Bush.... Nader's pleas fell on deaf ears" (posted on votenader.org). So much for the ISO's "alternative to the twin parties of war" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 August 2004).

The ISO's Kolodner makes a revealing indictment in "Rebuilding the Antiwar Movement" that particularly deserves comment. In lamenting the fact that political life in the U.S. is dominated by two conservative, pro-war capitalist parties, she comments: "The silence of the movements—against the war, for gay marriage, against attacks on Arabs and Muslims—contributed to an extremely narrow, conservative political framework defined primarily by two pro-war, pro-PATRIOT Act, anti-gay marriage politicians, which

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mies of the Soviet state power. But this anti-authoritarian "principle" was one of the few that the Makhnoites respected when confronted by the practical realities of the Civil War. Achieving military success meant forced conscription, summary executions and recruiting anti-Semitic pogromists into their ranks; hostility toward the Bolsheviks meant establishing an alternative government hostile to the central Soviet workers state. As anarchist historian Paul Avrich wrote in his sympathetic account of Makhno (*Anarchist Portraits* [1988]):

> "The Second [Makhnoite Regional] Congress, meeting on February 12, 1919, voted in favor of 'voluntary mobilization,' which in reality meant outright conscription, as all able-bodied men were required to serve when called up. The delegates also elected a Regional Military Revolutionary Council of Peasants, Workers, and Insurgents to carry out the decisions of the periodic congresses. The new councils encouraged the election of 'free' soviets in the towns and villages—that is, soviets from which members of political parties were excluded. Although Makhno's aim in setting up these bodies was to do away with political authority, the Military Revolutionary Council, acting in conjunction with the Regional Congresses and the local soviets, in effect formed a loose-knit government in the territory surrounding Gulyai-Polye.
>
> "Like the Military Revolutionary Council, the Insurgent Army of the Ukraine, as the Makhnovist forces were called, was in theory subject to the supervision of the Regional Congresses. In practice, however, the reins of authority rested with Makhno and his staff. Despite his efforts to avoid anything that smacked of regimentation, Makhno appointed his key officers (the rest were elected by the men themselves) and subjected his troops to the stern military discipline traditional among the Cossack legions of the nearby Zaporozhian region."

Since the majority of anarchists in Russia and the Ukraine at the time were generally familiar with the class character and practices of the Makhnoite forces, they did ***not*** support the Makhnoites. For this, Voline and Arshinov, the two leading anarchist intellectuals who joined with Makhno, both strongly condemned the anarchist majority. Today, however, almost every anarchist in the world has embraced the Makhnoites as their own. We pointed to this contradiction in concluding our 1996 exchange: "Why is that? Because in their hostility to Leninism, they have bought into the anti-Communist prejudices which pervade the bourgeois society in which they live and which have shaped their political consciousness."■

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International and discusses the impact of the 1917 October Revolution. The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism.

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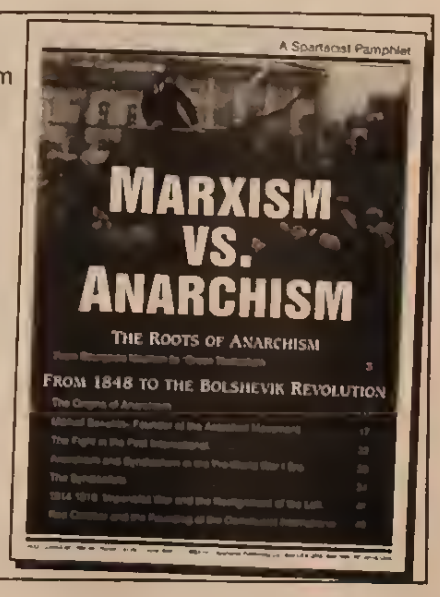
A Spartacist Pamphlet

MARXISM VS. ANARCHISM

THE ROOTS OF ANARCHISM

FROM 1848 TO THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

"War on Terror"...

(continued from page 1)

the government's "terrorist" designation against them is wrong!

Giving Legal Sanction to State Terror

To see how these laws can be used for political witchhunts—i.e., against anyone protesting government policies—just look at the massive police mobilizations in the name of "fighting terrorism" that met the protesters at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions last summer. The "terrorist" scare campaign leading up to the conventions, promoted by the media, from the right-wing *New York Post* to the more "respectable" *New York Times*, had nothing to do with Al Qaeda. Rather, it had to do with antiwar protesters, from anarchists to cyclists to liberal demonstrators, like those in the War Resisters League, who simply wanted to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience. That the government was treating acts of "disorderly conduct" as acts of "terrorism" underlines that the real intent of the measures and acts instituted following the September 11 attacks had nothing to do with "terrorism" and everything to do with increasing the power of the American capitalist state to repress and stamp out expressions of political dissent.

The "material support" charge also enables the government to financially destroy organizations they don't like. On December 8, a Chicago federal court ordered three U.S.-based Islamic charities to pay ***$156 million*** to the parents of an American-born Zionist settler who was shot and killed in the West Bank in 1996. The basis for this award was the theory that the charities had allegedly made donations to the fundamentalists of Hamas, and Hamas in turn was behind the settler's shooting. The charities refused to defend themselves at the trial, protesting the judge's refusal to grant them more time to prepare their case. "What we are witnessing is a modern day lynching and a mockery of justice," said Yaser Tabbara of the Council on American Islamic Relations (www.NBC5.com, 6 December 2004).

WV Photo

9 February 2002: Oakland labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League.

Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart is being prosecuted by the U.S. government on charges of providing "material support to terrorism" for providing legal defense to her client, a blind Islamic cleric jailed for life on charges stemming from the 1994 World Trade Center bombing. The Stewart trial threatens pointblank the right of an attorney to defend anyone with unpopular views without themself being charged with a crime. And if an attorney can't do that, then nobody is assured the right to vigorous legal defense in this country.

We in the Spartacist League have fought every attempt by the capitalist government to brand Marxists as "terrorists." In 1983, we filed a lawsuit against the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. In announcing our court suit, we wrote (*WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983): "We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night." As a result of our lawsuit, the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism. This was a modest but genuine blow to the government's new efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. But as we wrote at the time (*WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984):

> "We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state power, their police agents will continue their dirty work against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule."

Government spying, secret political files, torture and assassinations are hardly aberrations, but have always been part of American "justice." We will never forget Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two young Black Panther Party leaders gunned down in their beds in a hail of bullets fired by the FBI in 1969. We will not forget Abner Louima, the Haitian immigrant beaten and sodomized with a broomstick by New York cops at a police station in 1997. We continue to fight for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, framed up, effectively as a "terrorist," for his eloquent writings and radio broadcasts on behalf of the oppressed.

But in the past these grim methods of policing the population were carried out in back alleyways and basements. Now, under the guise of its "war on terror," the government is turning what once were dirty secrets into ***officially sanctioned public policy***. There is growing popular opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, as evidenced by over 360 state and local government resolutions calling for its repeal. A key goal of the White House in the coming year is to renew the parts of the Patriot Act that are set to expire in December, including the notorious provision allowing the government to inspect what books you've been checking out at the library. Even more ominously, the administration is still pushing to enact the sinister "Patriot II act," secretly drafted by the Justice Department in early 2003, which would empower the government to accuse a U.S. citizen of giving "material support" to "terrorism" and then strip the defendant of citizenship.

U.S. Torture, Inc. and the Bush Legal Posse

Even as Bush was signing the new intelligence Act, the government faced new, detailed revelations of torture at the U.S. detention centers in Iraq and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. As the result of

Antiwar Movement...

(continued from page 7)

then had an impact on popular consciousness. For the antiwar movement, in particular, we must take stock of how our virtual silence contributed to this right-wing political atmosphere." It is hard to deny that political life has become increasingly "right wing" in this country. This is largely due to the low level of class struggle, particularly over the past couple of decades—which is facilitated by the reformist program of reliance on the Democratic Party, either directly or through the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

But there's another aspect to it. Consciousness, not only in this country but internationally, has been greatly thrown back over approximately the past 15 years, so that today it is less commonly recognized that the working class even *has* interests counterposed to those of the capitalist ruling class, much less that it *must fight* for these interests against the capitalists. This throwback in consciousness did not arise spontaneously. It was the result of a world-historic defeat of the working class: the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92.

AP

Passenger train destroyed during 1999 U.S./NATO bombing war against Serbia, led by Democratic Clinton administration.

Just as war provides a litmus test for ostensible revolutionaries to show on which side they stand, so does revolution and counterrevolution. The capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union provided one of the decisive tests of the last century. We Spartacists remained until the end on the side of the Soviet working class in opposing counterrevolution—as we do today in defending the remaining workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. We understood that, despite over 60 years of Stalinist degeneration and misrule in the Soviet Union, there were still gains to be defended in the world's first workers state and that the restoration of capitalism would be a catastrophe. The ISO throughout its existence claimed that there was nothing to defend in Soviet Russia and in 1991 they, along with myriad other "socialist" organizations, took the side of U.S. imperialism in hailing Yeltsin's victory. Their then-mother group in Britain enthused: "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

In fact, the collapse of the Soviet Union was a tremendous victory for U.S. imperialism that fundamentally reshaped the globe. It established U.S. hegemony in a "one-superpower world," ushering in the period of intensified, devastating imperialist war in which we now live, and setting the basis for the current war and occupation of Iraq. In their small way, anti-Soviet "socialist" groups like the ISO share responsibility for a world where the U.S. imperialists feel like they can ride roughshod over everybody else.

In the final analysis, an organization must be judged less on the basis of what it says than on what it does. Like the medieval Christian who warded off the dreaded spirits of the night by brandishing his cross, so members of the ISO, Workers World/ANSWER and the RCP/NION can always pull out an obligatory statement against the Democratic Party, taken from a variety of articles, leaflets or statements of program, to ward off Spartacists who object that their party capitulates to the Democrats. Sometimes the statement even sounds genuine. But these groups have been put to the test, most recently as U.S. imperialism launched bloody war against the peoples of Iraq. Throughout the antiwar demonstrations of the past two years, we intervened to counterpose our revolutionary program to that of the reformist organizers. At issue is which class, in this class-divided society, one looks to in order to end war, racism and poverty. The reformist organizers of the antiwar movement did everything in their power to help capitalist politicians spread the lie that the capitalist system can do otherwise than breed imperialist war; we Spartacists took the side of working people and the oppressed in Iraq and throughout the world to combat the rapacious capitalist class. Help build the revolutionary workers party needed to end this system of imperialist war and misery and build a socialist society—join us! ■

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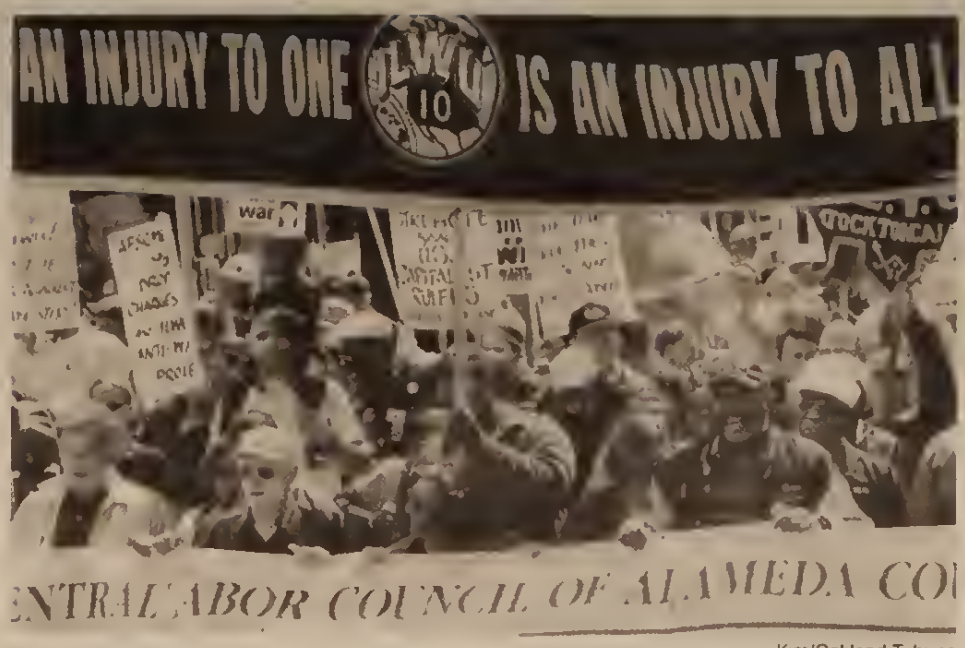
a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit filed by the ACLU, the Center for Constitutional Rights and other civil liberties groups, in early December the government was forced to produce thousands of pages of documents graphically detailing horrific abuse that has continued even after the Abu Ghraib torture scandal broke last spring. Many of the new materials are e-mails from FBI agents who visited the detention camps. You know the government is up to something grotesquely cruel when even its own FBI agents are nauseated by what they see!

Their e-mails chronicle abuse including vicious beatings, choking and burning prisoners with lit cigarettes. They describe chilling scenes of detainees "chained hand and foot in a fetal position to the floor, with no chair, food, or water. Most times they had urinated or defecated on themselves and had been left there for 18, 24 hours or more." Rooms were supercooled or overheated, leaving one detainee "literally pulling his own hair out throughout the night." In a separate bombshell, a National Guard intelligence sergeant revealed how, when he tried to report the beating of prisoners near Baghdad in 2003, the Army brass responded by telling him that he must be "delusional" and then sent him for mental health review, where he was strapped to a gurney and flown out of Iraq!

The capitalist media—which broadcast every lie by the U.S. government linking Saddam Hussein with Al Qaeda and the September 11 attacks, as well as fabricating stories about Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction" to rev the population up for war—is "shocked" by the torture scandals from U.S. military hellholes at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The photographs and reports



Kim/Oakland Tribune

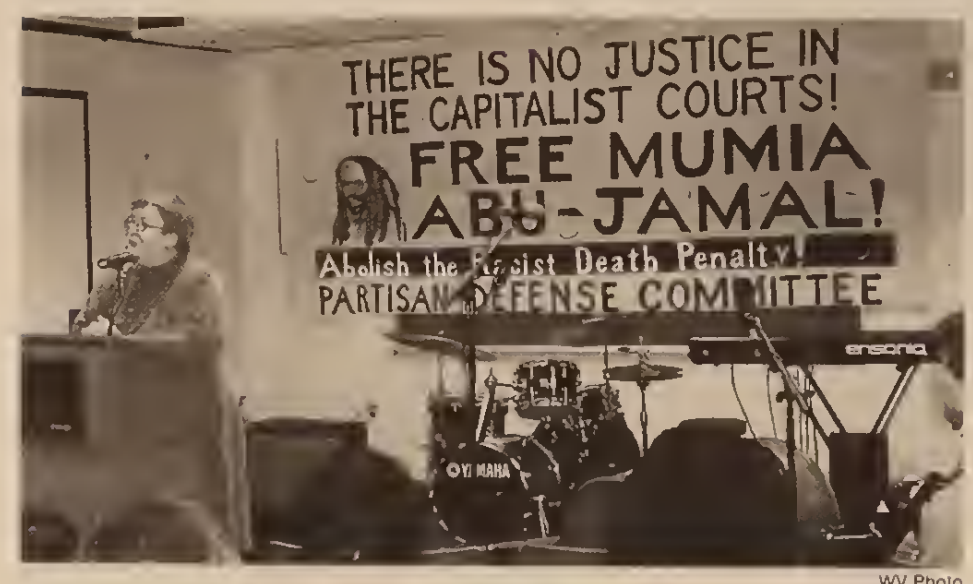
Jakob Schiller

Labor contingent in Oakland march protesting police attack on antiwar demonstration at Port of Oakland on 7 April 2003, where cops fired wooden bullets and concussion grenades. Right: Wounded protester.

from Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo are indeed sickening and infuriating. But the media's "exposés" largely serve to cover up what is *government policy* by treating the scandals as the acts of a few wayward and low-level soldiers.

After the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, the government started looking for a rationale to justify torture carried out by American troops under direct American orders. In late 2001 and 2002, White House counsel Alberto Gonzales—now nominated to replace John Ashcroft as Attorney General—led a team of lawyers that ticked through a list of possible torture techniques, from mock drowning to mock burial, to give the thumbs up or down on what was acceptable (*Newsweek*, 27 December 2004). Gonzales narrowed down the definition of "torture" so that only techniques "specifically intended" to cause severe pain or permanent damage would be off limits. Abuse which was merely "cruel, inhuman or degrading" was not "torture" under the new Gonzales rules, and was thus sanctioned for use in the detention camps.

Gonzales and his legal posse also came up with the idea of military tribunals for the detainees—a plan which after three years has yet to result in a single actual trial. On November 8, the whole military tribunal system was thrown into question by federal judge James Robertson, who rejected the White House position that the Geneva Conventions do not apply at Guantánamo and went on to rule that the proposed military tribunals are illegal because the defendant could be banned from the hearing during testimony by confidential informants. This ruling (which the government is appealing) is not the first setback for the Guantánamo system. Last June, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the 550 Guantánamo detainees can file federal *habeas corpus* suits to challenge their detention. Declaring that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president," the Supreme Court also ruled that Yasser Esam Hamdi, an American citizen taken into custody in Afghanistan in 2001, could not be held indefinitely as an "enemy combatant" without notice of the



WV Photo

Embattled leftist attorney Lynne Stewart addresses New York PDC Holiday Appeal, December 2004.

reasons for his incarceration or a hearing at which he could rebut the charges. So the Feds revoked Hamdi's citizenship and deported him to Saudi Arabia!

Now, the London *Guardian* (3 January) reports that "the United States is preparing to hold terrorism suspects indefinitely without trial, replacing the Guantanamo Bay prison camp with permanent prisons in the Cuban enclave and elsewhere.... The new prisons are intended for captives the Pentagon and the CIA suspect of terrorist links but do not wish to set free or put on trial for lack of hard evidence."

Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen detained as an "enemy combatant" since 2002 after his arrest at O'Hare airport, continues to languish in a military brig in Virginia. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed a friends of the court brief on behalf of Jose Padilla in the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and the U.S. Supreme Court. Our brief exposes the government's "war on terror" as a bogus political pretext for U.S. repression at home, which is ultimately aimed at the labor movement. Our brief states:

> "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality. It is a political crusade conducted in the name of ridding society of a perceived evil. It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population. The Executive's declaration that its 'war against terrorism' forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents 'for life' from the Near East to Africa to Latin America, to justify the mass imprisonment and unmarked graves of political dissidents. Like them, the Executive is proclaiming the *right to disappear* citizens of its choosing."

Free Jose Podillo and all the detainees—from Guantánomo to Iraq to the U.S.!

Break with the Democrats! For Class Struggle at Home!

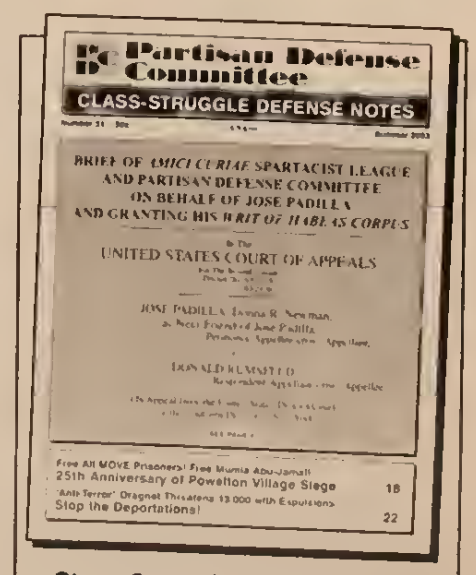
The Intelligence Reform Act was supported by virtually every Democrat in Congress, including liberals like Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold (the only Senator who voted against the Patriot Act) and black Democratic representatives Barbara Lee and Jesse Jackson Jr. Only one Democratic Senator (Byrd of West Virginia) and eight Democratic Congressmen voted against the Intelligence bill. This comes as no surprise, given that the Democrats have supported Bush in his "war on terror" at every step, from passing the Patriot Act to the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. While the Democrats may posture as "friends" of labor and black people, they are a capitalist party, no less committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system than the Republicans.

In the end, what the rapacious rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle. While a number of trade unions have passed fine resolutions against the Patriot Act, those resolutions are just paper tigers unless they become the basis for *labor action* against the anti-immigrant witchhunts and the crackdown on civil liberties. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy threw over $150 million into the coffers of the pro-capitalist Kerry campaign. If they would spend even a fraction of that money for a campaign to unionize Wal-Mart, or put their muscle into the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, or to bring down the Patriot Act and fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, it would go a long way toward shattering the myth of "national unity" and opening the road for hard class struggle against the attacks on civil liberties and civil rights, against the neocolonial occupation of Iraq, and against two decades of anti-union attacks.

The current trade-union bureaucracy, however, is an obstacle to militant class struggle because it is tied to the capitalist system, most often through its support to the Democratic Party. It is necessary to fight for a class-struggle leadership in the unions, a leadership that can fight not only for immediate, economic demands, but on broader social and political issues.

What broke the back of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s were the tumultuous struggles for black freedom in the civil rights movement, particularly when organizations like the Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice got fed up with "turn the other cheek" pacifism and began to champion and practice the right of armed self-defense. In the midst of the burgeoning social struggles of the 1960s, there was a brief period of judicial expansion of democratic rights in which the Feds had to put on ice their plans for massive detention of subversives and landmark gains were won for everyone, from criminal defendants to women seeking abortions. The existence of the Soviet Union often provided an obstacle to the U.S. rulers' ambitions abroad *and at home*—because police-state abuse of black civil rights marchers or leftist antiwar activists posed a potential embarrassment to the imperialists' anti-Soviet "human rights" rhetoric.

The repressive instruments that form the core of the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prison system and military—serve and protect a social system based on the exploitation of labor for the profit of the capitalist rulers. No gain for black people, women, labor and the oppressed was ever won by beseeching Democrats for reforms. Every liberty, every conquest for the oppressed was wrested from the capitalist class and its state through powerful social struggle. The working class has the social power and interest to overturn that whole system, fighting at the head of all the oppressed. But to mobilize that power it is necessary to break the chains that bind the proletariat to the capitalists' profit system through the trade-union tops' prostration before the capitalist Democratic Party and their obedience to the bosses' "law and order." What's needed is to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight to sweep away the war criminals in the White House and Pentagon with all their prison houses and torture chambers, as part of a socialist revolution that would smash the greater prison house which is the capitalist system itself. ■



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19th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal

"Working Class Has Power to Defeat American Imperialist System"

The Partisan Defense Committee's 19th Annual Haliday Appeal for class-war prisoners drew hundreds of participants to benefits in six cities in the U.S. and Canada. The December events raised thousands of dollars for the PDC's program of sending monthly stipends and holiday gifts to imprisoned fighters for black freedom, antiwar activists, labor militants and members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune and their families. Generous contributions were received as well for the legal defense of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a focus of this year's appeal, as part of the battle to free this eloquent and courageous militant from his death row hellhole. We print below the remarks of Spartacist League speaker Mohan Nair who addressed the San Francisco Bay Area event on 5 December 2004. More coverage on the Holiday Appeal will appear in a future WV.

The vast mobilization of "family values," "born-again" religious types combined with the continued attempts to disenfranchise black voters has ushered in four more years of Bush, as you all know. The elections were marked by the whipping up of terrorism fears, anti-immigrant bigotries and all kinds of religious and sexual backwardness. Bush begins his term with Republican control of Congress and an ominous declaration that he has earned "political capital." Plain and simple, it is bad news for working people, black people, gays and immigrants. It has been especially brutal for the peoples of Iraq with the murderous campaign in Falluja. One thing is for sure though, a Kerry victory would not have been good news—Kerry promised to continue the Iraq occupation, to increase the American military by 40,000 new recruits, and to "get tougher" with North Korea. The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are dedicated to upholding the interests of American capitalism.

There is an irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of the property-owning bosses who exploit workers to obtain profits, and the workers themselves, who own nothing but their labor power and who create the wealth of society. Working people need a workers party to fight to overturn the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie altogether and replace it with a workers government, to organize a society based on production for human needs.

The elections have been a dramatic confirmation of the rightward shift in the American political scene. Every kind of reaction is emboldened. Just scan the papers since the election. Eleven states passed referendums banning gay marriage. Abortion rights are under attack. The "intelligent design" dimwits, who would ban the teaching of evolution and science, are gathering momentum. The IRS has opened a racist witchhunt against the NAACP. Even plain, gratuitous cruelty seems to be on the march. In the South earlier this fall, Taser guns were used on 6- and 12-year-old schoolkids.

What is seriously wrong is the talk which blames the supposed ignorance and backwardness of the American populace for Bush's victory. Responsibility for the lack of militant class struggle and, therefore, the backward consciousness of many workers in the U.S. lies with the chief pushers of reformism—the political outlook that capitalism can be reformed. The top bureaucrats of the union movement and the reformist left that tails them are responsible for the demoralization and the demobilization of the American working class through the agency of the Democratic Party.

This has been a long process but anyone who saw the demoralization of the Iraq antiwar movement in 2003 can begin to understand by analogy what has happened with respect to the general rightward shift. The Workers World organization with its ANSWER coalition, and the International Socialist Organization and Revolutionary Communist Party with its Not in Our Name, organized coalitions whose antiwar strategy was to build platforms for the left-talking Democrats like Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson who were there to get young activists and working people to vote Democrat. To maximize the appeal to liberals, any mention of the deadly Zionist occupation was dropped. We counterposed: *Defend the Palestinian people!* You can't fight the capitalists' program for war by uniting with one or another wing of the capitalists. And sure enough, after mass classless and pacifist demonstrations, the war proceeded and the antiwar movement fizzled.

It is precisely the move to vote Democrat—expressed in this election through the "Anybody but Bush" sentiment—that has bolstered the fortunes of the Republican right. Pushing votes for the Democrats is consciously designed as a substitute for class and social struggle, advocating that workers and the oppressed place their confidence in capitalist politicians instead of relying on their own power and organizations. The role of black and "progressive" Democrats, those who addressed the antiwar rallies like Barbara Lee, is to head off any possibility of social struggle and to direct discontent toward the ballot box. The absence of class and social struggle—the kinds of struggle that can transcend racial, ethnic, and religious divisions—provides the basis for the racist fundamentalists to gain ground.

What is happening in Iraq is nothing short of imperialist mass murder. Upwards of 100,000 Iraqis have been killed as a result of the war. The ongoing slaughter in Falluja must be seared into the collective memory and consciousness as a monstrous war crime, as My Lai was for a generation before. Falluja, a city of 300,000, has been flattened; hundreds lie dead in the rubble; the hospital was the first place to be seized to hide the evidence of massive civilian death; disease is spreading; some doctors report evidence of the use of chemical weapons and cluster bombs.

We say: *U.S. out of Iraq, now!* We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Iraq! We call for the defense of the Iraqi peoples against the U.S. occupiers and their puppet Iraqi troops and police. Insofar as the forces on the ground aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and the mercenaries, we call for their defense. Every blow struck against the U.S. military and allied powers in Iraq is a blow in the interests of the international working class. The magnitude of the crime of Falluja demands huge international protest. The international working class, not least the American proletariat, should mount class-struggle actions, demonstrations, strikes and hot-cargo shipments of war matériel. We do not say this in the light-minded belief that this will be easy to do in this repressive climate where "national unity" is pushed by both the labor misleaders and the capitalist parties. We say it because it is essential to win the working class to the understanding that it alone has the power to defeat the American imperialist system.

U.S. imperialism flexes and prepares its military power for broader purposes than Iraq and its Middle East oil interests. The American ruling class' military adventures and colonial atrocities must be seen in the context of their strategic interests for counterrevolution in China and the other deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea. We are for the unconditional military defense of these states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. These are places where capitalism has been overthrown and the imperialists seek to bring it back. There have been powerful defensive struggles by the Chinese working class. Unlike the imperialist bourgeoisies and the reformist left, we do not believe that the die is cast for counterrevolution in the Chinese deformed workers state. We are for political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracies that sit atop these societies, endangering the defense of the very workers states that they control.

So now let's come back to the American post-election hangover. How do we go forward? We need class-struggle leadership. We have seen no shortage of militancy and sacrifice on the part of the working class—indeed there have been a number of significant struggles here on the West Coast—transit workers in L.A., the hard-fought UFCW strike, the port truckers work stoppage and the recent hotel workers strike and lockout. In every instance, we see a labor leadership that has left these struggles isolated. Had the unions diverted one-tenth of the resources and manpower that their pro-capitalist misleaders mobilized for Kerry to the UFCW or the SF hotel strike, things could be very different. And then there's the Million Worker March. This was nothing more than a thinly veiled election rally for Kerry. While left-talking bureaucrats did their job for Kerry, Mumia Abu-Jamal's message of support to the demonstration plainly exposed the core reality of the partner parties of capitalism, a message that the march organizers consciously worked to obscure. Mumia says: "If we speak the truth, it doesn't matter who wins the White House; workers are catching hell. That's because the only choices before the American people are corporate choices; a thin narrow slice between two, quite similar 'brokerage parties,' who sell their souls to the highest bidder." Instead of sending workers across the country to Washington, D.C. for the Million Worker March, what if the left-talking bureaucrats in the ILWU longshore union had mobilized their members to walk a few blocks from their union hall to help locked-out hotel workers in San Francisco shut down the hotels and actually win the strike?

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club at united-front rally at City College of San Francisco in defense of striking UNITE HERE hotel workers, October 2004.

We need a leadership to fight not only for the immediate economic demands but on broader social questions—defense of immigrant rights against the government's "war on terror," freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolishing the racist death penalty. The reactionary forces that are growing in confidence in America today, that mobilize in opposition to gay marriage, abortion rights and any expression of social liberalization also target and despise black people. From the days of slavery to the present, the oppression of black people has been a fundamental feature of American capitalism. Black people are both segregated at the bottom of American society and integrated into the economy. If it is to fight for its own emancipation, the multiracial proletariat must take up the struggle for black freedom. The working class will only transcend its divisions through class and social struggle. Only through common struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party will a socialist revolution be made. The building of a party to lead these struggles will require a fight against the class collaborationist politics of the existing labor leadership. It is in the process of class struggle that a new leadership in the workers movement can emerge, overturning the current betrayers.

This year's Holiday Appeals represent a renewal of our commitment to class-struggle social defense. Standing with those fighters already in the grasp of the capitalist prisons is a necessary step in organizing a class-struggle fight against the all-sided reaction in American society today. This is not a routine re-enlistment. In defense of class-war prisoners, in opposition to the barbaric occupation and enslavement of Iraq—in short—in our proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist purpose, *we are needed*. We encourage you to join us in this struggle. ■

For a Union Fight for Safety!

Gruesome Death of NYC Transit Worker

NEW YORK—As a maintainer of the 600-volt third rail and a well-known safety-conscious worker, one of the main responsibilities that Harold Dozier took upon himself was to take care of his work crew. On December 14, the 13-year veteran transit worker was doing just that while retrieving warning flags from the tracks near the Newkirk Avenue subway station in Brooklyn at the end of the day. Tragically, he was run over and killed by a train on an adjacent track. According to John Samuelsen, acting Vice President for the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 Maintenance of Way, there was a gap where Dozier was walking in a leaf-covered drainage grate wide enough for him to put his foot through, indicating he may have tripped into the path of the train and then been dragged. Witnesses told police that, apparently unable to move, he cried for help just before he was struck.

Harold Dozier, 54, was the 21st transit worker killed on the tracks in the last two decades, including Kurien Baby and Joy Antony who were killed in the space of two days in November 2002. He leaves behind nine brothers and sisters and a host of nieces and nephews. When a cop dies, the bosses' newspapers and television are filled with pomp and praise for these agents of the capitalist class. There are no such tributes for workers who risk their lives to make the city run. Whenever a transit worker is killed because of the bosses' mad drive for productivity and profit, the workforce should down its tools in honor of the slain fellow worker and as part of the union fight for safe working conditions.

In the days following Harold Dozier's death, many of his workmates were so traumatized that they couldn't work. A worker who attended his funeral on December 21 told *WV* that the hall spilled over with fellow workers who joined his family in mourning the loss of this respected worker, who was "known for standing up for his co-workers against management whenever they tried to cut corners." A crew member spoke at the funeral pointing out how Dozier cared above all for the health and safety of his workmates.

Harold Dozier's death cannot be separated from the New York City Transit (NYCT) bosses' relentless drive for greater "productivity" through job cuts and speedup. Every worker knows that the main purpose of the NYCT Office of System Safety is to limit the company's liability by blaming the worker for accidents, injury or even death. A transit worker who used to be a third-rail maintainer told *WV*, "Management only acts when someone dies: the body is checked for shoes, the shoes are checked for 'grip,' and the corpse is checked for drugs." In 1998, Thomas DeStefano, a Power Distribution Maintainer, died after falling on the third rail, and transit management concluded he "exercised poor judgment" by having worn-down treads on his shoes! Tellingly, the NYCT bosses scrambled to fix the defective storm drain within days of Harold Dozier's death (*Chief-Leader*, 31 December 2004). When train conductor Janell Bennerson was killed in January 2003 when her head hit an eight-foot-high gate as the train left a station, the bosses immediately lowered the height of the gate, and then they blamed Bennerson for her own death!

A worker told *WV* that much of the signal and communication technology dates from the original installation of the 100-year-old subway system. But New York City's rulers and the transit bosses let the infrastructure deteriorate and don't give a damn about the well-being of transit workers or the riding public—largely working people. Passengers depend on token booth clerks for safety countless times each day, but the NYCT is presently closing 164 token booths to save cash and ultimately slash jobs. The MTA is spending hundreds of millions on "new technology," including trains without

Harold Dozier

Dozier Family

conductors. Modernization, efficiency and safety should be inseparable. But under capitalism, improvements in technology are opportunities to attack workers' jobs.

According to a track worker, workers who toil daily on life-threatening, filthy, dark and rat-infested tracks usually are not even issued radios so that they can communicate with oncoming trains or a control center. The only way that this subway system can be safe is when *workers* control safety; what's needed is ***elected union safety reps, backed by the entire union, with the power to shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot.***

The NYCT's disregard for safety goes hand in hand with its union-busting attacks on union members and officials who blow the whistle on unsafe working conditions. Carlos Blackman, the TWU Local 100 shop chairman of the 240th Street maintenance shop in the Bronx, was fired in September because he fought for safety. In December 2003, Blackman temporarily halted unsafe repair work in the shop when, among other hazards, fluid was leaking from one of the hydraulic jacks holding up an 80,000-pound subway car. This was the last straw for management, who later framed him up on phony charges using their new bogus "workplace violence" policy (see "Reinstate TWU Shop Chairman Carlos Blackman!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 832, 17 September 2004). Blackman's firing will embolden management to intimidate and penalize any worker who even voices concerns about safety.

The TWU—an integrated union made up of immigrant, black, Latino and white workers—has tremendous social power. But the sellout union leadership shackles that power. Like the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the TWU tops support the capitalist private property system and play by the bosses' rules, appealing to Democratic and Republican politicians, government agencies and the bourgeois courts. New York City Transit is not subject to government safety regulations. In fact, when the state legislature passed a law last year to enforce some minimal NYCT track safety standards, including the right to challenge unsafe work orders, New York governor George Pataki vetoed it.

The TWU's 9 December 2004 *Local 100 Express* has plenty of verbiage about job safety, but no one in the union leadership—from the International to the local leadership—has a program of mobilizing the working class independently. To win safe working conditions, decent health care, to stop speedup, to fight for a decent contract with a full cost-of-living allowance, and to defeat the slave-labor Taylor Law require a political struggle to replace the existing union leadership with one committed to hard class struggle using the union's power. Ultimately, to have consistently safe working conditions in New York Transit and in all industries, will mean eliminating the profit system of capitalism and creating a society run by the working class.■

Kinsey...

(continued from page 5)

to an increase in sexual misery, disease and death: that correctly used condoms can greatly reduce the risk of HIV transmission, for example, is something *every* sexually active person needs to know. But knowledge itself is seen as evil—a very intentional Biblical concept, recalling the myth of Eve and the tree of knowledge, whose fruit was forbidden. Sex research is under renewed attack and so is teaching evolution in the schools; "intelligent design" is the new code word for forcing scary Old Testament myths on schoolchildren.

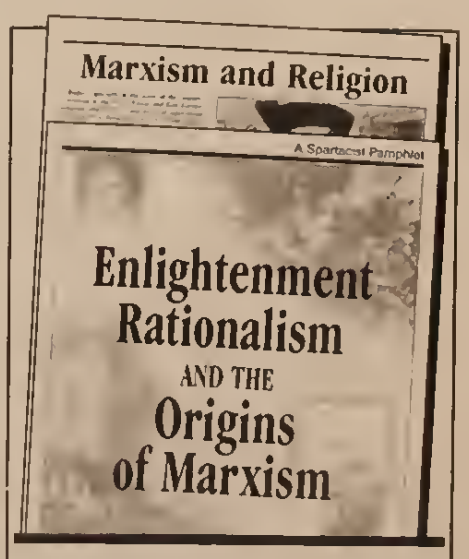
Fifty years after Kinsey, why are ignorance and fear about sex again being pushed on society? Why are the same people from the book-burning 1980s Reagan era, like the ridiculous yet sinister Judith Reisman, still running around loose trying to convince people sex is a crime? Reisman, recall, is the former *Captain Kangaroo* songwriter who got over $700,000 from Reagan's Justice Department to study pornography, and is now calling for a Congressional investigation into Kinsey's work, charging he was a "sex offender." "The consequences of this sexual adventurism include AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, child sexual abuse, incest and pornography," she charges. According to a recent *New Yorker* (6 December 2004) "Talk of the Town" piece, "Reisman also endorses a book called 'The Pink Swastika,' which challenges the 'myths' that gays were victimized in Nazi Germany." The anti-Kinsey campaign isn't just a few oddballs, either. New York City's PBS TV station, WNET, panicked and refused to air a spot for the movie *Kinsey* because of right-wing pressure. A scientist at San Francisco State University said about sex research, "I have been in this field for 30 years, and the level of fear and intimidation is higher now than I can ever remember" (*New York Times*, 9 November 2004).

So why have things changed so much and yet so little? At bottom it is a question of the level of social struggle. This is a class-divided society, as we said. It is wracked by racial oppression and the segregation of black people, by the subordination of women and children within the institution of the family, and by the enforced poverty and exploitation of labor that are the lifeblood of capitalism. The capitalist profit system and its state must be shattered through socialist revolution and replaced with an integrated workers government, which will run production for human need. This will lay the basis for social alternatives—in caring for children, the sick, the elderly, housework, etc.—to the oppressive family, which is shored up by the ruling class as its transmission vehicle for private property (thus requiring female sexual monogamy to ensure the husband's legitimate heirs). Religion, which enforces mindless subordination to "higher authority" and is responsible for so much guilt and misery, will wither quickly through education once its state props are kicked away. And in a world of plenty, most of the misery and despair which seeks solace in religion will be gone.

Until then, different periods of upheaval will result in some surges forward and some periods of reaction in the struggle for human freedom. Thus, following the Kinsey reports of 1948 and 1953, instead of a blossoming of sexual possibilities in the U.S., down came the ax of the hideous witchhunts of the McCarthy years, as not only Communists but homosexuals and lesbians were relentlessly purged and ostracized from society. Many thousands of gays were also kicked out of their jobs and some even committed suicide, as an important new book by David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), details. The soldiers returning after World War II expected their jobs back, so women were pushed out of the factories and told to just be little dependent housewives again.

A decade later, seething resentments broke out. Black World War II veterans, used to fighting gun in hand, weren't about to be pushed around again by Jim Crow laws. This kicked off the civil rights movement for black freedom. The U.S. became embroiled in the long, losing Vietnam War. A generation was inspired by the heroic battles of the North Vietnamese fighters and rebellious guerrilla leaders like Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba, who successfully challenged the U.S. empire. In the 1960s to 1970s there were, briefly, some fruits of "sexual liberation"—women got "the Pill" and abortion rights, the gay liberation movement took off—as broad political radicalization led to greater freedom in the personal sphere. This died down as the U.S. managed to extricate itself, albeit badly wounded, from Vietnam.

Today's reactionary climate is conditioned by a long ebb in class struggle and the historic defeat of the working class in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and associated East European deformed workers states. But deep tensions remain and things change: the reactionary McCarthyite '50s exploded into the 1960s. The movie *Kinsey* is an encouraging sign of resistance to today's wave of reaction, a valuable history lesson and a reminder of the final goal of socialist revolution: the expansion of human knowledge and freedom, and its extension to every human being, in all aspects of life.■



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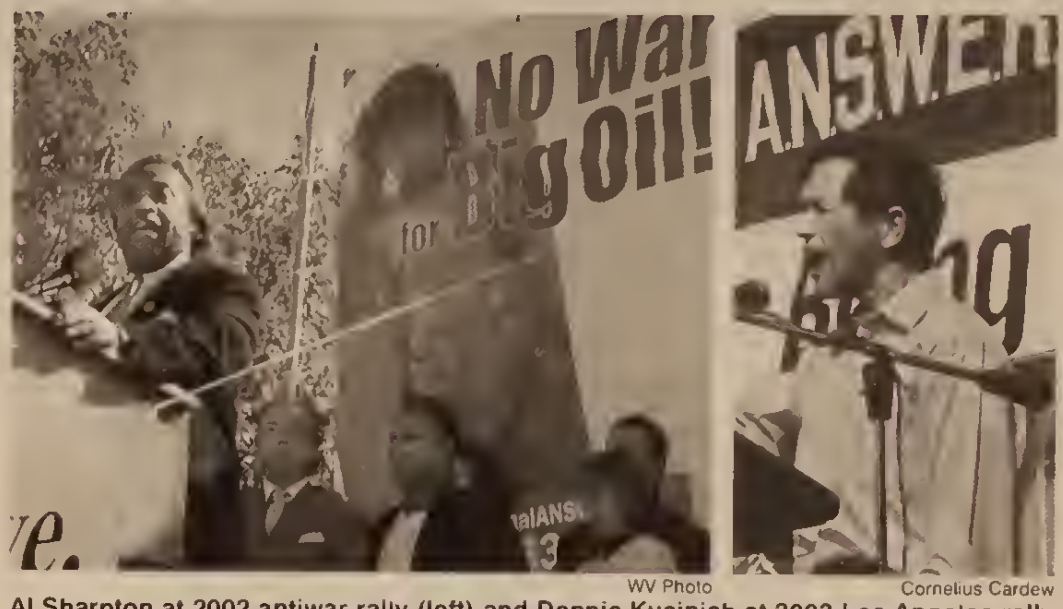
WORKERS VANGUARD

Why the Antiwar Movement Didn't Stop the War

On January 20, thousands of people are expected to turn up in Washington, D.C. to protest the inauguration of imperialist-in-chief George W. Bush. The counter-inaugural demonstration in Washington will have coinciding events in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and other cities under the slogans "Bring the troops home now, end the occupation of Iraq!" These protests—and others planned for March 19 and 20, the second anniversary of the invasion—are being billed as an opportunity for the antiwar movement to get back on its feet and display some of the vigor of its early days, when millions around the world protested U.S. imperialism's march toward brutal war against Iraq. So various organizations that composed the leadership of the antiwar movement at that time have been engaged in tortuously explaining why these huge demonstrations virtually disappeared once Bush declared victory in Iraq and embarked on the occupation of the country.



WV Photo | Cornelius Cardew

Al Sharpton at 2002 antiwar rally (left) and Dennis Kucinich at 2003 Los Angeles rally against Iraq occupation (right). Reformist organizers tailored protests to appeal to Democratic Party politicians.

Young Spartacus

Break with the Democrats, the Other Party of War and Racism!

It is necessary for those seeking an end to the bloody occupation of Iraq to review the history of the antiwar movement, and there's one big point you have to begin with: *It didn't work*. Internationally, people took to the streets in 2003 in the largest protests since the Vietnam antiwar movement. Yet a month after the massive international protests of February 15, U.S. troops invaded Iraq. These protests were an important and heartening expression of opposition, but they didn't delay the war's relentless onslaught for even a day. The point must be drawn from this experience that you can't reform imperialism, which is the inevitably bloody expression of capitalism at its highest stage. Imperialist war will only disappear with the destruction of the capitalist system that breeds it.

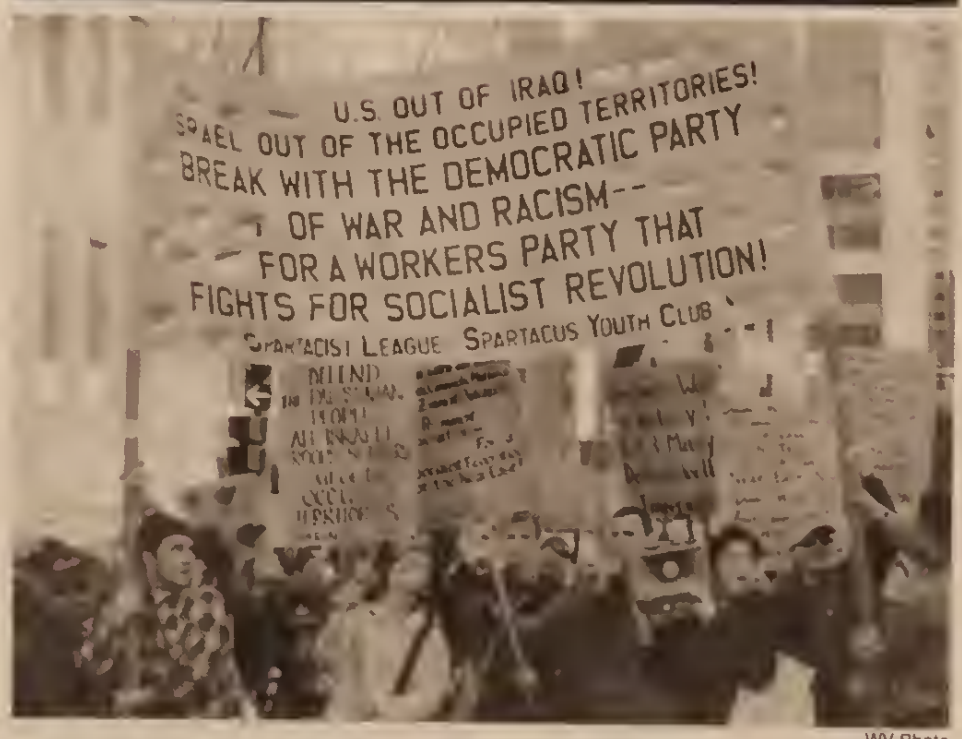
It *is* possible to wage blows against imperialist war, however; the question is, how? In early 2003, Scottish train drivers refused to haul munitions destined for a large NATO base. In Italy, trade unionists and antiwar activists blocked railway lines from being used to transport military convoys from a NATO base to one of the largest munitions depots in Europe. Such class-struggle actions are not simply "good" in the same way that all demonstrations against war are "good." Veteran Marxist Isaac Deutscher once remarked that one dock strike against the Vietnam War would have been worth a thousand peace demonstrations. Such class-struggle actions display the enormous social power of the proletariat. By having their hands directly on the means of production—the factories and mines, as well as transportation and other industries that make society run—workers have the power to cut off the flow of profits to the capitalists by withholding their labor. No other sector of society has that power.

But there are obstacles to unleashing this power. In the U.S., it is chiefly the trade-union bureaucrats with their allegiance to the capitalist system, primarily through the Democratic Party, who shackle the power of the working class, preventing it from effectively fighting for its own economic interests, much less against the depredations of U.S. imperialism. The current trade-union misleaders must be politically combatted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership.

It was precisely in order to bring about the understanding that only the working class has the power to overthrow the imperialist system that we intervened in the antiwar demonstrations and will intervene at the counter-inaugural demos on January 20. The organizations that have led the antiwar movement promote a program and practices that serve as *obstacles* to forging this consciousness.

As the U.S. was gearing up for war against Iraq, these groups called for the greatest possible unity of "all those who oppose the war." But U.S. society is divided into classes: the working class which produces the wealth on one side, and its enemy—the capitalist ruling class which appropriates this wealth—on the other. Such calls for "unity" against the war have a practical *class* content and result: they call to "unite" the working class and oppressed with their own oppressors, members of the capitalist class who, for their own reasons, oppose the war. Instead of instilling in the working class the understanding that it must fight independently of the capitalists in its own interests, such calls for "unity" perpetuate the lie that there are "good" capitalists that can be relied upon to oppose imperialist war. In this way, the reformists perpetuate the capitalist system rather than planting the seeds to destroy it.

U.S. Out of Iraq Now!



WV Photo

SL/SYC contingent at March 2004 anti-occupation demonstration in Chicago.

Building an Antiwar Movement the Democrats Can Call Their Own

An article on the lessons of the antiwar movement appears in the 19 November 2004 issue of *Socialist Worker*, the newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO). That piece, by Meredith Kolodner, entitled "Rebuilding the Antiwar Movement," doesn't address the not-insignificant point that the antiwar movement didn't stop the war. However, it unwittingly highlights the logical outcome of "unity" of all those who oppose the war: channeling opposition to the war into the pro-war Democratic Party. Kolodner wistfully comments:

> "Many had argued in the run-up to the election that we should not counterpose voting for Kerry and building the movement—that, in fact, we could do both, and further, that the election could help to mobilize the movement. But the reality was—as it has been so many times before in the history of social movements and the Democratic Party—that it was a choice, and the movement chose voting for Kerry over building its own forces. The pro-war candidate replaced the movement as the 'liberal' position on the war. And so as the city of Falluja is facing a widely advertised slaughter, the movement is scrambling to respond."

But participants in the antiwar movement didn't just suddenly and spontaneously "choose" to vote for the Democrats and therefore disappear from protest. Ultimately, there are two ways you can seek to protest imperialist war: you can look to the working class and oppressed to fight independently of the capitalist class, or you can appeal to "antiwar" capitalist politicians to help build the "biggest possible movement." The demonstrations in 2003 built by the various liberal pacifist coalitions—the International ANSWER coalition headed by the pseudo-socialist Workers World Party and its recent spin-off, the Party for Socialism and Liberation; the ISO-backed United for Peace and Justice coalition; and the Not In Our Name coalition organized by the Revolutionary Communist Party—took the latter path.

They refused to call for the defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism—i.e., to side with neocolonial Iraq and stand for the military defeat of U.S. imperialism—as this would have alienated liberal Democrats who agreed with the aim of the war but differed over the means. By emphasizing calls like "No to Bush's war," they tailored the protests to be acceptable to the "antiwar" Democratic politicians whom they courted for their speakers' platforms, like Al Sharpton, Cynthia McKinney, Jesse Jackson and Dennis Kucinich. Such politicians perform a particularly valuable service to U.S. imperialism: they keep protest safely within the framework of the capitalist electoral system. By building a movement designed primarily as a

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 840 GCIU C-701 21 January 2005

Defend the Iraqi Peoples! U.S. Out Now!

The much-ballyhooed dawn of democracy in Iraq, scripted to rise with the elections currently scheduled for January 30, resembles something from horror-film schlockmeister Wes Craven. But this isn't a movie. In Iraq the blood and body parts, the chaos and devastation are simply the all too real costs of the U.S. imperialist occupation. By reputable estimates, there have been at least 100,000 civilian casualties since the invasion of Iraq (the Pentagon refuses to count Iraqi dead). The hellfire unleashed by the American forces in the all-out onslaught on Falluja last November utterly failed to accomplish the military objective of securing that city. In the month following that assault, 20 American troops lost their lives on that supposedly insurgency-free terrain.

That once-modern city is now depopulated, two-thirds of its 250,000 residents having fled in the face of threats that all who remained would be fair game for the imperialist invaders. The *Detroit News* (31 December 2004) describes Falluja: "Lakes of sewage in the streets. The smell of corpses inside charred buildings. No water or electricity. Long waits and thorough searches by U.S. troops at checkpoints. Warnings to watch out for land-mines and booby traps. Occasional gunfire between troops and insurgents." Those of the city's former inhabitants who return will find a ghetto where they are forced to wear visible IDs issued by their conquerors and permitted to work on its reconstruction—the sole work likely to be available—only if cleared by U.S. authorities.

It's now "official"—no Weapons of Mass Destruction. Almost two years after the invasion, it is clear that U.S. forces have accomplished nothing except to further inflame resistance to the imperialist occupation. Powerful IEDs (improvised explosive devices) are now turning armored Humvees and Bradley vehicles into piles of scrap metal and flesh. Even the juggernaut of American armor, the Abrams tank, has been torn apart by these homemade bombs. The military finds itself increasingly, save for large-scale missions, confined to its bases, unable even to travel the 20-kilometer road linking Baghdad's airport to the capital's Green Zone. This road, linking two key American locations in Iraq, was declared too precarious and off limits first to British and then to American forces, who now must make it to town via helicopter (*Mother Jones*, 16 December 2004). The 22 dead and scores wounded in December's mess hall suicide bombing give testimony to the fact that the imperialist fortresses are far from secure. These blows to the U.S. pretensions to rule the globe can only be welcomed by the world's toiling masses.

Brutal Neocolonial Occupation of Iraq

Saman/Newsday

American soldiers arrest Iraqi in Mosul. Faced with spreading insurgency, U.S. forces seek to terrorize the Iraqi population into submission.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has been trying to diffuse the shock and horror over the torture scandals by painting them as aberrations. Most recently, the sadistic ghoul Charles Graner was convicted for his "excesses." But as Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote in a 3 May 2004 column: "The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America." Indeed, Lieutenant Graner's defense, as spelled out by his lawyer, was that "he was simply following orders and using lessons from his civilian life as a prison guard to try to maintain discipline in a war zone" (*New York Times*, 11 January). Graner, whose ex-wife repeatedly sought court protection against his physical abuse, was a prison guard at State Correctional Institution-Greene in Pennsylvania, where Mumia is held on death row. A prisoner there filed a lawsuit alleging that in 1998 Graner and several other guards put a razor blade in his food. When the prisoner's mouth filled with blood and he screamed for help, the guards beat him, and one yelled, "shut up, n----r, before we kill you" (*Washington Post*, 5 June 2004).

But despite all the government's attempts, the fact cannot be covered up that such torture wasn't just the work of underlings but came from the top—specifically mandated by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, with the blessing of George W. Bush. The "legal" apologia for the torture was provided by White House counsel Alberto Gonzales, who seems assured of appointment as Attorney General with scant opposition from Democrats in Congress.

Electoral Facade for Bloody Occupation

Stymied by the ferocity of the resistance, the Pentagon is now considering reviving "the Salvador option" in Iraq by employing Special Forces-directed squads made up of Shi'ite militiamen and Kurdish *pesh merga* forces to target Sunni "bad guys" and their supporters. During the civil war in El Salvador, the U.S. bankrolled the right-wing regime against the leftist insurgents while dispatching Special Forces hitmen to organize paramilitary death squads to hunt down the rebel leaders and their supporters.

In Iraq, adding insult to injury, it was largely Shi'ite volunteers in the Iraqi National Guard who were used to search the houses in Sunni Fallujа in the aftermath of the imperialist devastation of that city. In the four of Iraq's 18 provinces with large concentrations of Sunnis (and which contain more than 50 percent of Iraq's population) the level of resistance has compromised the January 30 elections.

Many fear that reduced Sunni participation will assure a subsequent government heavily dominated by Shi'ite and Kurdish politicos and set the stage for a civil war. Perhaps, but that stage was set by the American imperialist invasion and the overthrow of their onetime ally, Saddam Hussein. Iraq is not a coherent nation but an entity—composed of Shi'ite and Sunni Arabs and Kurds, among others—carved out by the British imperialists following World War I. Absent a revolutionary workers party that can overcome the religious and ethnic divisions, a dictatorial glue, like the Hussein regime, is required to bind together under capitalism the various peoples within Iraq.

There are few real options available to

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How Marx Became a Marxist

PAGE SIX

Y Mebius

LENIN

On the 100th Anniversary of the 1905 Russian Revolution

Basil Blackwell Inc

TROTSKY

The following excerpts are taken from a January 1917 lecture by V.I. Lenin to the youth group of the Social Democrats (as socialists called themselves at the time) in Zurich on the twelfth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," which marked the beginning of the 1905 Russian Revolution. The lecture was delivered during the interimperialist slaughter of World War I and on the eve of the February 1917 Russian Revolution, which opened the road to the proletarian conquest of power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party later that year. The experiences and lessons of the 1905 Revolution were to prove critical to the victory of the 1917 October Revolution—1905 was a "dress rehearsal" for the 1917 workers' conquest of power.

At the time of his lecture, Lenin still believed that the tasks of a revolution in backward Russia were bourgeois-democratic, though led by the proletariat and its allies in the peasantry. On the other hand, in large part stemming from the experiences of 1905, Leon Trotsky advanced for Russia the theory of permanent revolution, centered on the understanding that in successfully carrying out the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution, the proletariat would also have to address the tasks of socialist revolution and the overthrow of bourgeois rule. The October Revolution confirmed Trotsky's analysis. In the course of events between February and October of 1917, Lenin arrived at the same conclusion as Trotsky on this question.

Today is the twelfth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," which is rightly regarded as the beginning of the Russian revolution.

Thousands of workers—not Social-Democrats, but loyal God-fearing subjects—led by the priest Gapon, streamed from all parts of the capital to its centre, to the square in front of the Winter Palace, to submit a petition to the tsar. The workers carried icons. In a letter to the tsar, their then leader, Gapon, had guaranteed his personal safety and asked him to appear before the people.

Troops were called out. Uhlans [lancers] and Cossacks attacked the crowd with drawn swords. They fired on the unarmed workers, who on their bended knees implored the Cossacks to allow them to go to the tsar. Over one thousand were killed and over two thousand wounded on that day, according to police reports. The indignation of the workers was indescribable....

Reading it *now*, this petition of uneducated, illiterate workers, led by a patriarchal priest, creates a strange impression. Involuntarily one compares this naïve petition with the present peace resolutions of the social-pacifists, the would-be socialists who in reality are bourgeois phrasemongers. The unenlightened workers of pre-revolutionary Russia did not know that the tsar was the head of the *ruling class*, the class, namely, of big landowners, already bound by a thousand ties with the big bourgeoisie and prepared to defend their monopoly, privileges and profits by every means of violence. The social-pacifists of today, who pretend to be "highly educated" people—no joking—do not realise that it is just as foolish to expect a "democratic" peace from bourgeois governments that are waging an imperialist predatory war, as it was to believe that peaceful petitions would induce the bloody tsar to grant democratic reforms.

Nevertheless, there is a great difference between the two—the present-day social-pacifists are, to a large extent, hypocrites, who strive by gentle admonitions to divert the people from the revolutionary struggle, whereas the uneducated workers in pre-revolutionary Russia proved by their deeds that they were straightforward people awakened to political consciousness for the first time....

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1905 Russian Revolution: Barricades on the Arbat, Moscow (top). Leaders of Petersburg Soviet during 1906 trial (above).

The proletarian struggle produced widespread ferment, often revolutionary movements among the peasant masses, fifty to a hundred million strong; the peasant movement had its reverberations in the army and led to soldiers' revolts, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000, went into the revolution; in this way, dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people....

Octoher and December 1905 marked the highest point in the rising tide of the Russian revolution. All the wellsprings of the people's revolutionary strength flowed in a wider stream than ever before. The number of strikers—which in January 1905, as I have already told you, was 440,000—reached over half a million in Octoher 1905 (in a single month!). To this number, which applies *only* to factory workers, must be added several hundred thousand railway workers, postal and telegraph employees, etc.

The general railway strike stopped all rail traffic and paralysed the power of the government in the most effective manner. The doors of the universities were flung wide open, and the lecture halls, which in peace time were used solely to befuddle youthful minds with pedantic professorial wisdom and to turn the students into docile servants of the bourgeoisie and tsarism, now became the scene of public meetings at which thousands of workers, artisans and office workers openly and freely discussed political issues....

The proletariat marched at the head of the movement. It set out to win the eight-hour day by revolutionary action. *"An Eight-Hour Day and Arms!"* was the fighting slogan of the St. Petersburg proletariat. That the fate of the revolution could, and would, be decided only by armed struggle was becoming obvious to an ever-increasing mass of workers.

In the fire of battle, a peculiar mass organisation was formed, the famous *Soviets of Workers' Deputies*, comprising delegates from all factories. In several cities these *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* began more and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organise Soviets of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies and to combine them with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

For a time several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local "republics." The government authorities were deposed and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies actually functioned as the new government. Unfortunately, these periods were all too brief, the "victories" were too weak, too isolated....

We must not he deceived by the present grave-like stillness in Europe. Europe is pregnant with revolution. The monstrous horrors of the imperialist war, the suffering caused by the high cost of living everywhere engender a revolutionary mood; and the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, and its servitors, the governments, are more and more moving into a blind alley from which they can never extricate themselves without tremendous upheavals.

Just as in Russia in 1905, a popular uprising against the tsarist government began under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a democratic republic, so, in Europe, the coming years, precisely because of this predatory war, will lead to popular uprisings under the leadership of the proletariat against the power of finance capital, against the big banks, against the capitalists; and these upheavals cannot end otherwise than with the expropriation of the hourgeoisie, with the victory of socialism.

We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution. But I can, I believe, express the confident hope that the youth which is working so splendidly in the socialist movement of Switzerland, and of the whole world, will he fortunate enough not only to fight, but also to win, in the coming proletarian revolution.

—V.I. Lenin, "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution" (22 January 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 18 January.

No. 840 **21 January 2005**

Beslan Massacre and the Putin Regime

Independence for Chechnya! Russian Troops Out Now!

With the massacre of hundreds of hostages, half of them children, in Beslan, North Ossetia on 3 September 2004, Russia's savage war against Chechnya returned to world headlines. This three-day standoff, in which over 1,200 people were taken hostage, capped a chain of terrorist attacks. They began the night of August 24-25, when two airliners from the same Moscow airport were almost simultaneously blown out of the sky by suicide bombers, killing all 89 on board. Then, on August 30, a Moscow subway station was targeted by a suicide bomber, killing ten.

These attacks were a real gift to Russian president Vladimir Putin, who has regained a level of popular support for what was becoming a very unpopular war. Islamic fundamentalist Shamil Basayev, a longtime leader of the Chechen resistance, who first came to national prominence in 1995 with the seizure of some 2,000 hostages (according to UPI) in a hospital in southern Russia, claimed responsibility for the Beslan hostage taking in a written statement. Basayev also took responsibility for the 2002 hostage-taking in a Moscow theater. That attack was suppressed by Russian police using poison gas, resulting in the murder of at least 129 hostages.

These attacks are criminal from the viewpoint of the working class. Not only are they counterposed to the cause of Chechen national rights, they embrace the same mentality as that of the racist rulers of the Russian capitalist government—identifying the multinational working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. In the case of Beslan, located in North Ossetia to the west of Chechnya, this can only lead to further interethnic bloodletting, with the historically Christian Ossetians pitted against the primarily Muslim Ingush and Chechen peoples. Formerly integrated schools in North Ossetia are reportedly being segregated by nationality since the massacre. Yet the hostage-takers' demand for Russian withdrawal from Chechnya is a just demand that has widespread support, even throughout Russia.

As proletarian internationalists, we are fundamentally opposed to all forms of bourgeois nationalism. We forthrightly oppose the Great Russian oppressor embodied in Putin & Co., as we militarily defend Chechnya against the Russian imperialist occupation. We are for proletarian action against Russia's war on the Chechen people. The fight for Chechen independence is essential to the interests of the multinational working people of Russia, who face continued attacks on their own lives by the very state power that is carrying out the war in Chechnya.

At the same time, we extend not an iota of political support to the nationalism of Chechen resistance leaders like Shamil Basayev, who promotes reactionary Islamic fundamentalism, or to President-in-exile Aslan Maskhadov. After participating in the successful 1994-96 resistance against Moscow and being elected president in January 1997 (after the Russians assassinated Chechen president Dudayev in April 1996), Maskhadov was driven from power when Russian troops rolled back into Chechnya in 1999. Today he seeks imperialist intervention and the enrichment of his own capitalist backers.

AP Gamma

Grozny: Russian soldiers threaten woman and child during neighborhood sweep. Ruins of Minutka Square, once Grozny's largest marketplace.

The war against Chechnya is a direct result of the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. We of the International Communist League were unique among the left in our forthright defense of the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and against the capitalist restoration led by Boris Yeltsin. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, Chechen independence was proclaimed. Russia invaded Chechnya in 1994 and by 1996 Chechnya had won de facto independence at the cost of 60,000 to 100,000 lives (based on data from human rights organizations), the vast majority civilians, as 6,000 Russian soldiers were sent home in body bags according to official figures, while estimates are as high as 14,000.

Estimates of the number of Chechen civilians killed in the first Chechen war of 1994-96 and the second war launched in 1999 range from about 100,000 to 200,000—out of a total population estimated at 300,000 to 450,000! Chechnya's cities and towns have been leveled. Industrial sites like Grozny's Krasny Molot factory, which before the Chechen wars was Europe's biggest producer of oil drilling equipment, are now piles of brick and refuse. Documented examples of Russian Army methods of terror and collective punishment are as extreme as they are barbaric. Chechen men have been chained to armored trucks and forced to watch while both female and male companions are raped and sodomized by Russian soldiers, as reported by *Newsweek*. In some villages, everyone over the age of twelve was chained together and blasted to pieces with artillery, leaving their remains to be dragged off by packs of wild dogs. ***Russian troops out of Chechnya!***

AP

Beslan families mourn their dead after school massacre.

The Putin Regime: Repression and Bonapartism

During Putin's first term in office, he rammed through a new labor code that greatly restricted the rights of trade unions, in effect banning strikes. Putin predictably sought to use the Beslan massacre to increase his already considerable powers. Within days, he issued a proposal, which was duly passed, to end direct elections of Russian governors and other regional leaders. Putin can now appoint leaders, subject to ratification by regional parliaments. If the regional parliaments reject his appointees twice, he has the authority to disband them. More recently, Putin won overwhelming parliamentary support for a counterterrorism law that hands the Kremlin broad powers to declare states of emergency, restrict free speech and clamp down on the news media. The Beslan massacre also increased calls to end the moratorium on the death penalty that was enacted in 1996 as a condition for Russia joining the Council of Europe.

In the wake of Beslan, pogromist hysteria was whipped up against non-Slavic peoples from the Caucasus and Central Asia. Putin's nonstop media barrage against the "two-legged beasts" provided the backdrop for nationwide xenophobic attacks. In Moscow alone, 11,000 people were rounded up by state authorities, and 890 were deported in a one-day sweep. Vigilante auxiliaries to the police were organized nationally. In Ekaterinburg, five cafes frequented by refugees from the Caucasus were attacked by skinheads, killing one person and sending two to the hospital.

After the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Putin repackaged the repression in Chechnya as part of the "war against terrorism." Washington granted Putin a free hand in Chechnya in return for Russia withholding its veto of the UN Security Council Resolution authorizing the American invasion of Iraq in the spring of 2003. But this has its limits, as was seen recently in Ukraine, where Washington thumbed its nose at Putin by bankrolling the presidential candidate seeking closer ties with the West (see "'Democracy' Movement Made in U.S.A.—Ukraine: Robber Barons and Nationalist Demagogues Fall Out," *WV* No. 838, 10 December 2004). While turning a blind eye to Russia's war in Chechnya, both the U.S. and its close ally, Britain, have extended political asylum to exiled former cabinet ministers of Maskhadov's government. Washington is intent on checking Russian hegemony along the periphery of the former Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, a bevy of right-wingers in Washington have formed an American Committee for Peace in Chechnya (ACPC), whose message, in the words of the *New Left Review* (November-December 2004), is "that authoritarianism is in Russians' DNA and that Putin would do well to learn the lessons de Gaulle drew from Algeria." The ACPC includes former national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and former secretary of state Alexander Haig as well as neoconservatives like Pentagon advisor Richard Perle and former CIA head James Woolsey. The ACPC calls for a

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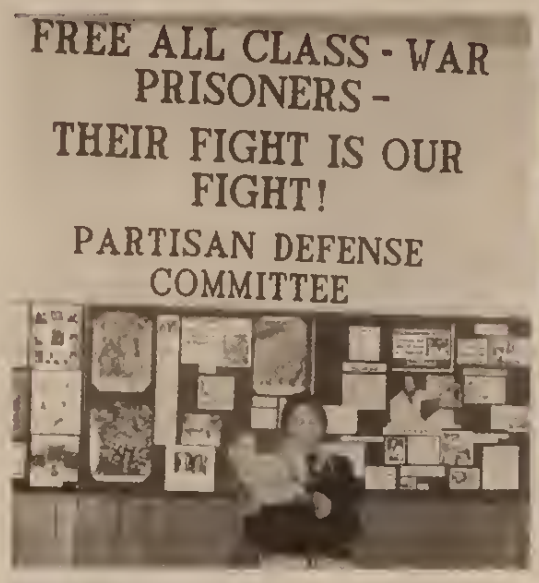
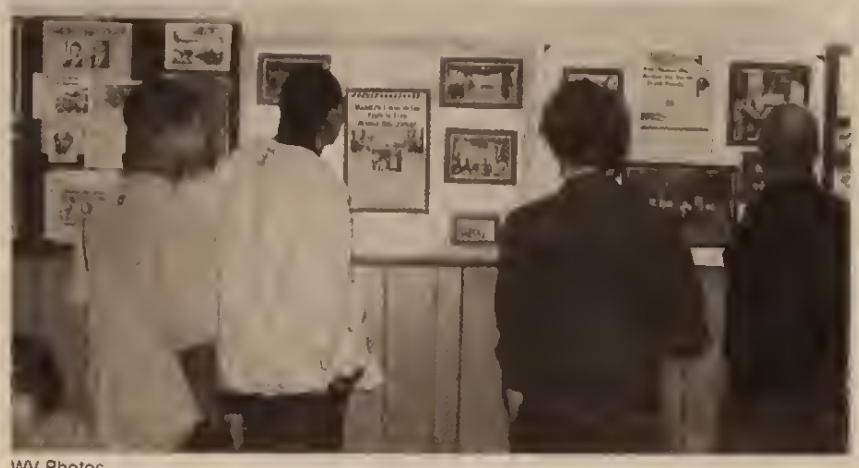
19th Annual Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal

Thousands Raised for Class-War Prisoners



Clockwise from above: Bern Nix Trio and friends in NYC; radio host and former member of League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Norm Richmond, in Toronto; youth learn about class-war prisoners at Chicago benefit; Spartacus Youth Club speaker in Chicago.



WV Photos

Spartacist Canada

The Partisan Defense Committee's 19th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, held this past December in six cities in the U.S. and Canada, raised over $10,000 after expenses. The PDC addressed trade-union locals across the country, receiving pledges of over $1,600 earmarked for the legal defense of Mumia Ahu-Jamal. Some of the unions that contributed to Jamal's defense were Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 308 in Chicago and 1179 in New York City and Bay Area's AFSCME Local 444. In attendance and amounts raised, this was a very successful year—hut the need for such defense efforts is even greater. America's foremost political prisoner, former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, remains on Pennsylvania's death row, as his legal appeals enter a crucial phase. Many other class-war prisoners have already served decades behind bars; others face decades more—while Bush and the Democrats' anti-immigrant "war on terror" targets the rights of all to dissent.

The PDC's annual appeal raised funds for Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal defense as well as for monthly stipends to 15 other class-war prisoners—trade-union militants, fighters for hlack freedom and opponents of imperialist and capitalist militarism, men and women who were singled out for standing up to racist capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Besides Mumia, these prisoners included: United Mine Workers union militant Jerry Dale Lowe, who was recently released from a halfway house; leftist activist Jaan Laaman of the New Left Ohio 7; Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison; Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa, former Black Panther supporters victimized by the FBI COINTELPO operation; Jamal Hart, Mumia Abu-Jamal's son, framed up by Philadelphia cops; Jamal Holiday, a young black man still in jail after the Republican National Convention protests; and eight MOVE membhers imprisoned since the Philadelphia cops' siege of their home in 1978: Chuck Africa, Michael Davis Africa, Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Orr Africa, Edward Goodman Africa and William Phillips Africa.

The PDC holiday fundraisers were an expression of solidarity and showed how to organize to continue the light against the racist rulers' reactionary onslaught. The benefits were a real "tribune of the people," where black, white, Asian and Hispanic activists, veterans of the '60s and young students, gay activists and trade unionists, came together to hear about and fight for both old and new cases of urgent importance to the workers movement.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The New York City benefit this year featured live jazz with the Bern Nix Trio, Oliver Lake, Roy Campbell, Anthony Coleman and other guest artists. It drew a diverse crowd, including many youth and trade unionists from the Transport Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, 1199 SEIU, DC 37 and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, among others. Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart addressed the crowd, describing the ominous implications of the government's terrorism smear and prosecution of her, her paralegal and translator (see speech on facing page). She also emphasized the importance of Mumia Ahu-Jamal. "It's still about Mumia," the veteran movement lawyer said. "Mumia is the point person. He is the most egregious case. He is the one that speaks. And when he speaks, it's all of us speaking, with his words and his wisdom, just as was read here tonight."

This year's appeals focused on Mumia Abu-Jamal, an eloquent "voice of the voiceless." His frame-up and death sentence are what the racist death penalty in America is all about. Despite the formal overturning of his death sentence, despite the sworn confession of the real killer, the recantation of prosecution witnesses, irrefutable proof of the trial judge's racist bias and the prosecution's racist jury-rigging, coercion of witnesses, doctoring and concealing evidence, Jamal remains in the shadow of Pennsylvania's death chamber. Part of building for the New York City Holiday Appeal was a December 7 presentation at Columbia University by PDC staff counsel and former counsel for Mumia, Rachel Wolkenstein, on the fight to free Mumia. The Spartacus Youth Club co-sponsored and helped build the event, which was hosted by the Columbia Political Union and also co-sponsored by the Black Students Organization, Amnesty International and the International Socialist Organization, among others.

Also speaking in New York was Monique Code, representing Mumia Abu-Jamal's son Jamal Hart. Hart was imprisoned and given a 15½-year sentence on bogus firearms possession charges for speaking out in his father's defense. After eight years behind bars, Hart was recently transferred to a prison in Ray Brook, New York, near the Canadian border and far from his family and supporters in Philadelphia.

Code read from impassioned greetings to the benefit by Hart, who wrote:

> "These capitalistic rulers collectively remain in love with their Confederate flag.... The warriors still held in captivity such as Hugo Pinell, Sundiata Acoli, Ruchell Magee, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, and my father Mumia Abu-Jamal, who by the way, still resides on death row in the Pennsylvania hellholes, will ultimately be freed by people who remain steadfast in solidarity. We must NOT give up hope.... I sincerely urge you to join this movement that supports a class war and the freedom of all political prisoners."

Unionists and Youth

"For those who came to the Holiday Appeal for the first time, I'm sure this was a unique experience: black and white, young and old, all participating in a political meeting on an equal basis," commented a veteran PDC organizer in Chicago, where the social at the United Electrical Hall drew some 85 people. The PDC built strongly for the Chicago event at union meetings, including making a presentation at steel workers Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana. Despite devastation of the steel industry, there are still thousands of steel workers who are a force to be reckoned with. Other trade-union locals where presentations were made included Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6, UAW Local 551's Civil Rights Committee and the regional UAW Civil Rights Committee.

Speaking at the Chicago benefit was a young anarchist, Jeremy Hammond, whom the PDC defended following his arrest at the 27 June 2004 Gay Pride Parade. Hammond and two others were seized by cops for defending their march from anti-gay bigots who attacked the parade. Recalling the IWW's slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," the PDC has a long history of mohilizing labor to defend gay rights. Chicago is the city, after all, where the PDC and Spartacist League mobilized hundreds of steel workers, auto workers, transit workers and others in defense of Gay Pride Day in 1982 when Nazis threatened it.

In Toronto, Canada, the Partisan Defense Committee's first public benefit was held at the Steelworkers Hall, where trade unionists and youth attended. The Holiday Appeal was built at left and labor events and in black neighborhoods, where a local barher, wearing a Mumia Abu-Jamal pin, invited organizers to give a rap to the customers. At the benefit, guest speaker Norman Otis Richmond, a prominent black activist and radio host, spoke about Jamal and his own experiences as a member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit.

Greetings were sent to the benefit by Dave Bleakney, National Union Representative of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. The greetings noted that the CUPW has supported the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal for years:

> "Our union has sent letters, passed resolutions and participated in demonstrations. It is no secret to us that this is an eloquent class warrior who finds himself caged for telling the truth in a system that cannot afford the truth.
>
> "Postal workers know this truth well. Our former national President once went to jail for several months for mistakenly assuming that the right to strike and negotiate actually existed in Canada."

Labor must practice class solidarity, he wrote, stating it must "forget living in a dream world that it is business as usual. Business as usual has meant genocidal policies against indigenous people. It has meant slavery and death for millions. It has meant unions are on the defensive. And it means that yet another one of ours is languishing on death row."

International Cases: Canada, Israel and Ireland

Greetings were read to the Toronto gathering from Sophie Harkat, the wife of Mohamed Hark it, one of five detainees held without rights since December 2002 by the Canadian government under

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Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Benefit

The Partisan Defense Committee was honored to have Lynne Stewart speak at our New York Holiday Appeal on 10 December 2004. Lynne Stewart, her translator Mohammed Yousry and her paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar, are the targets of an ominous "terrorism conspiracy" frame-up by the U.S. government stemming from their legal defense of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman following the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The government vendetta against Stewart threatens the basic democratic rights of *everyone*. If an attorney cannot defend the accused without being legally prosecuted for doing so, then nobody will have the right to legal defense.

Lynne's remarks are perfectly in the spirit of the PDC's tradition of nonsectarian defense work and open political debate. We oppose all the U.S. government's frame-ups and victimizations, including against reactionary Islamic fundamentalists. At the same time, we recognize that what these fundamentalists stand for has nothing to do with anti-imperialism and is counterposed to the interests of working people and the oppressed, much less human progress more generally. Our class-war prisoners, regardless of their political views, are among those who represent the cases and causes of working people—fighters against racist injustice, against U.S. imperialism, against the encroachments on the rights of labor by capital.

With regard to the mainly Muslim and other immigrants rounded up after September 11 and the Guantánamo prisoners, we say: ***Free all the detainees!*** Our denunciation of the government prosecution of Abdel Rahman for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, was, sadly, all too prescient:

> "The World Trade Center bombing trial and the conspiracy case against Sheik Rahman is being used to whip up an anti-Arab terrorism scare whose purposes range from whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to reviving discredited sedition laws and intimidating all those who fall out of step with the government. We have no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, but we nevertheless defend those who were caught in the web of government provocation against this witchhunt prosecution which aims to cover up the government's crimes. The 'conspiracy' and 'sedition' laws exist to be used against striking unionists, leftists and oppressed minorities, while the conspirators in power in Washington go free."
>
> —"FBI Provocateurs in World Trade Center Bombing," *WV* No. 591, 7 January 1994

Drop the charges against Lynne Stewart, Mohammed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

* * *

Well, they told me I was invited to a party [laughter]. And indeed it is a party. And then they told me, you just have to speak for maybe five minutes. Well, I'm going to differ with that, because as I look around this room, I need more than five minutes to just recognize—and I'm not going to say "thank"—but recognize the supporters who have shown up at the courtroom, who have stopped me and wished me well, all of the people in this room whose hearts and thoughts are with us in this trial, and with this case, and who recognize, as comrades, the real importance of an attack upon lawyers, and the role that lawyers—even though we may hate them at times [laughter]—do play in the movement. When the chips go down, and you're sitting in that police station with maybe your head feeling not quite so good from the end of a nightstick, you want somebody that's going to get in there and intercede on your behalf.

And let me tell you, this case is about making sure that there's nobody to call, that nobody will show up, that nobody will come to defend the righteous who protest, the righteous who take political action, or anything else, because the government wants to control that. And when I say "control that," I don't mean calling

WV Photo

Lynne Stewart addressing NYC Holiday Appeal benefit, December 10.

the lawyer and saying "do this and that," but control by means of rules and regulations, by "dos" and "do not." And most of all, by saying to the bar, if you don't obey *our* rules, we will get you. We will get you like we got Lynne Stewart.

That's why I address you as comrades, because this is not about me personally. This is really about the movement and where we're going, and where we have to go. I was thinking about Mumia. I spoke last night, as some of you know, at the Mumia Coalition, and I'm thinking about what I said about the judge in Mumia's case, the judge who said, "Well, innocence is no defense." No? So then we have to say, "Well, what is a defense in this country, if innocence is not a defense?" The people in this room well know. What is a defense? If you come from the upper classes, that's a defense. If your skin is the right color, that's a defense. If you have a lot of money, regardless of what class you come from, that's a defense [applause]. It's not a defense to be innocent. It's not a defense to hold the Constitution out there. And that's what we fight. And that's what we make them be honest about.

I've been on trial now for eight months. I regret most not being out there to do the work, to pick up the work, as Safiya Bukhari, who was a great worker for prisoner rights, said. I looked at your table over there, Jaan Laaman, Ray Levasseur—I defended the Ohio 7, met them. My client was Richard Williams, who's currently at Butner [Federal Correctional Institution], currently undergoing chemotherapy for cancer that they just happened to discover. The political prisoners are getting older. They need our support. We are indeed defined by these political prisoners, and whether or not we have the will to get them to a place of freedom.

But you know, it's still about Mumia. Mumia is the point person. His is the most egregious case. He is the one that speaks. And when he speaks, it's all of us speaking, with his words and his wisdom, just as were read here tonight. And as I said, my greatest regret, it may sound strange, is not the 40 years I'm facing, not the angst that goes into that, but really not being out here to do the work. To do the work that lawyers do, to do the work fighting for the rights of people, keeping those conditions lawsuits, keeping them on their toes, making them do the right thing.

People like Ray Levasseur, a working-class guy who went to Vietnam, who got religion there—when I say religion, I mean politics [laughter]—came back and opened a bookstore up in Portland, Maine, set up a bail fund for use of poor people to get folks out of jail, and eventually ended up, because of the attention, mainly, but also the threats to his life, went underground, and was of course arrested many years later. He served 20 years in prison, and now as he himself writes, he is now a retired soldier, living in Portland, Maine. It is folks like you, and the Partisan Defense Committee, and the money that comes in every month, that's what keeps those folks alive.

I can also say to you: write to these people, because I tell you, *you* are enriched by their correspondence, and they can never have enough from the outside. I know I have never visited a so-called political prisoner, or a prisoner of war, that I didn't leave feeling that I had had the visit, not them. They are really special people. They are people that were out there, and now they have honed their outlooks by years and years of dealing with the prison system. Not an easy task.

But as for me, we're winding down. I'm in my endurance mode. We're hopefully going to get to the summations and charge. I do still maintain great hope in the jury system. It does depend on the climate, as one of my lawyer friends reminded me today. But I do believe there can be nothing probably more communal than 12 citizens who are complete strangers coming together to decide what are the facts of a case. While we know how the people of this country are written upon by media, how they are written upon by just the facts of their daily lives, we still hold out the hope that ordinary people coming together can make an important decision in a fellow human being's life, can do that openly and honestly. And we believe with all our hearts that they will find us not guilty [applause].

So once again, because I don't want to stop the party, I am very happy to be here. I am so happy to recognize so many people who have meant so much. The trial goes on; we're over there at 40 Centre Street in the same courtroom as the Rosenbergs were in. And whatever your politics are, or were, or could be, this is a case worth defending. We feel we're not going to end up like Julius and Ethel—I heard "hope not"...we're not going to hope even—we are *not* going to end up there because we have taken the aggressive stance [applause].

I spent three weeks on that witness stand explaining to the jury how we do the work we do, what it is all about. How we are guided, not by rules and regulations set out by the Bureau of Prisons, but how we are guided by ethical rules that guide our productivity, the most important of which is *to zealously defend*. And in that we are not answerable, we are autonomous in our decision-making, and how that works and why it works.

And Lord knows, I'm no Islamic fundamentalist [laughter]. But I will say to this assembled group, at some risk, that I think that when we talk about political prisoners, we have to recognize that there are almost a hundred Muslims who are there, and they were framed up. Certainly Sheik Omar was framed by the U.S. government, acting in conjunction with the Egyptian government. And while I don't adopt his politics—that's for sure—I still am enough of a believer in self-determination to say that we are going to have to address international problems such as this, and not be so narrow that we can only say we'll take our political prisoners, but not *those* political prisoners [applause]. Most of these Muslims are held in a special wing of Florence, Colorado [Administrative Maximum Unit Prison (ADX)]. It was built after 9/11. Florence, as most of you may know, is the most repressive federal jail. It is small rooms and dog runs and no human contact whatsoever.

I do want to say that I thank everyone for coming tonight, for putting up with this longer speech than I was scheduled to give, and I would ask you to come to court. I would ask you particularly to come to court when we do the summations. Michael Tigar is worth the price of admission, which is free. He's worth a great deal more than that to me, because he is fearless. He is not afraid of my politics. He is not afraid to have put that out in front of a jury, that when an oppressed person defends himself, and may be forced to use violence against an oppressor, that is not only to be recognized; it is to be commended [applause]. So I urge you to keep up with the Web site. It's very simple: lynnestewart.org. Come out to court if you have some time.

We're [presenting] the co-defendants' case. It's a lot more interesting than the government's case, which, as the people who were there know, was endless. There was not one live person as a witness, except a reporter from Egypt, who was so frightened up there he could hardly testify. Everything else, wiretaps, videotapes, pictures, newspaper clippings. We

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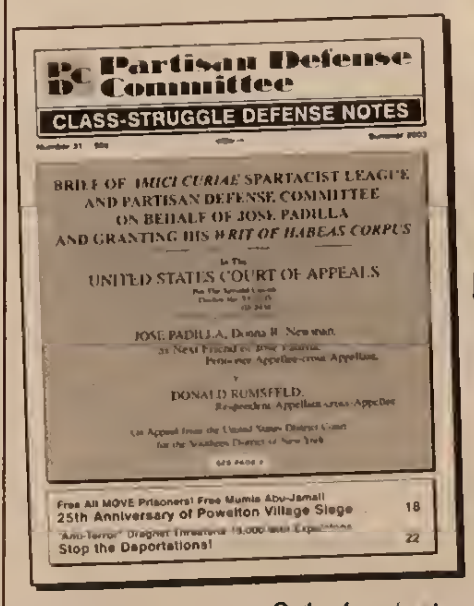

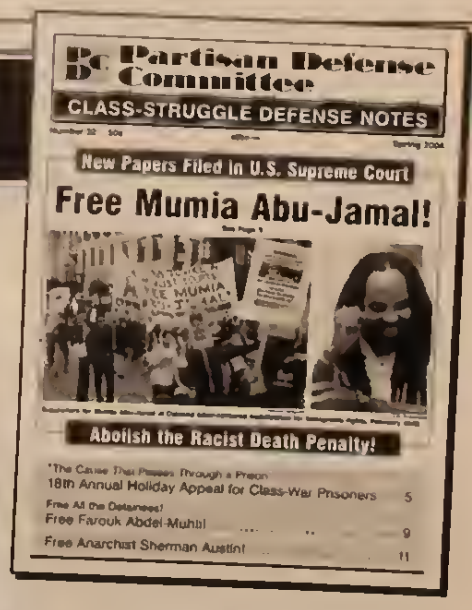

No. 31, Summer 2003
50¢ (24 pages)

Marxists defend citizenship rights! *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 31 reprints in its entirety the *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals by the PDC and the Spartacist League in defense of Jose Padilla.

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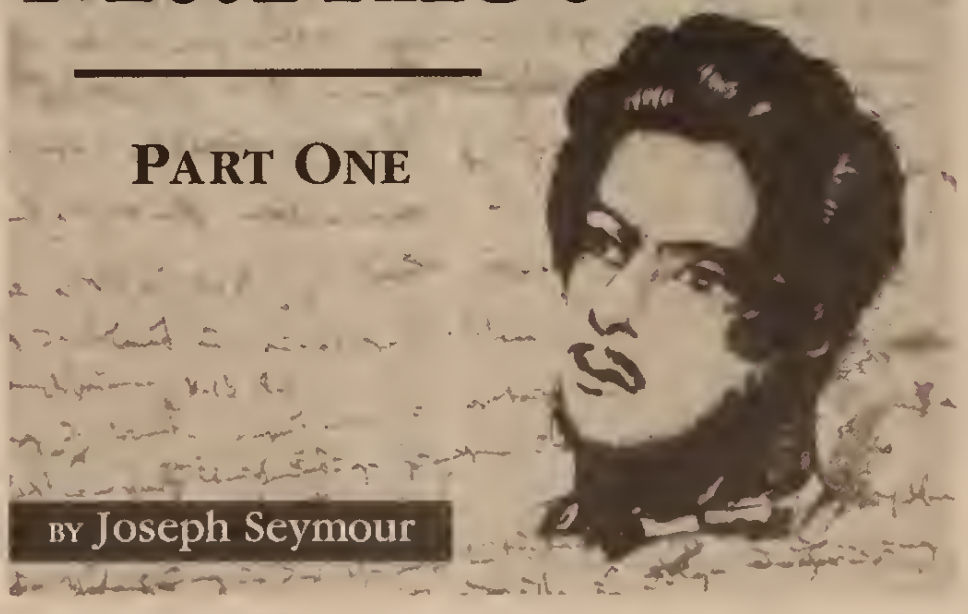
Young Spartacus

How Marx Became a Marxist

PART ONE



Young Spartacus graphic: drawing of Marx by H. Bach

BY Joseph Seymour

We print below the first part of an educational given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Twelfth National Conference of the SL/U.S. held last summer.

Becoming a professional revolutionary of the Marxist persuasion almost always involves an intellectual challenge. You have to learn to think about the world in a fundamentally different way than when you first came to social and political consciousness.

Sometimes it also involves a personal challenge of one kind or another. For example, one's parents may strongly disapprove of this particular career choice. This was definitely not what they wanted and expected for their son or daughter. For those of you who have faced that particular personal challenge, you're in very good company. Throughout her life, Marx's mother believed that her son had wasted his great talents on that communist nonsense. It is said that she once exclaimed: "If only Karl had made some capital instead of just writing about it."

The term "dialectical materialism" was devised by George Plekhanov, often called the founding father of Russian Marxism, as a capsule formula for the Marxist worldview. Dialectics or dialectical understanding is *not* a mysterious concept, although it has been subjected to a great deal of mystification, not least by professed Marxists. In the course of the faction fight with Burnham and Shachtman over the Russian question in 1939-40, Trotsky commented: "What does this terrible word 'dialectics' mean? It means to consider things in their development, not in their static situation" ("On the 'Workers' Party" [August 1940]).

In the most general sense, dialectics signifies that what exists at present and will exist in the future is determined and conditioned by the entire prior course of historical development or, in some cases, retrogression from it. Change is caused by the interplay of contradictions, tensions, antagonistic elements inherited from the past; the remote past as well as the more recent past.

One of Sigmund Freud's favorite aphorisms is that the child is the father of the man. This is a dialectical approach to individual psychology. How one feels, thinks and acts is strongly influenced by one's early childhood experience, especially one's relations with one's parents or parental figures. Someone may wake up one morning and say to himself: "I really hate what my life has become. I hate what I have become. I want to be happy and successful." Who doesn't? Unfortunately, it doesn't work like that. You cannot wipe out your entire past experience and reconstruct your life and personality anew according to some preferred model. There is no such thing as being born again. That is true for individuals. It is true for societies. It is true for the non-human natural world.

Like everything else in the world, the origins and also subsequent development of Marxism can only be understood dialectically. As Marx himself stated in this regard: "The biography of a single individual can in no way be separated from the biographies of previous and contemporary individuals: indeed, it is determined by them."

So to understand how Marx became a Marxist, we have to start by looking at the socioeconomic, political, cultural and intellectual universe which Marx encountered and entered as a young liberal idealist in western Germany in the mid-late 1830s. Marx grew up in a society in which a developing industrial economy, based on modern technology, both confronted and coexisted with a political and cultural complex inherited from the late medieval world.

When Marx was nine years old, Alfred Krupp established a steel-making foundry in the Ruhr city of Essen which later developed into one of the great industrial empires in the modern world. The year Marx graduated *gymnasium*, the equivalent of high school, in 1835, the first railroad was launched in Germany. Two years later, when Marx was at the University of Berlin, August Borsig founded a subsequently famous machinery works in that German city.

At the same time, despite its liberal facade, the Prussian state was a form of monarchical absolutism in which the political personality of the monarch mattered. When the old king died in 1840, he was succeeded by his son, a religious reactionary, who instituted a more repressive policy toward academic and intellectual life. One consequence was that Marx left Germany and moved to Paris, which was then the center of the communist and socialist movements. It was then and there that Marx himself became a communist.

Prussia was officially a "Christian state." Thus in order to practice law, Marx's father, who was a secularized and non-believing Jew, had to legally convert to Lutheranism and also change his name from Herschel to Heinrich.

Marx first entered the political scene in 1837 as part of a radical intellectual circle called the Left Hegelians or Young Hegelians. This movement had been initiated a few years earlier with the publication of a book titled *The Life of Jesus* by David Strauss. This was a work of biblical criticism which questioned whether Jesus had actually performed the miracles ascribed to him. It ignited an intellectual and political firestorm because decisive sections of the German ruling class, especially the Prussian landed nobility (the so-called Junkers), identified a skeptical, not to speak of hostile, attitude toward orthodox Christianity with the ideology of the French Revolution, with what was called "red republicanism." "First, they question the truth of the Bible; next they'll be calling for the execution of the king of Prussia." This was the mindset of the men who ruled Germany when Marx entered the political scene. In 1843, Marx published an important work in which he called for eliminating the "Middle Ages" in Germany because the heritage of the Middle Ages was so strongly present in the Germany of the day.

Contradictions of Enlightenment Thought

A basic premise of materialism is that external reality exists independently of our consciousness. Thus in understanding the intellectual development of the young Marx, it is useful to consider not only what he thought at the time but what others thought about him. When Marx was a member of the Left Hegelian movement, a close colleague, Moses Hess, wrote the following appreciation of him in a letter to a friend:

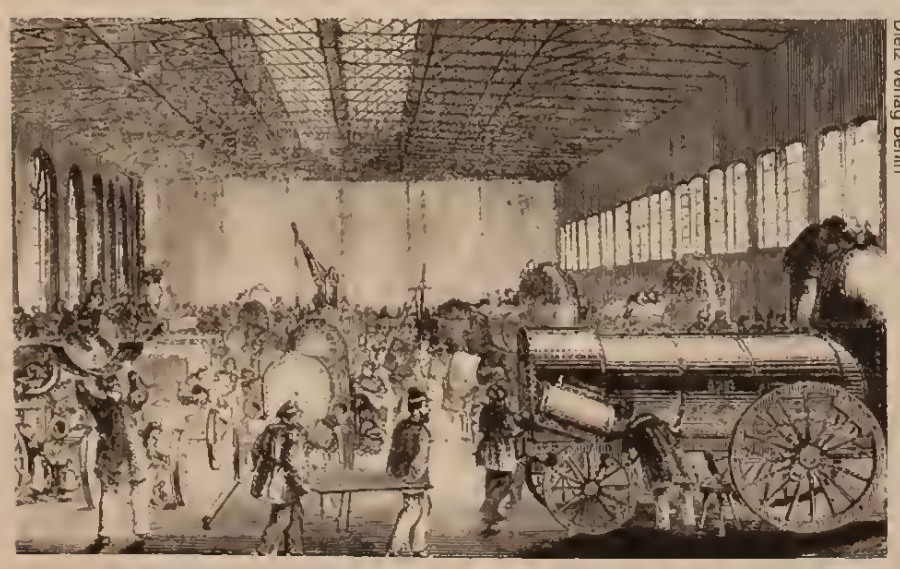
> "Dr Marx (that is my idol's name) is still a very young man—about twenty-four at the most. He will give mediaeval religion and philosophy their *coup de grâce*; he combines the deepest philosophical seriousness with the most biting wit. Imagine Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel fused into one person—I say fused not juxtaposed—and you have Dr Marx."
>
> —reproduced in David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Interviews and Recollections* (1981)

Hess was not simply saying that Marx was a very smart and very knowledgeable guy who had read and assimilated the ideas of the main progressive thinkers from the mid 18th-century French Enlightenment through the then-present day. He was saying something much more significant than that.

Why? Because Rousseau and Voltaire represented fundamentally different and indeed counterposed worldviews within the universe of progressive social thought. They were protagonists in the most famous debate in Enlightenment literature. The question was whether civilization was progressive or retrogressive, with Voltaire maintaining the former and Rousseau the latter.

Rousseau summarized his ideas thus: "Man is naturally good and that it is by institutions alone that men become evil." He maintained that man in a so-called state of nature was instinctively empathetic to the sufferings of fellow members of his species. However, the institution of private property had turned men against one another. Men in society had become murderously acquisitive, driven by greed and envy.

Rousseau himself was a deepgoing his-



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Germany in Marx's youth was contradictory. While capitalist industrialization occurred, backward monarchs remained in power, notably the King of Prussia, satirized in an 1847 cartoon by Friedrich Engels (right).

torical pessimist. He was a moralist critic of the existing social and political order in Europe. He believed that the large majority of men had become irremediably corrupted by millennia of civilization.

However, during the course of the French Revolution, Rousseau's ideas were in a sense inverted into a naive, world-conquering optimism. The leaders of the Jacobin regime like Robespierre and Saint-Just, who revered Rousseau, believed that the revolutionary transformation of institutions had brought about the moral regeneration of the French people. The establishment of a democratic republic had imbued the citizens of the French nation with the spirit of patriotism and virtue.

In opposition to Rousseau, Voltaire maintained that the betterment of humanity and the progress of society were centrally dependent upon the further development of science and technology. One of his early works was a popular exposition of Isaac Newton's theories of physics. If Voltaire had summarized his worldview in a sentence, it would have been something like: "Man is naturally ignorant, and it is only by the acquisition of knowledge that he ***gradually*** becomes enlightened."

Menzel

Bulloz

While Enlightenment thinker Voltaire (far left, dining with Frederick the Great of Prussia) looked toward the educated classes as the vehicle for change, the more egalitarian ideas of Rousseau (right) influenced leaders of the French Revolution.

But who are the social agents who will so enlighten the benighted mass of humanity? For Voltaire, they were and could only be benevolent and rational members of the upper classes and intellectuals, like himself, who could influence the ruling circles.

In addition to Rousseau and Voltaire, Hess mentions another leading figure of the French Enlightenment, Holbach, whose ideas influenced the young Marx. Holbach, who was a wealthy nobleman, was a thoroughgoing materialist, in effect an atheist. But he believed that such advanced views were the limited preserve of exceptional members of the upper classes like himself. "The people," he wrote, "reads no more than it reasons; it has neither the leisure nor the ability to do so."

So how did Marx fuse the democratic egalitarianism identified with Rousseau with the intellectual elitism of Voltaire and Holbach? To oversimplify, Marx combined the goal of Rousseau with the means of Voltaire by way of a dialectical conception of history derived from Hegel, while purged of the latter's idealist metaphysics.

The goal of communism is an egalitarian and harmonious society in which all men support the needs and interests of other men. But such a future society can come into being only through the overcoming of economic scarcity by qualitatively raising the level of production and labor productivity through the further progressive development of science and technology. Moreover, throughout the history of civilization prior to advanced industrial capitalism, raising the level and forces of production necessarily entailed the exploitation and oppression of the mass of humanity by a small class of property owners. In other words, private property and class-divided society were not a tragic historical mistake which could have been avoided if only people had known better.

A very good capsule statement of the Marxist worldview in this regard is to be found in one of Marx's lesser-known works, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (1863):

> "Although at first the development of the capacities of the *human* species takes place at the cost of the majority of human individuals and even classes, in the end it breaks through this contradiction and coincides with the development of the individual; the higher development of individuality is thus only achieved by a historical process during which individuals are sacrificed."

This conception fundamentally differentiates dialectical materialism from all variants of radical idealism, such as anarchism.

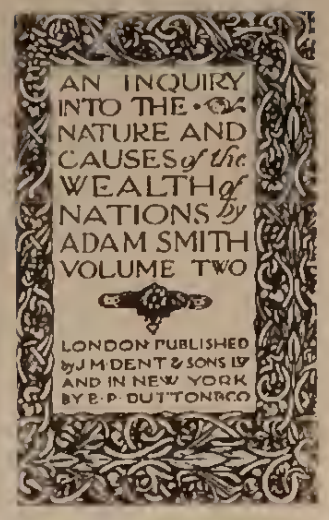
Liberalism, Communism, Socialism

In the period in which Marx and also Engels first came to political consciousness, the terms liberalism, communism and socialism were commonly used in conventional political discourse. However, liberalism, at least in emphasis, meant something significantly different than it does today, while communism and socialism meant something fundamentally different than today.

Central to the liberal worldview was a belief in raising the level of production

Der Spiegel

Adam Smith argued that a competitive, capitalist market economy would maximize labor productivity and increase national wealth.



and productivity through the application of science and technology. Scottish and English political economists—from Adam Smith in the late 18th century to David Ricardo in the early 19th to lesser lights like James Mill in Marx's formative years—were leading intellectual representatives of liberalism. They maintained that the wealth of nations—to use the title of Adam Smith's classic and seminal work—would be maximized by the institutional framework of a competitive market economy made up of a multiplicity of capitalist entrepreneurs. In order to maximize profits and avoid losses (and potential bankruptcy), such entrepreneurs would supposedly be compelled to continually reduce the costs of production through technical innovation.

What I want to emphasize here is that in this period it was liberalism, ***not*** communism or socialism, which was identified as centrally concerned with and committed to increasing what Marx later called "the forces of production." The intellectual hegemony of liberalism as a doctrine of economic production was a major factor that later caused Marx to write *Capital*. Throughout *Capital*, there are polemical arguments against David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill and other economic ideologists of the new bourgeois order. Some years ago, a perceptive Polish ex-Stalinist intellectual observed that Marx was the first major left-wing thinker who took on liberalism on its own chosen terrain, that of political economy.

What then of communism and socialism? Communism, both as a doctrine and movement, originated as an episode in the last phase of the French Revolution with Gracchus Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals in 1795-96. This was a movement of former left-wing Jacobins who had come to the conclusion that their principles could be realized only by a revolutionary dictatorship, brought to power through a popular insurrection, which would establish a communism of distribution and consumption.

That is, peasants would continue to grow crops on their small farms as before. Artisans—tailors, shoemakers, carpenters—would continue to produce their goods in small workshops as before. However, instead of selling these on the market they would be deposited in a kind of gigantic state-run warehouse system, and the government would distribute them on an egalitarian basis. Families with more children would receive larger houses and proportionally more food, clothing and the like.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) Marx wrote of the Babouvist movement in this way:

> "The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form."

This leveling-down conception of communism was necessarily conditioned by the pre-industrial character of French society at the time.

In the lengthy period of reaction in Europe following the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, what I have called the Jacobin communist tradition was perpetuated and promoted by one of the surviving leaders of the Babouvist movement, Philippe Buonarroti. In the late 1820s he published a book about it, including original documents, which became known as "the bible of revolutionaries." A little later I'm going to discuss Buonarroti's ideas in another context. But here I want to emphasize that even after the advent of industrial capitalism in continental West Europe in the 1820s, the term "communism" retained its programmatic connotation of a leveling-down. It evoked in popular consciousness, as well as among the ruling classes, the spirit and the image of the French Revolution in its most radical phase, that is, a violent uprising of the poor against the rich, of the have-nots against the haves.

In the period we're talking about, the difference between communism and socialism was more sharply delineated than it later became and is today. Whereas communism was insurrectionary—it meant red revolution—socialism was reformist and pacific at two fundamental levels. First, all socialist tendencies appealed to the supposedly benevolent and rational-minded members of the ruling class to promote their program. For example, Robert Owen, the foremost British socialist of the era, dedicated a section of his pioneer work, *A New View of Society*, written in 1813, to the prince regent of England.

Secondly, with the important exception of the Saint-Simonians (whom I'll discuss in a bit), all major socialist schools—the Owenites in Britain, the followers of Charles Fourier and Étienne Cabet in France—advocated a system of decentralized, self-governing communities based on economic cooperativism. Such socialist communes, so to speak, could be established and coexist within the overall framework of the developing capitalist economies of the day. People would be able to see for themselves in practice that socialist cooperativism was in every respect a better way to organize society. More and more people would form more and more socialist communes until, peacefully and gradually, they completely displaced the existing class-divided and exploitative society. In short, socialists sought to transform society through the force of

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York University
Student Centre, Room 315C
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

CHICAGO

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or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 9, 4:30 p.m.
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For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Bldg., Room 207
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or e-mail: tlit@took.ca

Marx...

(continued from page 7)

example rather than the force of force.

In the early 19th century, numerous attempts were actually made to establish socialist communities. Many of these attempts were made in the northern part of the United States with its relative political liberty, fluid social structure and cheap land. However, one of the most interesting and historically noteworthy attempts to form a socialist commune was made in, of all places, Romania. An eccentric Romanian landowner was an enthusiastic admirer of the ideas of Charles Fourier. So he set up a commune—it was called a *phalanstère*—for his peasants on Fourierist principles.

Fourier was a pioneer advocate of what was later called "free love." He opposed traditional marriage and sexual monogamy. It turned out that many of these young Romanian peasant men and women appreciated Fourier's ideas in this respect and practiced them. Pretty soon news of the strange and scandalous goings-on of this estate reached the ears of the Romanian Orthodox clergy and government authorities who were, of course, outraged. They organized a reactionary mob to attack and demolish this commune. I'm happy to report that the Fourierist peasants of Romania heroically defended their socialist commune. A small historic victory for our cause.

Between the French Revolution and Marx's formative years, the Industrial Revolution crossed the channel, so to speak, from Britain to France, Germany and elsewhere in continental West Europe. This opened up a historical possibility which did *not* previously exist and could not have been envisioned by even the most far-sighted progressive intellectual. It now became possible to envision the limitless expansion of material wealth available to *all* members of society, not just a small privileged class of property owners.

This idea was first developed in programmatic form by the followers of Saint-Simon after he died in 1825. Henri de Saint-Simon is usually and rightly described as an idiosyncratic genius. He was a wealthy French nobleman who claimed direct descent from Charlemagne, the founder of the early medieval French feudal state. Saint-Simon himself was a liberal and in the last phase of his life he became a leading spokesman and publicist for the bourgeois liberal opposition—bankers and industrial entrepreneurs—to the reactionary Bourbon monarchy.

However, he was a liberal imbued with the ideas of rational humanism. Even in this early stage of capitalism, he recognized what Marx would later call the anarchy of the market. There were periods in which industrial production declined instead of increasing. Factories went bankrupt, causing great suffering to their former workers, because the owner had miscalculated future market conditions. Useful inventions were not introduced into production because bankers and entrepreneurs would not take the financial risk. To solve these problems, Saint-Simon advocated what could be called centralized capitalist planning. That is, all financiers and industrialists should get together through the banking system and coordinate their operations so as to continually maximize production.

University of Minnesota

Henri de Saint-Simon's ideas influenced later socialist thought.

After Saint-Simon died, his followers took the next logical step. This is, they advocated a public institution that would take over all the factories, railroads, mines and other industrial resources and direct these so as to maximize the production of society in line with the progressive development of science and technology. In 1830, they published the *Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, the crux of which was:

> "A *social* institution is charged with these functions which today are so badly performed; it is the *depository* of all the instruments of production; it presides over the exploitation of all the material resources; from its vantage point it has a comprehensive view of the whole which enables it to perceive at one and the same time all parts of the industrial workshop....
>
> "The social institution of the future will direct all industries in the interest of the whole society, and especially of the peaceful laborers." [emphasis in original]
>
> —quoted in George Lichtheim, *The Origins of Socialism* (1969)

These ideas were so far ahead of their time that they found no point of support in the French society of the day. The bourgeois liberals who had sponsored Saint-Simon were, of course, appalled by the new radical ideas of his followers. But neither did Saint-Simonian socialism get a sympathetic hearing in the working class. The mass of urban wage earners were artisans using pre-industrial technology. They aspired to own their own small shops. A typical French carpenter, furniture maker, watchmaker would have considered a central institution directing a technologically dynamic industrial economy as both utterly fantastical and deeply repugnant to his perceived interests.

Completely politically isolated, the Saint-Simonian school soon disintegrated into antagonistic sects. And I am using the term "sect" in the literal religious sense. One of the latter-day Saint-Simonian groups believed in the Great Mother. This personage was supposedly an Oriental Jewess living in the Near East who was destined to unite East and West, man and woman, matter and spirit. The leaders of this group went to Egypt, Palestine, Turkey searching for the Great Mother. The left was a lot more imaginative and interesting in those days. These were wild and crazy guys. Almost all of our left opponents today are real dullards by comparison.

Although the Saint-Simonian school had disintegrated while Marx was still in his early teens, its *ideas* gained a widespread and sympathetic currency among progressive-minded intellectuals in France, Germany and elsewhere in continental West Europe. One such intellectual was a learned Prussian nobleman and middle-level government official, Ludwig von Westphalen, who was a friend of the Marx family in Trier. He saw in young Karl a kindred spirit—hungry for knowledge, committed to the betterment of humanity—and he took him under his wing. Marx later described von Westphalen as a "paternal friend," who also became his father-in-law. The two would go for long walks in the Rhenish countryside where they would exchange ideas on everything from Shakespeare to socialism.

In this way Marx early on acquired a knowledge of the Saint-Simonian school, that is, of a far more advanced conception of the future collectivist organization of the economy than the crude leveling-down of the Jacobin communist tradition or a system of decentralized socialist communes. When in the mid 1840s Marx made the transition from radical democrat to communist, he operated with a basically Saint-Simonian conception of the future organization of the economy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Wikipedia.org

English reformer Robert Owen (inset) set up several short-lived utopian socialist communities, such as at Orbiston, Scotland (below).

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

"encouraging (adult educators and coordinators) to interrupt the business of the College in support of the strike." A determined union mobilization on behalf of all of those victimized by the strike is not only basic solidarity but also ***key for defense of the CCCTU itself.*** Defend the part-time and emeritus professors! Hands off Earl Silbar!

In concert with the State's Attorney's office, bogus criminal charges have been filed against some of the strike participants. Eight days after the strike was over, Malcolm X College Humanities and Arts professor Ben Rubin was arrested in his home, falsely charged with battery against a security guard at a rally at Board headquarters.

The *Chicago Sun-Times* reported on 27 December 2004 that Malcolm X College 2003 co-valedictorian, Felipe Findley, also faces bogus criminal charges and expulsion for his participation at the same rally where Professor Rubin was framed up. As well, Wright College student, Sulaimon Balogun, beat back criminal trespass charges and expulsion threats for distributing pro-strike flyers at his own school after the union turned out members and provided legal defense at his December 30 court hearing.

As an 18 December 2004 Partisan Defense Committee protest letter to Richard A. Devine, Cook County State's Attorney, underlined: "The attack on Prof. Rubin and other City Colleges employees and students who honored the picket lines is a threat to all Chicago trade unionists, and to anyone who would fight the City's threatened layoffs, furloughs, and cutbacks as the Daley administration seeks to balance its budget on the backs of the unions and the oppressed." Drop the charges against Rubin and Findley! No reprisals against any strikers or strike supporters!

Outrageously, the 500 security guards at the City Colleges are members of CCCTU Local 1600! The job of these security guards is to defend the interests of the college administration, and during the strike they did their job. Now, several of these guards are being used as witnesses in the frame-ups of strike supporters. Security guards are the private auxiliaries of the police, which are the armed thugs of the capitalist state. Far from being part of the workers movement, they are its enemies, composing the front line of state repression against strikes, the working class and the oppressed. Cops and security guards out of the unions!

The defense of CCCTU Local 1600 and its supporters is a fight for all of Chicago labor, which has been under attack by the Democratic Daley administration. City workers have been working without a contract for 18 months while Daley threatens to privatize city services and demands that workers agree to unpaid furlough days. Likewise, transit workers have not had a contract for a year and are threatened with 1,000 layoffs this summer in order to balance the Chicago Transit Authority budget.

The strike by the CCCTU was won on the picket lines and should be an example for the rest of labor. At the same time, the actions of the Board underline that, just as it takes a hard fight on the picket lines to win, it takes a hard fight after a strike victory to defend the union and its allies. ***Labor must mobilize its muscle against the retaliations and victimizations! An injury to one is an injury to all!*** ■

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

the U.S. imperialists. A meaningful augmentation of troop levels is simply not available. But enlistments into the reserves have fallen and the top general of the Army Reserve, James R. Helmly, recently released a memorandum that stated that the Reserve is currently unable to meet mission requirements (*New York Times*, 6 January). Re-instituting the draft would only inflame domestic opposition to the war. These realities have led saner heads in American ruling-class circles, notably Brent Scowcroft and Zbigniew Brzezinski (national security advisers for George Bush the elder and Jimmy Carter respectively), to push for a consideration of disengagement.

But as Bush the younger is well aware, war enhances, unless challenged, the power of the imperialists at home. The need for "sacrifice"—meant only for

AFP

Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell brandishes "evidence" of WMDs in Iraq to make case for war to UN Security Council, February 2003.

working and poor people—has promoted the enactment of legislation granting the president vast repressive powers over his citizen subjects. From Bush's standpoint, the "war against terror" provides him with the authority to proceed to destroy Social Security and cut back funding for health and education, while emboldening the bosses in their attacks on organized labor.

At the same time, the attacks on the democratic rights and well-being of the population are hardly the aberrant pro-clivities of Bush's cabal. They are congruent with the aspirations of America's capitalist rulers, provided such measures do not engender substantial opposition among the population. It is such opposition that concerns the bourgeois critics of Bush's policies—i.e., the prospect that the growing discontent with the war, a discontent that has found some resonance within the ranks of the occupying armed forces and their families, will unleash and give expression to the multiple simmering discontents of an American populace that has endured the slow erosion of its rights and well-being for three decades.

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

War is a two-edged sword. Its depredations were the motor force for the only working-class revolution to overturn capitalist rule, the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. It was the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the then-USSR in 1991-92 that enabled the U.S., without fear of redress, to launch such wars as the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia under Clinton and the invasion of Iraq. As proponents of proletarian revolution we stand in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, a tradition based on using all struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, especially war, to mobilize the working class for socialist revolution.

It is quite possible that the American imperialists will cut bait in Iraq and withdraw, availing themselves of whatever pretensions to "decency" or "wisdom" as are available. Appealing to bourgeois liberals has been the political strategy of the organizers of the antiwar movement—the International ANSWER coalition headed by the Workers World Party and its recent spin-off, the Party for Socialism and Liberation; the United for Peace and Justice coalition backed by the International Socialist Organization; and the Not In Our Name Coalition organized by the Revolutionary Communist Party.

In the lead-up to the war, they built demonstrations designed to appeal to antiwar capitalist Democratic politicians and the "peace is patriotic" crowd. Now, the main demand for the January 20 protest against Bush's inauguration is "Bring the Troops Home Now," which is an accommodation to the social-patriotic "support our troops" wing of the antiwar movement. The slogan is designed to appeal to those whose opposition to the occupation is primarily driven by concern over the deaths of American soldiers, and not defense of the Iraqi peoples against American imperialist brutality.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at New York City antiwar demonstration, March 2004.

We do not groove on the deaths of American soldiers. But as revolutionary Marxists, we have a side in Iraq: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. We call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied forces, while understanding that Iraq will remain devastated and its peoples, absent the overthrow of capitalist rule in the region, will continue to be the objects of imperialist domination. Youth and workers should mobilize in protest on the basis of defense of the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack or repression and for the military defense of Iraqi forces on the ground when they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers.

The working class is the only force with the cohered social power to overturn the capitalist social order. And it is in the pursuit of that end that we raise the call for class struggle at home as a necessary first step toward the proletarian mobilization capable of ending for all time the blood-soaked rule of American imperialism. The Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build a working-class party of socialist revolution dedicated to overturning the rapacious American imperialist order. ■

Washington Post

Sadistic prison guard Charles Graner beats Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad. Torture is U.S. policy, directed from the highest levels in Washington.

Chechnya...

(continued from page 3)

"direct international presence" (i.e., Western imperialist troops) in Chechnya.

Calls for foreign intervention in Chechnya feed into moves by U.S. imperialism to increase its military presence in the region. The Pentagon already has a network of military bases in Central Asia and the Caucasus. This includes U.S. Marines in Georgia, which is also occupied by a garrison of Russian troops. *U.S. out of Central Asia and the Caucasus! Rassia out of Chechnya and Georgia!*

Down With Great Russian Chauvinism!

The most disgusting response to the Beslan massacre among leftist groups comes from the dubious Socialist Equality Party (SEP) of David North, which declared that the demand for an independent Chechnya is "a reactionary project, whose realization would benefit only aspiring bourgeois elements and their communalist and Islamic fundamentalist allies" (World Socialist Web Site, statement by the Editorial Board, 4 September 2004).

National rights for the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia were won as part of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which destroyed what Lenin called the tsarist "prison house of peoples." Under the Soviet Union, autonomous regions were established for formerly oppressed peoples such as the Chechens, Ossetians, Tartars and Bashkirs in the Urals. Under Stalin's rule, national rights of non-Russian peoples were savagely trampled on in the Caucasus and elsewhere. During World War II, Stalin dissolved the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, falsely claiming it had supported the invasion by Nazi Germany. The entire population was deported to Central Asia, and a large percentage died en route. Stalin also forcibly resettled the Volga Germans and a number of other peoples from the Crimea and Caucasus.

In the late 1950s, the liberal Stalinist regime of Nikita Khrushchev restored the Chechen-Ingush Republic and large numbers returned to their homeland. They enjoyed a substantial degree of national autonomy, preserving and developing their language and cultural identity, despite the fact that the Soviet Union was a deformed workers state dominated by Russian nationalism.

As Georgi M. Derluguian notes in his insightful essay "Che Guevaras in Turbans" (*New Left Review*, September-October 1999), "In the 1960s Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus were commonly described as a showcase of modernization, and this was not mere propaganda." By all indicators, Soviet citizens from this region were centuries ahead in development compared to neighboring Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, especially when one considers the condition of women.

Today, these regions have been thrown back centuries in time. The deepening hold of nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism on the consciousness of the peoples of the former Soviet Union is a reflection of capitalist counterrevolution. What is needed to galvanize proletarian opposition to the capitalist rulers of Russia and the other former Soviet Republics is the forging of a revolutionary workers party steeled in Leninist internationalism. As we wrote at the beginning of the first Chechen war a decade ago (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995):

> "An internationalist, revolutionary workers movement fighting for a democratically planned, egalitarian economy and true equality between the peoples of this region could rally the working masses of all the Caucasian peoples to overcome the raging fratricidal national conflicts. An authentically communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged in sharp struggle against all variants of nationalism, and in particular against the chauvinism of the Great Russian oppressor." ■

Spartacist Forums

Defend the Palestinian People!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Saturday, February 12, 5 p.m.
University of Chicago, Reynolds Club
South Lounge, 5706 S. University

For more information: (312) 563-0441
e-mail spartacist@iname.com

CHICAGO

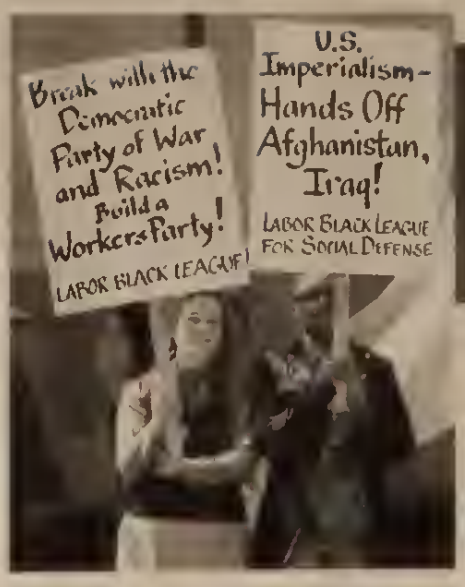
Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Imperialist Crimes in Rwanda and Sudan:
No UN/Imperialist Intervention!

Saturday, February 12, 7 p.m.
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West, Room 8200
(St. George subway station)

For more information: (416) 593-4138
e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO



Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labar Black Leagues were formed as a result af the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strang labor/black mobilizatian that stapped the Ku Klax Klan from marching in Woshington, D.C. in Navember 1982. We stand far mabilizing the masses af minarity and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system af racist appressian that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutianary Marxist arganizatian, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary mavement af the warkers and oppressed against the basses and for sacialism.

WV Photos

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as "crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is $3/year unemployed; $10/year employed.

For more information, contact:

CHICAGO (312) 563-0441
Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

NEW YORK (212) 267-1025
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604

Bus Strikers...

(continued from page 12)

with contracts expiring at different times. TWU and ATU members in most of the private lines are in the same boat—no contract, no security, with pension and health benefits up for grabs. One of the Local 100-organized companies, Liberty Lines Express, was taken over by MTA Bus in early December, but none of the labor issues were resolved and the union's contract expires in late February.

Extending the strike to the other private bus lines, where workers are also without contracts and facing imminent takeover by the MTA, is the only way to really jack up the heat on City Hall and the MTA. Contingents of TWU Local 100 members and other transit workers—and some of the tens of thousands of unionists working without contracts in the New York area—should be mobilized to stand side by side with the striking workers on the picket lines. During the summer of 2002, TWU-organized workers struck three private bus lines for seven weeks while ATU officials kept workers at Green and Command on the job. This betrayal by the ATU leadership and the TWU leadership's refusal to mobilize its membership for the current strike only helps the bosses keep the workers divided.

Common struggle on the picket lines is the first step toward winning this fight. The unions must fight for full parity in wages, benefits and job protections for private lines workers at the highest levels that now exist for MTA workers (e.g., wages at the private lines are now about $3 less per hour). What's needed are union contracts with the *same expiration date* and eventually *one industrial union* of all NYC transit workers—including the dollar van drivers who are now being used by the city to scab on the strike. Instead of allowing the racist bosses to pit non-union van drivers against unionized bus workers, the transit unions should organize the predominantly immigrant van drivers into the union. Central to such an organizing drive is the fight against anti-immigrant racism and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

On the picket lines, several workers as well as union reps expressed dangerous illusions that the cops are potential allies in this current labor struggle. The cops are not "workers in uniform" but the armed and paid thugs of the bosses' state. If cops want a better contract, they are fighting for better conditions under which they can torture prisoners and shoot down black and Latino youth in the streets. So far, police presence on the picket lines has been light, but if the city or bus companies try to run scab buses the cops will be mobilized to protect the scab operation with billy clubs, mace and bullets if need be. The natural allies of the working class are other workers and the oppressed ghetto and barrio poor, who are daily on the receiving end of cop terror. A union-led fight for free mass transit would win wide support from the city's working people and poor and link the struggles of the integrated labor movement to those of the oppressed and exploited.

What are the obstacles to such a successful fight? The main obstacle is the pro-Democratic Party, pro-capitalist outlook of the trade-union bureaucracy. The TWU and ATU brass look to and foster illusions in Democratic (and sometimes Republican) politicos who posture as "friends of labor" but whose real interests are in maintaining the capitalist status quo of exploitation and racist oppression. Queens Borough President Helen Marshall and City Councilmen Gifford Miller and John Liu have been trying to broker a deal to end the strike with support from the ATU tops, but workers should put no trust in these capitalist politicians, none of whom oppose the Taylor Law. Democratic Party state attorney general Eliot Spitzer led the charge against TWU Local 100 in 1999, penning the injunctions that outlawed even uttering the word "strike" by transit workers. Republicans and Democrats push the racist, anti-labor, anti-immigrant "war on terror" as part of supporting the repressive aims of U.S. imperialism. Looking to the Democrats is a recipe for defeat. There must be a fight to replace the pro-capitalist union leadership with a class-struggle leadership basing itself upon a fight for not only the immediate interests of the workers, but for a workers party fighting for a workers government. ■

Labor Black League Discussion

Down With Bush/Democrats' "War on Terror"!
For a Class-Struggle Fight for All Our Rights!

A *Workers Vanguard* readers circle discussion on *WV* No. 839, front page article

Saturday, January 29, 5:30 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(1-1/2 blocks north of Chambers St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-li.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco
CA 94107

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Defend Utah Miners! Victory to the UMWA!

Utah coal miners at the Bear Canyon Mine, known as the Co-Op Mine, are engaged in a battle for trade-union and immigrant rights. On December 9, a week before a vote for union representation, the owners, C.W. Mining Co., fired 30 Latino coal miners. Bob Butero, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Regional Organizing Director, told *Workers Vanguard* that these workers are still fired.

For 16 long months, the predominantly Mexican-born miners have been fighting to improve their unsafe working conditions and paltry pay of $5 to $7 an hour with virtually no benefits by conducting an organizing drive to join the UMWA. According to the UMWA counsel, the rapacious capitalist owners, part of the Kingston Order Entities' $150 million empire with 173 businesses, have retaliated against the workers with firings, intimidation and attempts to "investigate" the workers' immigration status. They have also packed the union election vote with family members and managers to promote a phony company "union," and launched a massive federal lawsuit, claiming "unfair labor practices" and "defaming" of the mine owners. The courageous struggle of the miners has received and must continue to receive working-class support nationally and internationally until they have won. ***Victory to the Co-Op miners!***

This labor battle being fought in these canyons of central Utah is emblematic of the historic oppression of Utah coal miners and the bare-knuckled tactics capitalists are using in vicious anti-union campaigns across the country and around the globe. Even the Utah state government history Web site acknowledges in a 1990 article, "The railroad hired labor agents to bring foreign immigrants to Utah to do this dangerous work. Lured by false promises of easy money, miners came from Italy, China, Finland, Greece, present-day Yugoslavia, Japan, and Mexico."

The Utah miners struggle is also emblematic of the brutal tactics being increasingly used by the bosses to prevent unionization across the country. A *New York Times* article (14 December 2004) about an International Union of Electrical Workers organizing drive at the EnerSys battery factory was headlined: "How Do You Drive Out a Union? South Carolina Factory Provides a Textbook Case." It cites the factory's human resources director (quoting the company's president) saying, "We need to do whatever we've got to do to get rid of this union, regardless of what it may cost us."

Lee Buchsbaum

Miners and their families outside Co-Op Mining Co., near Huntington, Utah.

The unionization battle at the Co-Op mine began when a nearly ten-month strike erupted on 23 September 2003 in response to C.W. Mining's firing of pro-union militant Bill Estrada. He was the third miner targeted within several weeks for organizing to bring in the UMWA. Then, when the company locked out 75 workers, the miners turned the lockout into a strike and picketed the mine. The strike ended when the National Labor Relations Board brokered a deal with the company agreeing to allow the miners to return to work on July 12. But in September the company launched a federal suit against 120 organizations and individuals who not only supported the miners but even those reporting the miners' views, including the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) newspaper, the *Militant*. The *Militant* (12 October 2004) reports that the "lawsuit asks for at least $1 million in damages from the defendants and an unspecified amount of punitive damages to be determined during trial." This is a dangerous and sinister lawsuit aimed at intimidating the strikers and silencing their supporters. The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has made a financial contribution toward the SWP's legal defense, and a contribution to the "Co-Op Miners Fund." We urge others to do the same. ***Defend the SWP and all strike supporters!***

The mine bosses' demand for immigration documentation one week before the union representation election was a vicious attempt to intimidate the miners, most of whom have been working at the mine for years. A UMWA press release issued the day after the December 9 firings stated that UMWA International President Cecil Roberts "explained that the UMWA, in particular, believes that all workers, regardless of their citizenship status, are entitled to the full protection of America's labor laws." Roberts said, "Since our union's inception in 1890, our members have prided themselves on the fact that the UMWA was one of America's first labor unions to pass resolutions prohibiting worker discrimination of any kind, be it gender, race or religion." Such statements by union officials are welcome. But the American labor movement must move beyond mere words and mobilize in a class-struggle fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. As underlined by the Utah miners struggle, the fight for immigrant rights is vital for the union movement to move forward.

To flex its muscles and win, the labor movement must stop playing by the bosses' rules. But the UMWA bureaucracy has promised to abide by bourgeois legalities and the decisions of institutions like the NLRB. Even the bourgeois mouthpiece *New York Times* (2 January) describes the NLRB's current decisions as "so hostile to unions and to collective bargaining that they run counter to the goals of the National Labor Relations Act." In fact, the UMWA bureaucracy's fealty to capitalist laws led them to abandon an all-out defense of Jerry Dale Lowe, a UMWA West Virginia coal miner and staunch mine safety rep, when he was framed up and sent to prison for nearly eleven years for doing picket duty during the Ruffner mine strike in 1993.

Some organizations and individuals supporting the Utah miners have chastised the Kingston family because they are polygamists. But this is a matter of an individual's private personal relations (see "Free Tom Green! Mormon Polygamists: Leave Them Alone!" *WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001). The Kingston business empire and C.W. Mining should be fought because they are vicious capitalists who use their extended family to smash unions and attack immigrants.

The key to victory for organizing the UMWA at Co-Op Mine and winning citizenship rights for the miners is drawing the class line and hard class struggle. Union pronouncements of support and financial contributions to the fired miners are well and good. But the coal miners are in a desperate and difficult situation. The Teamsters and other powerful unions in the area—including the railroad workers unions that transport C.W. Mining coal across the country and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who operate the power plants—should also be mobilized in support of the miners. Union filings for NLRB recognition and court actions to win citizenship rights for workers must be accompanied by class-struggle action. Likewise, rather than reliance on capitalist "friends of labor" politicians, Democrats or Republicans, it is necessary for working people to mobilize their power politically by building an independent workers party.■

Appeal for Support and Assistance

The Co-Op miners are urgently requesting supporters around the world to:

Send financial contributions made out to "Co-Op Miners Fund" to UMWA District 22, 525 East, 100 South, Price, UT 84501.

Write, call or fax the NLRB and protest the actions of Co-Op owners, demand reinstatement of the fired workers, and that only the real workers at the mine be allowed to vote, as the NLRB initially ruled, not the owners' extended family:

NLRB Region 27
Director B. Allan Benson
600 17th St., 7th Floor-North Tower
Denver, CO 80202-5433
Tel: (303) 844-3551
Fax: (303) 844-6249

Please send copies of messages of support and NLRB protest letters to the above UMWA address or fax to (435) 637-9456.

Holiday Appeal...

(continued from page 4)

draconian "security certificates," which allow the indefinite detention of any refugee or immigrant whom the government considers a national security threat. She pointed out, "These men are detained on only allegations and without any access to the evidence. Their legal teams are kept in the dark.... If the Security Certificate hearing is found reasonable...then these men will be deported without any chance to appeal the decision. They will be returned to jail, torture or death. The last person deported to Algeria on a Security Certificate has disappeared."

International issues were also raised at the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City fundraisers. In the Bay Area, it was standing room only, with many youth and trade unionists attending. A spokeswoman for the Mordechai Vanunu defense committee gave a vivid speech describing Vanunu's release from an Israeli prison after serving his 18-year sentence and his re-arrest. Last November 11, over 30 armed police seized this brave whistleblower who exposed Israel's nuclear arsenal, and today he is under surveillance and barred from leaving the country.

The New York social received greetings from the courageous antiwar activist Mary Kelly in Ireland, who struck a U.S. military aircraft at Shannon Airport through which nearly 350,000 U.S. troops have been transported in the past three years. In her defense, Kelly wrote, "By chopping up this warplane with an axe, I acted to save lives and prevent crime, and my defence of justification was firmly based in Irish and International Law, including the Nuremberg Principle which calls for determined action to prevent crimes against peace and humanity from occurring." Though convicted, which she will appeal, she wrote, in a piece of good news: "Due to a vigorous and relentless campaign and the unapologetic legal challenge presented in the Court, I have walked from this a free woman—the judge finally had to admit that my motivation was upright and my beliefs sincere: on December 1st he passed sentence—2 years suspended."

Become a PDC Sustainer!

We urge *WV* readers to support the work of the PDC. The Partisan Defense Committee seeks to build a class-struggle legal defense organization that all workers, all class-war prisoners and victims of racist persecution and brutality look to as their own. That's what this year's holiday appeals looked like. Now, we need your help to sustain and expand this ever more urgent work. Free Mumia-Abu Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Become a sustaining contributor to help drive the work of the PDC forward! Contributions can be sent to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.■

Lynne Stewart...

(continued from page 5)

of the left, we love newspaper clippings; we're always cutting something out—"we have to be able to use this to organize somebody." I'm going to warn you all, this is what they have against us: "You had this clipping" [laughter].

But to close, I just want to say that it's always clear in a political trial who is with the government and who is on the side of righteousness. And I can only say that in a trial, where the judge has allowed in every bin Laden reference the government has cared to make, after he told the jury this case has nothing to do with 9/11, and then videotapes, press releases and pictures [were allowed] in on the flimsiest connection to the third co-defendant; but when the third co-defendant, Ahmed Sattar, the activist, wanted to put in that remarkable video footage of the young boy being killed by the Israeli tank in Palestine, the judge said, "No, no, that will confuse the jury; it's not relevant." Sattar wanted to use that to explain his state of mind in doing the things that he is accused of doing.

I see my friend Farouk Abdel Muhti [on the poster] over there [applause]. He was taken from us much too early. A real gap in our movement, not to have him. He filled so much space. A most remarkable man. I always felt he was like my (excuse the expression, Ralph and others) "soul brother." We were arrested I guess about the same day, but of course because he was an "alien," he was taken away to prison for the next year, where I have no doubt the treatment he received killed him. And if we don't believe that, then we don't know what's going on in those four walls. They are vicious, brutal, uncaring places. So I'm happy to see his picture up there next to my friends, the political prisoners.

And I'd like to just recognize all of you for supporting me and understanding the importance of this struggle. Thank you very much.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to Private Lines Bus Strikers!

New York City

NEW YORK—On January 10, fed-up bus drivers and mechanics for two private bus lines walked off the job in a strike called by their respective unions. The two unions, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 1179 and 1181, represent about 800 bus drivers and maintainers at Green Bus Lines and Command Bus companies which serve 70,000 riders daily in Queens and Brooklyn. After working without a contract for over two years and facing the uncertainty of an imminent takeover by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), the two unions are striking in an effort to force the bosses to negotiate the labor terms of the takeover. Michael Bloomberg, the city's arrogant billionaire mayor, refused to discuss any issues with the unions until the fourth day of the strike. The mayor is scheming to unload seven city-subsidized private bus lines onto the MTA and impose the slave-labor Taylor Law on the private lines workers, who have repeatedly launched sickouts and strikes in recent years.

Spirits were high on the picket lines in the first week of the strike, as determined workers marched with signs during the morning rush hour and huddled around steel drum fires throughout the day and into the cold nights. Bus drivers and mechanics said they will "stay out as long as it takes," telling *Workers Vanguard*, "we need job security" and "we need parity in wages and benefits with the MTA workers." Green Lines workers also talked about the poor condition of the dilapidated bus fleet. A mechanic told *WV*, "Some of the buses are 20 years old." He also noted that the bosses say, "Just fix it, get it out, we'll worry about it when it comes back." A bus driver complained that the seats are so bad, "you feel like you were beat up on your back when you are done with your run." The worst buses run on routes in some of the city's poorest neighborhoods, yet Bloomberg's Department of Transportation is sitting on $156 million in federal funds slated to buy new buses.

WV Photo

Picket line at Green Line depot, Jamaica, Queens, January 10.

Bloomberg and the rest of the city rulers lust to bring all of the private lines workers under the Taylor Law, which makes public employee strikes illegal. A recent *Daily News* editorial (13 January) called for jailing union presidents John Longo of ATU 1179 and Sal Battaglia of ATU 1181, an echo of the *New York Post* call to put Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint "on ice" during the December 2002 contract struggle when transit workers authorized a strike. Workers on the Green and Command picket lines are worried about being under the Taylor Law, as well as the draconian disciplinary system which the MTA imposes on its workforce. According to some, part of the rationale for striking now is an attempt get something on paper *before* their unions are subject to these repressive measures.

The private bus companies, the Bloomberg administration and the MTA have been playing ping-pong with the private bus lines workers since the city announced its intention to buy out the companies' owners and absorb their operations into the MTA. After failing to get a "Regional Bus" plan passed in the state legislature last summer, the MTA created a new subdivision called "MTA Bus" in late September as an umbrella organization to take over the seven private lines. MTA Bus is part of a plan to create a non-civil-service bus operation, giving the MTA maximum control over hiring and firing while creating a new tier of workers with a substandard pension plan. Jerome Cooper, the majority owner of Green and Command as well as two other bus lines, has declined to negotiate a new contract on the grounds that they will soon be taken over by the MTA. Meanwhile, Bloomberg has refused to negotiate with the bus unions by claiming the city has nothing to do with their situation. The city and the bosses are playing cynical games in a haggling contest over the price of the bus lines while the workers worry about their health care plans, pensions, job security, wages, discipline, seniority rights, safety and work conditions.

Strikers on the picket lines have been asking, "Where is the TWU? Where is Roger Toussaint?" Local 100 not only represents bus workers at five of the seven private lines, but also is a powerhouse of labor in NYC. Although some Local 100 members have come out in solidarity with the strikers, other than a token appearance by a few Local 100 staffers in front of TV cameras at the Green picket lines, the TWU membership has not been mobilized in support of their striking brothers and sisters in the ATU. More than ever, the fate of the private lines workforce is closely linked to that of subway and bus workers. But in New York City, transit bus workers are now split between TWU Local 100 and four different ATU locals

continued on page 10

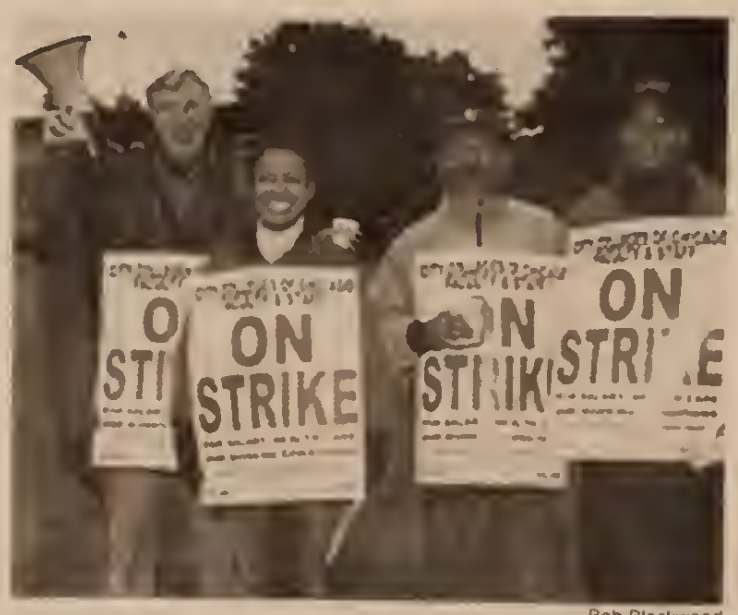
Spread the Strike to the TWU Local 100 Private Lines!

Hands Off Chicago City College Strikers and Supporters!

CHICAGO—In response to the successful strike last fall by the Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU Local 1600), the Chicago City Colleges administration has launched a vicious campaign of firings, blacklisting and reprisals against the strike's most committed militants and supporters. On October 19, more than 750 CCCTU members—teachers and professional staff at the seven City Colleges—went out on strike for the first time in 26 years. Confident that the union would buckle, the City Colleges Board, handpicked appointees of Mayor Richard Daley, went on the offensive demanding a string of takeaways.

This was a widely popular strike, supported by many students, part-time teachers and working people around the city. The Chicago Spartacus Youth Club helped man the pickets by mobilizing youth, including from the University of Chicago. After holding firm for nearly three weeks, the CCCTU won many of its demands: maintain class sizes, a modest wage increase, and significantly increased wages for nursing teachers, while making smaller concessions on health care and workload than those originally demanded by the Board.

Stinging from defeat and determined to weaken and destroy the union, the City Colleges administration is already tearing up the contract, blatantly violating an explicit clause demanding "no reprisals" against "the Union, Union members, students, clerks, or any other person" who supported the strike. The Board is targeting the more vulnerable non-CCCTU members who, while not themselves on strike, honored the picket lines. Some 140 part-time and emeritus teachers are facing termination explicitly for their principled action in honoring the CCCTU picket lines! The *Chicago Tribune* (12 January) reported that "By early January, the school began sending out letters to adjunct faculty members who had honored the picket line informing them of 'predisciplinary hearings'." As CCCTU union president Perry Buckley said, "It's pure, pure revenge and spite." Additionally, veteran City College Adult Educator Earl Silbar (AFSCME Local 3506) was served a letter of reprimand because he was "observed at the College picketing and/or speaking with Adult Educators" and given a three-day suspension for



Bob Blackwood

Cook County College Teachers Union picket, October 2004.

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 841 | GCU C-701 | 4 February 2005

Iraq: Sham Elections, Savage Occupation

FEBRUARY 1—While U.S. jets screamed overhead, U.S. soldiers surrounded Iraqi polling places to make sure Bush's fake "election" on January 30 came off. The "election" was designed purely as a legitimizing cover for the continuing savage U.S. occupation. It was a despicable and cynical fraud, in which at least 44 Iraqis died in widely predicted violence. While we denounce criminal terror against innocent civilians, including those who came out to vote behind the American barbed wire, we recognize that every military blow struck against the U.S. and British occupiers, their allies and mercenaries is a blow against imperialist aggression. U.S. out of Iraq now!

It was grotesque to watch U.S. puppet and strutting thug Ayad Allawi, the former Ba'athist goon called "Saddam lite" by his own American handlers, mouth pieties about "free elections" in the midst of overwhelming U.S. military terror. Curfews were imposed and car traffic was banned anywhere near polls, whose locations were kept secret until the last minute, as were the names of most of the candidates for a meaningless "national assembly" to draft a meaningless "constitution" under the boot of the U.S. occupiers. But a few plastic ballot boxes and cardboard booths, with a compliant American press to burble about the "joy" of the day, were all Bush really wanted for his cynical photo-op, as supposed independent election observers "observed" safely far away in Jordan.

Meanwhile, the horror of war continues. New revelations of Iraq torture and Pentagon spy units burrowing into Iran have come out. Veteran investigative journalist Seymour Hersh points out that in Iraq "the number of tonnage dropped has grown exponentially each month. We are systematically bombing that country..., It's simply a turkey shoot" (*CounterPunch* online, 27 January).

The supposed "sanctity of the vote" means less than nothing to the U.S. president, who stole his first presidential election through disenfranchising black people. In terms of fake elections, he might have taken a lesson from the Nazis. Today, in the midst of all the imperialist crocodile tears over the Nazi death camp Auschwitz, let's recall that Hitler made concentration camp inmates vote. In the 12 November 1933 Reichstag elections, prisoners at Osthofen, Brandenburg and Oranienburg were given ballots. Hitler won. The Americans don't seem prepared to go door-to-door to check on who voted, as the Nazis did—though staining the forefingers of those Iraqis who did venture out to vote does give new meaning to the term "marked man."

Zaklin/EPA

Mosul, January 8: U.S. troops brutalize a man accused of supporting insurgents in Iraq. He later died.

U.S. Out Now!

The Americans' cynical use of fake elections under battlefield conditions is not new. Resurrecting Reagan's gory 1982 electoral sham in El Salvador, Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld said last December, "I mean, my goodness, El Salvador had elections when people were being shot at and there was a civil war going on, and it worked fine" (*Wall Street Journal Online*, 10 January). The only "choice" allowed was either junta chief José Napoleón Duarte or death-squad torturer "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson. Meanwhile, a leftist military insurgency was raging, whose military victory, we said, "is an absolute necessity on the road to workers power in El Salvador." We wrote, in "Reagan's Junta Holds 'Elections by Death'": "To talk of any kind of elections while the junta's army is intact...is preparing a gigantic *defeat* for the Salvadoran masses. The heroic worker and peasant fighters are not shedding their blood to get more electoral farces but to break the chains of oppression that bind them" (*WV* No. 300, 5 March 1982).

During the Vietnam War in the 1960s, in South Vietnam the U.S. broke the monotony of regular military/CIA coups with occasionally letting its puppets stage "elections." One such typical foray in 1967 (when the U.S. had half a million troops on the ground) was "won" by former generals Thieu and Ky, as Buddhists and peace candidates were banned, newspapers were suppressed and voting took place only in areas under the Saigon government's control. Sound familiar? The next year a rather more significant event for the liberation of the Vietnamese people occurred: the Tet Offensive, beginning the night of January 30, 1968, which shattered the myth of U.S. military "progress."

In Vietnam and El Salvador, military victory for the opponents of U.S. imperialism directly posed the possibility of lifting the yoke of imperialist subjugation and opening the road to social revolution, as occurred in Vietnam. Such is not the case in Iraq today. The clerical reactionary forces and Ba'athists now dominant in the "resistance" to U.S. imperialism are also enemies of the working class, women and minorities.

Wider War Threatened

The stage is set now for civil war within Iraq's borders and significant destabilization beyond. Iraq is not a nation but a patchwork of different peoples and ethnicities carved by the British imperialists out of the old Turkish Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. The Sunni Arab minority has historically dominated the Arab Shi'ite majority as well as a portion of the Kurdish nation (which also spans parts of Iran, Turkey and Syria). We warned: "Absent the working class emerging as an independent political force in a struggle against neocolonial rule, each of these populations can only come to power by oppressing the others and in alliance with U.S. imperialism" (*WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004).

The Sunni Arab minority is the big loser under the American occupation, and so will continue the insurgency against the foreign imperialist occupiers—as well as the criminal sectarian violence against the Shi'ites, the Kurds, and other peoples and tribes. Meanwhile, the Kurds want control of the oil wealth in their region and many Kurds have illusions that the American occupation will protect them against Arab reconquest. The fight for Kurdish self-determination is a just struggle, requiring the overthrow of four capitalist states. We call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan. But in Iraq today—and only in Iraq—the Kurdish question has become decisively subordinated to the American imperialist occupation, of which Kurdish political and military forces have become an integral part. The struggle for Kurdish independence can only go forward through intransigent opposition to the occupation and the

continued on page 9

Black History and the Class Struggle

Black Women's Narratives of Slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction....4

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Support Redfern Aboriginal Militants!

The following article is reprinted from Australasian Spartacist *No. 189, Summer 2004/05, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League.*

Australasian **SPARTACIST**

DECEMBER 7—In angry meetings in Queensland over the racist cop terror in Palm Island [where an Aboriginal man was killed in police custody last November], Aboriginal activists have been drawing parallels to the explosive February [2004] events in Redfern, Sydney. On the night of 15 February, residents in the area known as The Block defiantly defended their community from racist cop terror after a 17-year-old Kamilaroi youth was killed at the hands of police. With great courage and acumen, Aboriginal youth and their supporters waged a nine-hour pitched battle against marauding cops. Since then, a police operation ordered by the [Premier Boh] Carr NSW [New South Wales] state Labor government has rounded up some 35 militants who are now facing charges. *We say there should be anited-frant pratests und actians to defend the heraic Redfern and Palm Island militants. Trade anians, Abariginal activists, leftists and immigrant youth must be braaght tagether in struggle ta demand: Drop all the charges!* On 24 August, a Spartacist League leaflet broadcast a call by the Partisan Defence Committee (a class-struggle defence organisation associated with the SL) for protest statements to be sent to the NSW Attorney-General demanding the dropping of the charges.

Since then, support for the Redfern defendants has broadened. Protest statements include those by well-known Aboriginal activists, by the prisoners' rights group Justice Action, and by the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). A 7 December statement by longtime black activist, Jenny Munro, noted that "the local Aboriginal community do support those people arrested" and added her "voice to that of my husband Lyall's to say to those charged 'they are brave young people we are immensely proud of'." In a speech at a 24 September Sydney rally in defence of jailed trade-union leader Craig Johnston, Justice Action leader Brett Collins raised the case of the Redfern militants. An SL supporter was met with applause when he called for the dropping of charges against the black defendants at a 31 July refugee rights rally outside Sydney's Villawood immigrant detention centre. And earlier, in a small but important victory for all who solidarise with the Redfern struggles, the Police Association was defeated in its manoeuvres to stop a 31 March SL public forum in Melbourne "Defend Redfern Aborigines—Mobilise Union Power!", after unionists and leftists joined in a campaign of exposure initiated by the SL.

In a protest letter in defence of the Redfern militants, Sam Watson, in his capacity as a longtime prominent figure in the Brisbane Aboriginal community, stated that the killing "of TJ Hickey on the streets of Redfern on the 15th of February and the subsequent brutal repression of the Redfern indigenous community by the state Police, is a clear and terrifying statement that nothing has changed within this racist land and that indeed—the colonial genocide goes on!" Noting the killing of black children by the police and prison guards, Watson's 15 October letter pointedly stated that "the courts and the parliaments have been parties to each and every attack on our people."

But while Sam Watson was a Socialist Alliance (SA) senate candidate in the recent federal elections and the FSP is a component of SA, SA has, to date, failed to in its own name publicly call for the dropping of charges against the Redfern defendants. Those groups and individuals that have taken up the defence of the Aboriginal militants must now redouble their efforts to publicise this case and broaden support for the defendants. A struggle to defend the Redfern and Palm Island militants is not only a way of solidarising with their struggles but a way to push back the tide of racist attacks being faced by Aboriginal people and non-white immigrants. While state Labor governments throughout the country administer brutal and daily racist cop terror, the bigoted federal Howard government is planning to make welfare payments for Aboriginal people conditional on their "behaviour." Under this openly racist, apartheid-style policy, payment cards may be used to set limits on what Aboriginal people can buy using government benefits! Meanwhile new details have emerged of the NSW state government's latest sinister plans to drive Aboriginal tenants off The Block in order to boost property prices in the Redfern-Waterloo area.

Key to defending the Redfern militants is the struggle to win union support for this cause. It is the organised working class—through its ability to shut down capitalist profit by withdrawing its labour—that has the social power to defeat campaigns of state repression. And the proletariat must champion the rights of the Aboriginal people in order to achieve the fighting unity necessary to confront an increasingly confident capitalist ruling

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Sixtieth Anniversary of the Red Army's Liberation of Auschwitz

With much fanfare—and stunning mendacity—the Western imperialist press has trumpeted the sixty-year anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz Nazi death camp, in what is now southern Poland. It was the Red Army of the Soviet degenerated workers state that marched through those gates on 27 January 1945, and played the decisive role in defeating the Nazis at the cost of some 27 million Soviet lives. The truth about the liberation of Auschwitz lives in the writings of Jewish Italian author and chemist Primo Levi, who survived a harrowing ten months in the camp (a section of which was called Buna-Monowitz). He was among 7,000 ill prisoners left to die when the German overseers fled days before the Red Army arrived.

In the sick bay of the Lager [camp] at Buna-Monowitz eight hundred of us remained. Of these about five hundred died from illness, cold and hunger before the Russians arrived, and another two hundred succumbed in the following days, despite the Russians' aid.

The first Russian patrol came in sight of the camp about midday on 27 January 1945. Charles and I were the first to see them: we were carrying Sómogyi's body to the common grave, the first of our room mates to die. We tipped the stretcher on to the defiled snow, as the pit was now full, and no other grave was at hand: Charles took off his beret as a salute to both the living and the dead.

They were four young soldiers on horseback, who advanced along the road that marked the limits of the camp, cautiously holding their sten-guns. When they reached the barbed wire, they stopped to look, exchanging a few timid words, and throwing strangely embarrassed glances at the sprawling bodies, at the battered huts and at us few still alive.

To us they seemed wonderfully concrete and real, perched on their enormous horses, between the grey of the snow and the grey of the sky, immobile beneath the gusts of damp wind which threatened a thaw.

It seemed to us, and so it was, that the nothing full of death in which we had wandered like spent stars for ten days had found its own solid centre, a nucleus of condensation; four men, armed, but not against us: four messengers of peace, with rough and boyish faces beneath their heavy fur hats.

They did not greet us, nor did they smile; they seemed oppressed not only by compassion but by a confused restraint, which sealed their lips and bound their eyes to the funereal scene....

So for us even the hour of liberty rang out grave and muffled, and filled our souls with joy and yet with a painful sense of pudency, so that we should have liked to wash our consciences and our memories clean from the foulness that lay upon them; and also with anguish, because we felt that this should never happen, that now nothing could ever happen good and pure enough to rub out our past, and that the scars of the outrage would remain within us for ever, and in the memories of those who saw it, and in the places where it occurred and in the stories that we should tell of it.

—Primo Levi, "The Thaw" (1963), in *Survival in Auschwitz and The Reawakening, Two Memoirs* (Summit Books, 1986)

The Australian

15 February 2004: Police in riot gear lay siege to Aboriginal community in Redfern, Sydney following death of Aboriginal youth Thomas "TJ" Hickey.

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Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 1 February.

No. 841 **4 February 2005**

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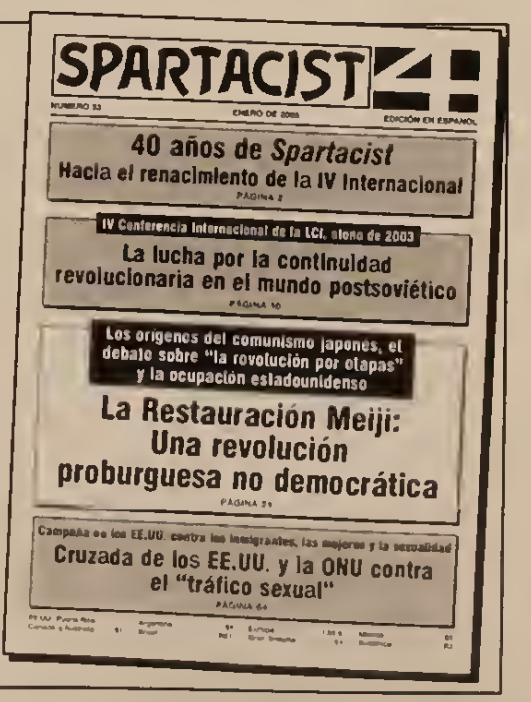


Young Spartacus

Down With the "Anti-Terror" Witchhunt Against the Four S.F. State Students!

We reprint below a January 21 leaflet from the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club.

November 1, 2004 was the eve of the U.S. presidential election and the U.S. military forces were poised to level Falluja. At San Francisco State University four women students from predominately Muslim countries (mainly Iran and Afghanistan) engaged members of the College Republicans in a heated argument over the U.S. colonial occupation of Iraq. The College Republicans responded by branding them as "terrorists" and hurling racist, anti-Arab epithets at the four women.

On November 3, the Republicans, wind in their sails, were celebrating Bush's electoral victory at their literature table. The four students had another argument with the Republicans that drew an audience. The Republicans again called the women "terrorists" and racist names. Out of this crowd, members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Students Against War (SAW), joined by a number of pro-Palestinian students, initiated a demonstration to protest the College Republicans' slanderous accusations and the Bush electoral victory.

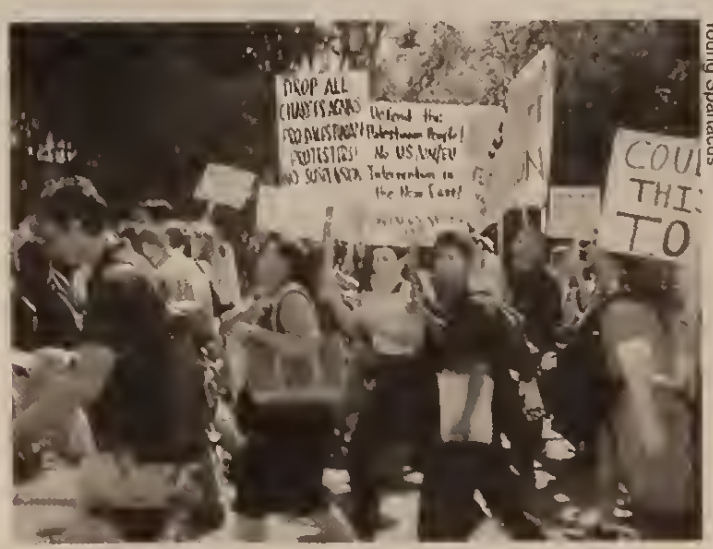
Following each incident, the women were subjected to a sinister slander barrage from the campus McCarthyites of racist right-wing ideologue David Horowitz's online *FrontPage Magazine*. *FrontPage* produced three inflammatory articles titled "Intifada Against College Republicans," "Jihad at San Francisco State," and "Palestinian Terror On Campus." After College Republicans fabricated stories of "terrorism" the four women were subjected to state surveillance by the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI.

Campus President Robert Corrigan threatened to punish the women if they did not (together with the Republicans) apologize for their behavior, in other words, for arguing their political beliefs and defending themselves against racist vilification.

Spartacus Youth Club members joined in a protest in defense of these women and intervened at a meeting where one of the women spoke. Centrally, we pointed out that charges of "terrorism" in USA-Patriot Act America are a threat in themselves. We warned against liberal illusions that the administration can be relied upon to end racism on campus. We stand in defense of these four courageous women against the racist provocateurs who wish to intimidate, vilify and silence them. We demand: *No administration reprisals! Down with the right-wing witchhunt!*

No Administration Reprisals!

This witchhunt is a product of the bipartisan "war on terror." The Democrats and Republicans have both worked to gut our rights. Their first targets have been immigrants, especially those of Near Eastern descent and Muslims. In this context, these false charges of "terrorism" have led to state surveillance and harassment and open the way to deportations and the disappearance of people.



Young Spartacus

SYC has vigorously defended victims of "war on terror" onslaught. September 2002: Bay Area SYC at protest against UC Berkeley administration's witchhunt against pro-Palestinian activists.

Most of all they want to go after all those who wish to protest the American colonial occupation of Iraq and the massacre at Falluja, or those who voice outrage at the genocidal "collective punishment" of Palestinians by Israel's Zionist rulers. This is what is happening at San Francisco State, in New York at Columbia University, at York University in Toronto and elsewhere.

The forces behind this bogus "academic freedom" campaign include the minions of racist ideologue Horowitz, represented on this campus by the grossly misnamed "Students for Academic Freedom." The College Republicans' membership overlaps with this outfit. Horowitz and his ilk say that blacks, women, immigrants and all oppressed should be grateful for what they've got. His ilk touts the myth that conservatives are persecuted on American universities. He has worked with Republicans to push the "Academic Bill of Rights," which attempts to provide a basis for a purge of the left from campuses. These are McCarthyite strategists; both their campaigns and their racist lies must be exposed. They seek to use the USA-Patriot Act as a weapon against critics of American imperialism, opponents of state repression, fighters for black liberation, fighters for women's liberation, and so on. They are working to get H.R. 3077 passed, legislation that would set up a government "advisory board" that would include national security types to act as thought police in federally funded programs in Middle Eastern Studies. *Down with H.R. 3077!*

In response, Students Against War (which includes ISO members) issued a petition with the demand that "there be no punitive action against these four women or any organization they belong to." But the core of the petition is a call on Corrigan to act as a regulator of political speech on campus. Such regulations would be used, in the first instance, to go after the left and minority students. Quoting a line from a 2002 letter by Corrigan that read "hate speech is not free speech," the petition stated that "signatories of this petition would agree with the president's sentiment." Such language renders the petition unsupportable. And this came *after* he threatened reprisals against the four Middle Eastern students for expressing their political views.

It is important in fighting against such sinister forces to know who your friends and enemies are.

We give this warning: campus administrations are no friend of these, or any, students. We, along with General Union of Palestine Students [GUPS], protested when this same administration was cooperating with the FBI in 2001 as it was looking for school files on students. This is not a question for the administration to deal with. Administration restrictions or bans on freedom of speech or expression will be used *against* any who militantly fight against racist reaction. In Corrigan's arsenal, "hate speech" regulations are a threat to every critic of racist American imperialism on this campus; he will use them against us—as he did against GUPS (as in 2002, to put the group on probation for a year), as he did against the Pan-Afrikan Student Union and others. *Abolish the administration! For student-teacher-worker control of the university! Cops off campus! Down with administration/cop spying on campus!*

Our allies are the women and men of the multiracial working class, like the heavily immigrant San Francisco hotel workers who were recently out on strike fighting for their livelihoods. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win youth to the struggles of the working class and the fight against every manifestation of oppression, as part of a broader effort to build a revolutionary workers party that can overturn the profit system and private property—capitalism.

Standing in the way of revolutionary social change are those liberals who push Democrats, as well as reformists like the ISO. The social-democratic ISO prettifies bourgeois politicians and capitalist parties whether it is the Democrats, who support the colonial occupation of Iraq, or the Greens, who accept a system that inevitably breeds anti-immigrant chauvinism and war. The ISO has backed Ralph Nader, a *capitalist* politician who favors UN occupation of Iraq, which can only mean one thing—imperialist troops in blue helmets instead of red, white and blue tanks! The necessary means to fight against racist oppression is working-class revolution to smash the capitalist system, which is based on racist degradation.

We demand: *No administration reprisals! Down with the right-wing witchhunt!* ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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Wednesday, February 16, 6:30 p.m.

Socialist Revolution and the Capitalist State

Harvard University
Loker Common, Memorial Hall Basement
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO

Tuesday, February 15, 7 p.m.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Room 202, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, February 23, 6:30 p.m.

Anti-Gay Bigotry and the Bourgeois Family: Labour Must Defend All the Oppressed!

York University, Student Centre
Room TBA
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 9, 4:30 p.m.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

UBC, Student Union Bldg., Room 207
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
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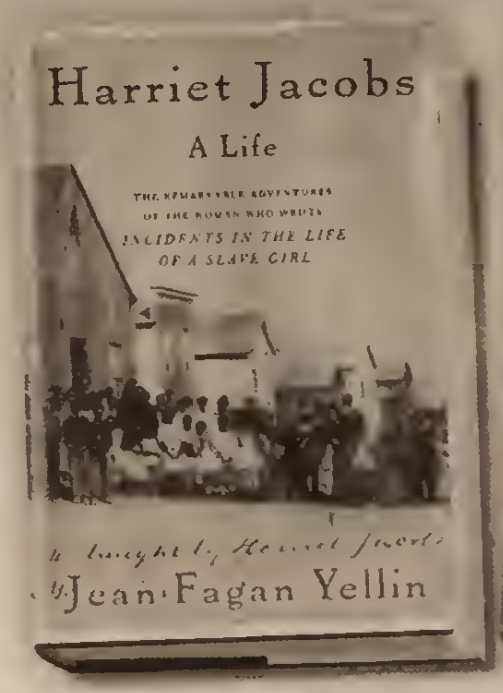
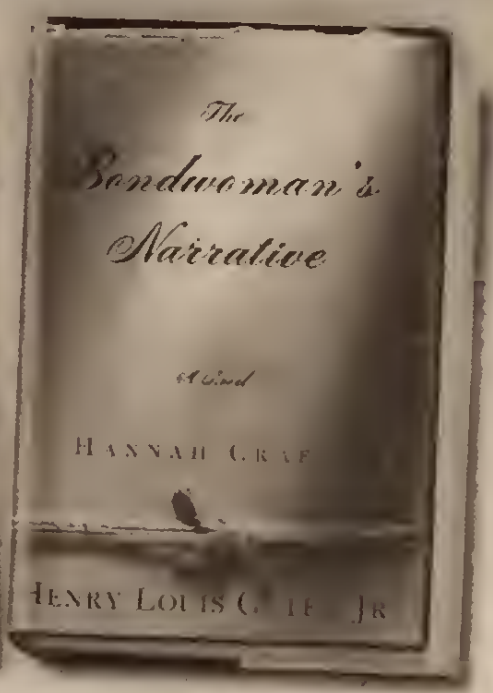
Black Women's Narratives of Slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction





Most stories of black women's lives under slavery have never been told. Slave masters routinely brutalized black girls and women, justifying their dehumanizing treatment by labeling them "sexual savages." Stripped, beaten, raped and forced to work as "breed sows," black women suffered a double burden under slavery because of their sex. Men wrote the majority of published accounts of slave life, the most well known being the

BY CARLA WILSON

classic *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. These slave narratives were often produced under the guidance of the anti-slavery movement, using "moral suasion" against slavery to influence a church-going audience, and therefore avoided the topic of sexual oppression so as not to shock the Victorian audiences they approached for aid.

More than one hundred book-length narratives were written before the end of the American Civil War. The mere existence of former slaves' writings and oratory indicted the theories of racial and mental inferiority that justified the slave system. In this way, the act of exposing the horrors of slavery became vital to the struggle against it. During the 19th century, journalists, schoolteachers and local historians interviewed former slave women, and in the 1920s and 1930s more than two thousand former slaves were interviewed by the Works Progress Administration Federal Writers' Project and by researchers at Fisk and Southern Universities. Most of the Slave Narrative Collection was kept in typescript in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress for nearly 40 years. This wealth of oral history was frequently dismissed as spurious, but after the civil rights movement, and even more recently, due to film documentaries like PBS's *Unchained Memories*, they have found wider interest.

Two valuable slave accounts by women document the period leading up to the Civil War and through the defeat of Radical Reconstruction. One is a work of immense historical research, thoughtfully written by retired English professor Jean Fagan Yellin. *Harriet Jacobs: A Life* (Basic Civitas Books, 2004) expands on the events and people that shaped Jacobs' own *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself* (Harvard University Press, 1987). As recently as two decades ago, Jacobs' autobiographical sketch was considered an obscure work penned by white abolitionist and editor Lydia Maria Child. With Jacobs' authorship authenticated in the mid 1980s, hers became the first recognized slave narrative by a black woman.

The other story, *The Bondwoman's Narrative* (Warner Books, 2002), is a semi-fictional work that dates from the 1850s. Discovered at an auction by Harvard African American Studies scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr., the only person to even bid on the manuscript, the book spent months on the *New York Times* best-seller list when it was published in 2002.

The fact that a black woman and former slave in the 19th century authored a novel has played a role in generating vigorous interest in this work of fiction. Its authentication meant that a black literary tradition existed much earlier than acknowledged. It also has much to do with the energetic quest for the identity of the author led by Gates, who rescued the book from historical oblivion.

The Bondwoman's Narrative represents an important work because it deals effectively with the role of sexual and physical oppression of black women under slavery. Moreover, unlike many published slave narratives, this book is a manuscript in the author's own handwriting, offering a unique window into the mind of a female slave. Caste, color and class—linked to widely-practiced miscegenation of master and slave—are at the core of this sentimental, gothic-style novel. An intriguing aspect of the story is the snobbery based on skin-color privileges and expectations of preferences in plantation life.

The main character of *The Bondwoman's Narrative* is Hannah, a North Carolina house slave serving as handmaid to a mistress passing for a white woman. She is well treated, observant and literate, attentive to every secret of her mistress. When Hannah's mistress' passing as a white woman is about to be exposed as a fraud, Hannah convinces her to escape North. They fail, and land in prison. Once captured, they are left at the mercy of the executor of the estate of the racist master, who had killed himself after learning he married a black woman.

The executor is a singular force for evil in the tale—the blackmailer of the mistress as well as a slave speculator who trades on the value of light-skinned females, thought to be passing. As an estate manager, he searches through papers to expose the lineage of women and force them onto the "fancy market" in New Orleans' high-toned bordellos. Eventually, the mistress dies from shock when faced with being sold. Hannah is then given to a government official's wife in Washington, D.C., whose ignorance and impetuosity strike a portrait in which the slave is in a more decisive role. Hannah is made to read letters and draft replies for her barely literate mistress. After shrilly demanding a new face powder be fetched from the store, the mistress finds it turns her face black. In the aftermath of this makeup malfunction, the mistress is ridiculed throughout Washington and leaves for the North Carolina plantation, where she punishes Hannah by throwing her in with the field slaves.

Hannah is confronted with being a field hand and taken as a sexual partner to a darker-skinned black man with several female mates. Earlier asked to assist fellow slaves seeking freedom in the North, Hannah had told them, "their scheme looked wild and unpromising and that I feared the result would be unfortunate." She counsels those in flight that they will only face bloodhounds and slave patrols, then bloody torture for their failure. In contrast, in reaction to her own dilemma, her response is swift: "To be driven into the fields beneath the eye and lash of the brutal overseer, and those miserable huts, with their promiscuous crowds of dirty, obscene and degraded objects, for my home I could not, I would not bear it." She flees within 48 hours of being sent into the fields and huts, passing for a white boy, then a white woman, en route to freedom in the North. The impetus for her escape underscores the influence of racial disdain within the slave community and the inculcation of racist dogmas employed as justification for the "peculiar institution."

Incidents in the Life of an Anti-Slavery Heroine

Yellin's *A Life* was heralded by less fanfare, but this biography powerfully reveals author and activist Harriet Jacobs as a remarkable fighter for the oppressed. Using a pseudonym, Linda Brent, Jacobs wrote her story while in domestic service with a prominent liberal New York family. Links between literacy, black self-sufficiency and political consciousness are key themes in Jacobs' evolution from fugitive slave, to author, to activist teacher of new freedmen at the Jacobs School for black Civil War "refugees" in Alexandria, Virginia. The story of Harriet Jacobs is the story of an active abolitionist fighter who lived through the Civil War, struggled to implement the promises of Radical Reconstruction and witnessed the betrayal of these promises.

Born in 1813, Harriet Jacobs did not know she was a slave until her sixth year, when her mother died and she was willed to an infant girl. Her father lived only six years longer and Jacobs fondly recalls that, although he was illiterate, he became a skilled carpenter, trusted enough by his owners to work on houses in the country and town. From him, she and her younger brother, John, learned to prize education and freedom. Jacobs' slave life in Edenton, North Carolina, reflected the

Gilbert Studios

British Library

Harriet Jacobs in 1894. Jacobs' life spanned the Civil War, Radical Reconstruction and its betrayal. Right: 1862 edition of her autobiographical *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*.

hierarchy of slave society—whites ruled over blacks, free black people ranked above slaves, but the status of slaves depended heavily on their masters, their skin color and their work as domestic labor or as field hands. Her parents were classified as mulattoes, and her grandmother, Molly, a slave who operated the town's Hornihlow's Tavern, worked as a cook, seamstress and wet nurse, living freely on site. Harriet learned from her grandmother how to sew as a youngster, and her mistress taught her to read and spell—skills that would eventually help transform her life.

When Harriet turned twelve, her life altered dramatically when she and her brother were sold to Dr. James Norcom. At the same time, her father was moved out to a plantation far from Edenton. Harriet found herself left to the whims of Norcom, a sexual tyrant who stalked her in an effort to make her his concubine. "He told me I was his property; that I must be subjected to his will in all things. My soul revolted against the mean tyranny. But where could I turn for protection? No matter whether the slave girl be as black as ebony or as fair as her mistress. In either case, there is no shadow of law to protect her from insult, from violence, or even from death; all these are inflicted by fiends who bear the shape of men," Jacobs wrote.

Her account, published in 1861, revealed unspeakable acts of sexual coercion at a time when practically no one dared to speak of such things. She threw harsh light on the sexual brutality underlying reproduction of the slave system, where the violation of black women by white men stood side by side with the separation of families as a calculated, measured provocation aimed not only at women, but at the black men who necessarily reacted with deep humiliation and rage. As labor historian Jacqueline Jones has observed in *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* (Vintage, 1986): "Whites often intervened in more direct ways to upset the sexual order that black men and women created for themselves, thereby obliterating otherwise viable courtship and marriage practices.... Masters frequently practiced a form of eugenics by withholding their permission for certain marriages and arranging others." A master might prohibit a marriage for any highhanded reason, forbidding a male slave to seek a wife elsewhere, since their offspring would not belong to him but to the wife's slaveowner. Jacobs, for example, had fallen in love with a free black carpenter who proposed to marry her, but Norcom refused the lover's effort to buy her out of slavery. It is impossible to know how commonplace Jacobs' story might have actually been.

Robert Langmuir Collection

1864: School in Alexandria, Virginia founded by Harriet Jacobs for former slaves.

Library of Congress

Fugitive slaves in 1862 crossing the Rappahannock River, Virginia.

For young Harriet, a desperate act of rebellion meant encouraging and accepting the advances of Samuel Tredwell Sawyer, a youthful white lawyer of the town's aristocracy who ranked above Norcom in social standing. She bore him two children over several years. As a pro-slavery advocate in the North Carolina legislature of 1830, he joined in pushing through a wave of repressive measures aimed at control of free blacks and whites as well. New laws imposed strict penalties against teaching slaves to read or write, the harboring of runaway slaves and aiding runaways or emancipating them.

Less than three weeks after the North Carolina legislature's measures passed, the Nat Turner Revolt occurred in 1831 in Southampton County, Virginia. Deeply religious from childhood, Nat Turner was a skilled preacher and possessed some influence among local slaves. He planned attacks with a band of approximately 60 followers. After killing the family of Turner's owner, the band spread the revolt, in two days killing a total of 55 white people. The revolt was soon crushed; 13 slaves and three free blacks were hanged immediately. Turner himself escaped into the woods, but was captured, hanged, skinned and a purse made of his skin. Dozens more blacks were also killed in retaliation. The news traveled sixty miles downstream to Edenton and the repression that followed was roused with fifes blaring and drums sounding as white mobs formed roving bands of armed slave patrollers imposing martial law.

Fearful that Turner's revolt would inspire others to arms, slave masters put Edenton under round-the-clock patrols, with house-to-house searches. Jacobs recalls how the fear of Turner's revolt prompted slave owners to conclude "that it would be well to give the slaves enough of religious instruction to keep them from murdering their masters." Worried that any congregating of blacks meant seeds planted for insurrection, the slave masters reduced to rubble the meetinghouse blacks had built communally that served as their church; the congregation was forced to attend the white churches.

Harriet's own situation became more precarious as she grew sick and tired of trying to avoid sexual servitude under Norcom. Finally she fled to a crawlspace concealed beneath her grandmother's roof—a cell roughly seven feet wide, nine feet long and three feet high. There she would spend the next seven years, only leaving the house once. She subsequently escaped to the North in June 1842 and ended in the care of Philadelphia's Vigilant Committee, but as with many who traveled the Underground Railroad, she never divulged her route.

Abolitionist Fighter

Once in the free states of the North, Jacobs lived in constant trepidation, fearing Norcom and his heirs would seek to claim their "property." Her immediate focus was on finding her children, who had been sent North as servants to their father's kin. At first, Jacobs avoided the abolitionist circles, after an initial encounter in Philadelphia included a warning from Reverend Jeremiah Durham that she should avoid revealing her sexual history because some might treat her with "contempt." Later, she joined her brother, John S., who had escaped Norcom before her and had become a well-known anti-slavery activist. He

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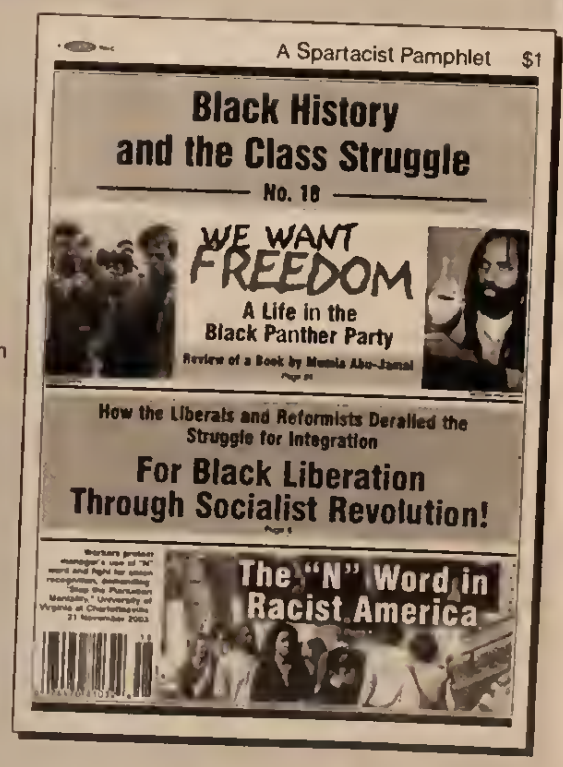

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A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks

Spartacist League 12th National Conference

The Spartacist League/U.S. held its 12th National Conference last summer in the New York City area. Attending were elected delegates and members from every SL local, members of the Spartacus Youth Club, and also members of the Labor Black Leagues, which are associated with the SL. The SL is the U.S. section of the International Communist League, to which it is subordinate. The conference was immediately preceded by a meeting of the ICL's International Executive Committee (IEC). Conference delegates heard politically rich greetings from representatives of every ICL section.

As the highest decision-making body of the SL/U.S., the National Conference is charged with reviewing the work and decisions of the organization since the previous conference, assessing the current political situation and our interventions into various milieus, charting the organization's tasks for the coming period and electing a new Central Committee to lead the work of the party between conferences.

This National Conference was particularly significant since it continued the work begun at the ICL's Fourth International Conference in the autumn of 2003 in critically assessing the internal fights and public interventions of our organization over the past period (see "The Fight for Revolutionary Continuity in the Post-Soviet World," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 58, Spring 2004). In the immediate aftermath of the International Conference, a member of the IEC posed the tasks facing us:

> "We need to ensure that we don't lose our programmatic bearings by inventing a 'new world reality.' We need to examine particular pólitical questions on the basis of the fundamentals of Marxist theory combined with our already developed positions, taking into account a concrete examination of the issue in question.... Moreover, we need to intervene in the world as much as possible to test our program and be ahle to make assessments of our work. This requires a knowledgeable and thinking cadre who speak up."

And the cadre certainly spoke up! The three-month period of pre-conference discussion produced an outpouring of documents by comrades critically evaluating past campaigns and aspects of our work, necessitating the production of seven internal discussion bulletins on top of many more international and SL/U.S. bulletins from preceding months.

The conference served to politically arm our organization by sharpening our interventions into struggles against U.S. imperialism and in defense of working people and the oppressed—politically combatting our opponents and winning new adherents to Marxism and the fight for socialist revolution. Shortly after the conference, we carried out a very successful *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive (see article in *WV* No. 836, 12 November 2004). More recently, the annual Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners drew record audiences and in particular highlighted the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal (see "Thousands Raised for Class-War Prisoners," *WV* No. 840, 21 January).

This was a delegated conference, for which one delegate represented five members of the SL. Elections for delegates took place on the basis of agreement with a written political position. A draft conference document titled "Reconstructing a Damaged Party" was submitted by the Central Committee. That document, as amended, as well as a separate "Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S." document, was adopted hy the conference. Putting the party's problems and tasks in the political context of the post-Soviet world, the conference document asserted that the experience and aims of the 1917 October Revolution must remain our guide, a compass against which to measure our positions.

ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* No. 54), *Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.* and report on 2003 ICL International Conference (*Spartacist* No. 58).

The Fight for Revolutionary Continuity

The onset of the "post-Soviet" period required open and wide-ranging debate in our organization and its leadership. We are confronting a fundamentally changed world political situation, conditioned by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, we face genuine objective problems that no Trotskyist group has heretofore faced. The period of the collapse of the Soviet Union coincided with a shift in the resident central leadership of the SL/U.S. Under a different, somewhat insecure leadership, the difficulties in grappling with the new political terrain were magnified.

On the one hand, we recognized the retrogression of proletarian consciousness internationally—that militants no longer identify struggles against exploitation and oppression with the goal of communism—and that this regression required propaganda different from that we had previously produced. Thus, we published the series of articles on "Marxism vs. Anarchism" precisely because we anticipated and saw a resurgence of anarchist ideology among left-wing youth.

On the other hand, the leadership in the ICL and SL centers seized on instances of social protest to project opportunities for large-scale recruitment of youth and others, out of all proportion to the real situation. As the conference document put it: "Abstract recognition of the retrogression of consciousness and dealing with its concrete manifestations are not at all the same thing."

Most of our cadre joined in a period when Marxism was hegemonic on the left. Thus, the bulk of the leadership assumed we would recruit from the pseudo-Trotskyists and Maoists those people who thought they joined authentic Trotskyist or Marxist-Leninist organizations. Today, Marxism is no longer what motivates the overwhelming majority of young radicals, including those won to our ostensibly socialist opponents. However, we were still searching for some kind of genetically programmed Marxists. Lenin came from another school: he understood that the hegemony of Marxism among politically advanced workers and leftist intellectuals wasn't a natural condition of the modern world but had to be *fought for*.

What we are faced with is the hard task of explicating the basic principles and worldview of Marxism, as did Georgi Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labor group in late 19th- and early 20th-century Russia. Lenin himself came to political consciousness at that time, when his beloved older hrother was executed for participating in a failed plot by revolutionary populists to assassinate the tsar. Lenin became a Marxist only through a prolonged period of internal development and struggle in which he transcended the revolutionary populist outlook and program then hegemonic among the Russian leftist intelligentsia.

A high point of the conference was an educational given by comrade Joseph Seymour on "How Marx Became a Marxist" (see part one of the educational in *WV* No. 840, 21 January). The class traced Marx's development from a radical bourgeois intellectual to a proletarian revolutionary communist. It was especially helpful in assisting comrades to understand that we now confront tasks in some ways akin to those of the Emancipation of Labor group which found it necessary to defend the scientific basis of Marxism against various expressions of left-radical bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

During Cold War II, heginning in the late '70s, our tendency resolutely and uniquely defended the Soviet Union and the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces. In the name of "democracy" and "anti-Stalinism," the various pseudo-Trotskyist groups and almost all other self-described leftists enthusiastically supported those very forces, from Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin and his supporters in Russia. Their open support to counterrevolution was presaged by their cheerleading of the U.S.-backed Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan.

Trotsky warned his supporters that in the wake of the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the *negative* confirmation of the Left Opposition's political line against Stalin and Bukharin would at best result in the recruitment of handfuls of militants, whereas a victory for the revolution would have radicalized masses internationally and led to the recruiting of many tens of thousands.

But while this lesson was stated by us in relation to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, it was not fully understood. Since the results of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe substantiated our political struggle during Cold War II against both the Stalinists and anti-Soviet "Third Camp" socialists, many comrades thought we would be able to confidently announce "we told you so" and reap immediate recruits from our opponents. And had the Russian workers fought in 1991-92, even short of victory, we *would* have been in a far better position to make that argument. However, counterrevolution triumphed and, not for the first time, revolutionaries were abused by history—an important objective source of the frustration and concomitant political and organizational departures hy elements in our leadership, both internally and externally.

As detailed in the *Spartacist* article on the ICL Conference, matters came to a head in the summer of 2003. An internal fight broke out in the wake of the decision by some members of *Workers Vanguard* Editorial Board and Political Bureau,

WV Photo

9 February 2002: Oakland united tront, initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League tor Social Defense, was the tirst labor-centered mobilization in U.S. against USA-Patriot and Maritime Security Acts, in defense ot immigrant rights.

Spartakist

East Berlin, 3 January 1990: Spartacist-initiated demonstration at Treptow Park against fascist desecration of memorial to Red Army liberators and in defense of DDR deformed workers state. ICL uniquely fought capitalist counterrevolution, provided Marxist analysis of world-historic defeat.

along with comrades in the International Secretariat (I.S.), to excise from the published version of a letter by the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) a postscript grotesquely and falsely accusing SL/U.S. National Chairman James Robertson of "vulgar chauvinism." The smear—originated by renegades who fled our organization at the onset of the anti-Soviet Cold War II—was designed to invalidate our history and imply that ICL members are dupes and/or racists. By excising the "P.S."—an omission which the BT immediately exploited—*WV* essentially pled Robertson guilty as charged, putting into question the ICL's programmatic continuity and indicating agnosticism on our very existence.

The BT excision provoked outrage throughout the ICL, exposing political disorientation within the central administration of the ICL and SL/U.S., an administration that was becoming politically erratic and beginning to exhibit corollary bureaucratic practices. Increasingly, such practices began to erode our party's self-correction mechanism by stifling debate and discussion—not mainly through formal measures but rather through a marked tendency to elevate disputed questions, including minor tactical differences, into questions of principle and regime.

The ability to frankly assess our work and correct our mistakes is a critical weapon for Leninists to maintain the integrity of the revolutionary program against the pressures of reactionary capitalist society. It provides the party with the capacity to test its leadership, strategy and tactics in light of experience and our revolutionary principles. Ultimately, this is expressed in the right to form factions when serious questions of program and principle need to be thrashed out. Such struggle is crucial to maintaining our revolutionary continuity with the early American Trotskyists, from whom we derive, and with Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

The Russian Question and the Fight for New Octobers

We have often described ourselves, in the words of James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, as "the party of the Russian Revolution." At the crucial hour, in stark contrast to most of the left, the ICL stood at our post in defense of the gains of the October Revolution. Amid the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany (the DDR) in 1989-90, we threw all our resources into this struggle, fighting against capitalist reunification and for a "Germany of workers councils." Of four reporters to the main conference session on "Reconstructing a Damaged Party," one concentrated on the lessons of our intervention into the DDR where, for the first time in our history, we intervened directly in world-historic events.

We also fought against capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, establishing a station in Moscow. This work cost the life of our comrade Martha Phillips. The aftermath of Yeltsin's August 1991 countercoup, in the absence of working-class resistance, saw the final undoing of the workers state issuing from the October Revolution. We published our seminal article, "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," which explained why Trotsky's prognosis that capitalist restoration would require a civil war had not materialized.

Yet the ICL failed to conduct a synthetic assessment of either our intervention in the DDR or the work of Moscow station. The failure to critically evaluate these interventions helped set a pattern over the next period that major party interventions did not have to face real scrutiny inside the organization. The ICL Conference devoted considerable attention to correcting and honing our understanding of the situation in China—the "Russian question" today. The International Secretariat is orchestrating a full assessment of our work in the DDR and in Russia, beginning with a three-part educational review in all the sections. This is key to strengthening the party in our fight for unconditional military defense of and proletarian political revolution in China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea.

Communist Intervention in Bush's America

The conference took place months before the U.S. presidential elections, when "Anybody but Bush" sentiment had become dominant among the left and activist youth milieus. Addressing the high level of polarization in the American electorate, despite the few substantive policy differences between the Republicans and Democrats, a leading comrade warned in a letter quoted in the conference document:

> "If we simply focus on the narrow programmatic differences between the Democrats and Republicans, then we cannot address the intense mutual hostility of their supporters. And if we simply focus on the hatred felt by many black working people for the Republicans, we are likely to exaggerate the differences between the GOP and the Democrats."

The document notes that while such groups as the Communist Party and Democratic Socialists of America openly support the Democratic Party, Workers World Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party "channel opposition to the crimes of the imperialist rulers into liberal antiwar, pro-civil liberties coalitions (ANSWER, NION) whose bottom line is 'anybody but Bush.' We have found that many self-described anarchist youth, lacking any class understanding, see no reason in principle not to support the Democrats."

Delegates spoke to how the call raised by SL/SYC contingents in the Iraq antiwar protests to "Break with the Democratic Party of War and Racism—For a Workers Party That Fights for Socialist Revolution!" attracted militant youth repelled by the protest organizers' liberal pressure politics. Our call to defend North Korea and its right to nuclear weapons was also polarizing, as many "antiwar" Democrats railed that Bush's obsession with Iraq was steering attention away from going after the North Korean deformed workers state. Most protesters, however, did not automatically see how our call to "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack," i.e., standing for the *defeat* of U.S. imperialism, was counterposed to such pacifist slogans as "no to war"—a slogan pushed by the liberals and reformists in order to pressure the capitalist parties to adopt more pacific, "humane" policies.

Much of the political discussion on our propaganda and intervention into the anti-war and anti-globalization milieu took place at the Youth Commission at the conference, composed of SYC members from around the country. The SL was represented by a delegation elected by the conference. The gathering revealed a growing youth component of our common movement, including the recruitment of a number of minority and working-class youth over the last few years; it voted to expand the national Youth Commission in charge of producing the *Young Spartacus* pages that appear in *WV* every month. The Commission also discussed the then-upcoming protests against the Democratic and Republican National Conventions, addressing the need to politically take on the reformist lefts' pandering to the "Anybody but Bush" sentiment.

At the final session of the conference, a senior party comrade and veteran youth activist spoke to the need for a "carnivrous leadership of the youth": "It's very good for a party leadership to have some carnivores on their trail. And in order to become a youth organization that wants to get the party leadership, you have to publish a newspaper, get an office, collect money—youth never have any problems about collecting money when they've got a *reason* for it—go on national tours, set up local branches, participate in campus struggles, and all the other things you have to do to get the party leadership."

Iraq War and Occupation

A separate conference agenda point was devoted to the Iraq war and occupation. Prior to the conference, a dispute broke out over what slogans best encapsulated our proletarian internationalist defense of the Iraqi peoples against U.S. occupation. This discussion was driven by a number of important factors, including the ethnic/religious divisions (Sunni, Shi'ite, Kurd) within Iraq, which was arbitrarily carved out by the British imperialists following World War I, and the fact that many of those who are fighting the American occupation forces appear to be reactionary Islamic fundamentalists who also attack other ethnic/religious groupings in the country.

Much of the debate revolved around how one can make clear that every blow struck against the American-led occupation is in the interests of working people across the world while also underlining our opposition to the reactionary social and political positions of those now fighting the U.S. Some comrades tended to underestimate the reactionary politics of the "resistance," while others tended to over-emphasize it at the expense of the primary issue, opposition to the American occupation.

By the time of the conference the differences had narrowed considerably, though the debate helped to sharpen our line and hone our propaganda. The conference affirmed as our central slogan complex, "U.S. and Allied Forces Out of Iraq Now! Down With the Colonial Occupation! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers at Home!" In order to make clear our side in the occupation, as we did during the war with our call to defend Iraq against imperialist attack, we also raise the slogan "Defend the Iraqi Peoples Against U.S. Imperialist Butchers!"

While affirming that we will continue to raise the call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan, we noted that at this particular conjuncture, in Iraq—and *only* in Iraq—the Kurdish question has become decisively subordinated to the colonial occupation, in the sense that the Kurdish political parties and their military forces are an integral part of the occupation forces.

Fighting Domestic Repression

In our conference deliberations, we tried to clearly face the political reality in which we function and the problems—ranging from critical to trivial—we have encountered. As Marx put it, "the point is to change" the world and to change it you've got to recognize it. The conference document dealt with the intensified bourgeois reaction in the U.S. that "took full flight after the September 11 attacks. Perceiving few obstacles in the way of its global ambitions, U.S. imperialism has extended its military power to Central Asia and the Near East while

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Conference...

(continued from page 7)

carrying out a series of repressive measures domestically that spell a qualitative diminution of democratic rights."

The document also dealt with a major problem with our propaganda in the immediate aftermath of September 11, when our party press failed for a full month to publicly state that Marxists draw a distinction between attacks on institutions like the Pentagon—which directly represents the military might of U.S. imperialism—and random and criminal terror against innocent civilians, as in the case of the World Trade Center. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and as a military installation the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack an "anti-imperialist" act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon.

The party can be proud of the steps we have taken in fighting the government's assault on the rights of the population. In February 2002, the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a labor-centered united-front protest in Oakland, California in defense of immigrant rights and against the USA-Patriot and Maritime Security Acts. That was the first union-centered protest in defense of immigrant rights in the U.S. after the September 11 attacks.

In 2003, the PDC and SL filed "friends of the court" briefs on behalf of Jose Padilla, an American citizen seized in Chicago by the government as an "enemy combatant" (see *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 31, Summer 2003). The detention of Padilla without any charges or access to legal counsel or recourse represents an attack on the very right of citizenship, concretizing what we have stressed from the beginning of the "war on terror": that the measures enacted first against immigrants would not be so limited but would be used against citizens as well, particularly the black population, and in the long run the left and labor movement. Legal and social defense will continue to loom large as a task of our common movement in the period ahead.

The Fight to Free Mumia and Abolish the Racist Death Penalty

One of the conference reporters angularly characterized the problems with the SL/U.S. work over the last period as "stodgy demoralized sectarianism alternating with get-rich impressionism." For example, our sectarian position to not sell at the 1999 Seattle protests—painting all the protesters with the brush of the AFL-CIO labor tops' grotesque anti-Chinese, anti-Communist protectionism—cost us precious political capital.

L. Y. Leonidov

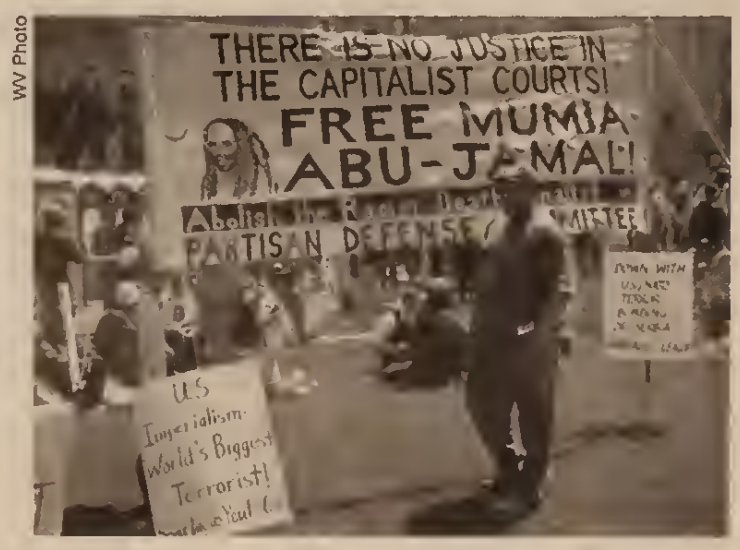
Lenin and Trotsky in Red Square on second anniversary of 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

The decision to boycott the protest against the World Trade Organization meant that we left the field free for our reformist political opponents and lost an important opportunity to engage with and learn more about the youthful anti-globalization and anarchist milieus.

At roughly the same time, when we applied the united-front tactic in the 23 October 1999 labor/black united-front mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan in New York City, this success was followed by a highly unrealistic, exhausting campaign to recruit large numbers of "young black workers." October 23 was an important *defensive* struggle, initiated by the PDC and heavily built by the SL and SYC, in which some 8,000 people turned out to stop the fascists. The resident party leadership, however, confused this successful defensive action with a generalized leap in proletarian consciousness, especially among New York's black working class. The fact that only two months after the anti-Klan mobilization, New York City's transit workers stood down from their strike threat in the face of company/government union-busting moves should have been cause to review the post-October 23 policy.

Reviewing this work cast light on our struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization and award-winning journalist who has been on death row since 1982 on false charges of killing a policeman. First taking up Mumia's cause in 1987, the Partisan Defense Committee did trail-blazing work to publicize his case and his powerful writings, helping to expose the racist railroading of Mumia by the cops, District Attorney's office and courts. The PDC initiated united-front defense rallies for Mumia, seeking in particular to mobilize labor support for him and demanding abolition of the racist death penalty. For a time, PDC counsel served on Mumia's legal defense team.

Our work was crucial in making Mumia known to a national and international audience, including trade unions. In the summer of 1995, after a death warrant was signed against him, a powerful movement demanding that Mumia's life be saved erupted across the U.S. and around the world. His scheduled execution was stayed by the courts in August of that year. And while we succeeded in our efforts to galvanize much larger social forces to fight on behalf of Jamal, we recognized that those same forces were far removed from our communist outlook and would inevitably seek to marginalize our involvement in this struggle.



WV Photo

PDC banner at San Francisco "new trial" demo for Mumia Abu-Jamal, 24 April 1999.

However, this correct observation became a rationale for increasingly withdrawing from political combat with groups such as Socialist Action and the Workers World Party who tailored their appeals to liberals who were agnostic on Mumia's innocence and thus would not rally around a call to free him. Accordingly, the reformists purposefully subordinated the call to *free* Mumia to the demand for a "new trial." Our disengaging from political combat with these forces meant we were not as effective as we could have been in exposing their demobilization of support for Mumia.

We correctly decided against endorsing protests which were called around the "new trial" demand, such as the "Millions for Mumia" demonstrations on 24 April 1999. But we wrongly concluded that we were precluded, on grounds of political principle, from marching in these demonstrations. We should have made clear our political opposition by organizing "Free Mumia" contingents in the demonstrations organized by liberals and reformists. Instead we refused to march in these demonstrations at all, even while organizing full mobilizations of our members to attend them to sell our paper. This policy wrongly equated endorsement of an action, which implies political agreement with the demands, with organized participation in the event itself.

Our policy of not marching on 24 April 1999 played a role in our attitude toward a stop-work meeting called by the West Coast ILWU longshore union in defense of Jamal the same day as those marches. We noted the move by ILWU Local 10 bureaucrat Jack Heyman to organize a union contingent that included the slogan to free Jamal at the same time that he motivated the ILWU to endorse the April 24 "new trial" rally, and correctly underlined that this provided a left cover for those who did not want to call for Jamal's freedom. However, rather than commending the ILWU stop-work action as an important statement of the kind of social power needed for Jamal's defense, we effectively equated the action with Heyman's pandering to the call for a "new trial."

A resolution passed at the conference underscored the need for our work and press to highlight the fight for Mumia's freedom. This is all the more urgent today given that few youth know who he is, much less see the significance of his struggle in the fight against black oppression. The success of the recent PDC benefits is testimony to both the appeal of Mumia's case among many black, youth and trade-union activists and the sense that much more needs to be done in the fight for his freedom.

Intervening in American Society: Black and Union Work

Among the decisions of the conference was to form a national Black Commission, whose purview will include the *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet series. This Commission will also monitor national developments of importance in the fight for black rights, including in the South, and coordinate the work of the Labor Black Leagues, which work in conjunction with most of our party locals.

The conference agreed on the need for more articles in *WV* on the fight against black oppression, and many delegates spoke to the need to continue addressing the increased acceptance of the "N" word particularly among black ghetto youth, an expression of internalized oppression based on their enforced segregation at the bottom of society.

The Black Commission, which met during the conference, voted to encourage the Labor Black Leagues to add a demand to their ten-point program expressing opposition to laws against prostitution as well as the other "crimes without victims," such as pornography, gambling and drugs. This demand, subsequently adopted by the LBLs, is particularly important in addressing the contradiction that much of the black population—which often constitutes the most militant fighters in the workers movement—is politically advanced in awareness of the draconian state repression and brutal oppression that characterizes American society, but at the same time tends to be politically backward on social questions like abortion and gay rights, due in part to the continuing, weighty influence of the black churches.

Another issue that received considerable attention was how we conducted our debate with the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) in May 2003. The LRP leadership cadres are the direct descendants of Max Shachtman, who split from the Trotskyist movement in 1940, refusing to defend the Soviet Union. But their views were also centrally shaped by the 1960s New Left, and thus their politics are defined not simply by "State Department socialism," but also by cheerleading for petty-bourgeois "Third World" nationalism abroad and

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WV Photo

San Francisco, January 2003: Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent protests buildup for Iraq war.

Redfern...

(continued from page 2)

class. Many of the most politically conscious Maori, Asian, Arab and Turkish workers living in racist White Australia identify with the struggles of Aboriginal people. Meanwhile leftist and worker militants in the neocolonial countries of Asia and the Pacific see in the brutal oppression of Aboriginal people a mirror of their own subjugation under U.S., Japanese and Australian imperialism. To unite across race lines in this country and to win the trust of, and hence a crucial fighting alliance with, the workers of the Asia-Pacific region, the proletariat must show determined opposition to the racist campaigns of the White Australia capitalist rulers.

No Illusions in the Capitalist State!

In response to incessant cop brutality, some left groups and Aboriginal leaders have raised calls for some form of "civilian review" of the police or for governments to "empower" and resource policing of areas like The Block by elders in the black community. For example, a 25 August letter to the *Koori Mail* by the FSP proposes "the establishment of independent elected civilian review boards" as a "mechanism of accountability" of the police. But the police, along with the military, courts and prisons are at the core of the capitalist state which was created, exists, and is replenished for the very purpose of enforcing the rule of the racist exploiting class over the workers and dispossessed. While it is possible, through social struggle, to win temporary concessions from the capitalists such as wage increases or greater access to social services, the bourgeoisie are no more going to cede control of their armed thugs, the police, than they are going to hand over power to the toiling masses. Any pretence of "civilian review" of the cops invariably serves to simply legitimise the police by propagating the deadly illusion that they are serving and being directed by the whole community.

Australasian Spartacist

Sydney: Spartacus Youth Club supporters join Redfern march in memory of TJ, February 2004.

Australasian Spartacist

Opposition to racist cop presence in Redfern emblazoned on part of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra, Australia's capital. Aborigines set up Tent Embassy in 1972 as a protest against Australian government's denial of land and other rights.

Similarly, any "community policing" of areas like The Block that is set up and financed by the ruling class will be used by it to legitimise racist repression and make complicit some Aborigines in the oppression of their own people. And the only elders whom the bourgeoisie would "empower" to police their communities would be those that the capitalists seek to buy off or those who have already shown themselves willing to be allies of the racist rulers—like the people who have accepted invitations to join Howard's hand-picked Aboriginal "advisory" council or Mick Mundine, who has welcomed racist cop raids targeting The Block.

What is needed is a program of union/black/minority action against racist terror as part of a class-struggle fightback against the all-sided capitalist attacks on the unions, the poor, women, Aborigines and immigrants. To realise this perspective requires a political struggle to break (in the first instance, the most class-conscious) workers from illusions in the potential reformability of the capitalist state and to expose the Laborite misleaders who tie the working class to the bosses' state. We need an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the proletariat and its allies in a socialist revolution to sweep the racist capitalist system into the dustbin of history. On the way to this goal we need to defend all those who have courageously stood against the atrocities of racist capitalism: *Drop the charges against the Redfern and Palm Island black militants!*

* * *

Fax protest statements demanding the dropping of charges against the Redfern defendants to the NSW Attorney-General, Robert Debus on 011-612-9228-3166. Fax copies to the Partisan Defence Committee on 011-612-9281-2185.■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

Kurdish nationalists who collaborate with U.S. imperialism.

For the first time in centuries, Shi'ites will rule an Arab country, which is a reason al-Sistani and many other Shi'ite leaders pushed for the elections. This has Sunni Arab rulers apoplectic that a Shia "Crescent" will run from Iran through Iraq to Lebanon, via Syria. Notably, the oil wealth of Saudi Arabia is concentrated in Shi'ite areas, as is the largest concentration of oil wealth in Iraq (apart from Mosul), not to mention the oil wealth controlled by Iran's Shi'ite theocracy. Now, why would the Bush administration, which considers the Iranian Shi'ite Islamic regime at the pinnacle of the world "axis of evil," maneuver the elections in Iraq to bring the Shi'ites to power, thus strengthening Iranian influence in the region? Answer: the Bush administration doesn't know where it is, much less where it is going. Attempting to disprove new revelations by Seymour Hersh (*New Yorker*, 24 January) that U.S. commandos have already been dropped into Iran, Cheney told MSNBC's Don Imus, "We don't want a war in the Middle East if we can avoid it." Where do these lunatics think Iraq is, Greater Texas?

France, Germany and Britain are worried about Bush waging another war in the Near East. They have substantial economic investments and trade deals with Iran and are urgently negotiating to get the Ayatollahs to foreswear development of nuclear weapons. Cheney's disavowal of war plans against Iran was anything but. Stating that "Iran is right at the top of the list" of world trouble spots, Cheney dropped that "the Israelis might well decide to act first and let the rest of the world worry about cleaning up the diplomatic mess afterwards." The Zionist neocons in the Bush administration have long had their sights on "regime change" in Iran as part of their overall plan to redraw the map in the interests of Israeli security and American imperialist interests. As we reported in "Mullahs, Monarchists, Neocons and Zionists" (*WV* No. 820, 20 February 2004), Pentagon planners Richard Perle and Douglas Feith first schemed a new Near East plan many years ago in a position paper they drafted in 1996 for incoming Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. In 2002, Perle prepared a slideshow for Pentagon chiefs that explained U.S. goals for bringing "democracy" to the region as follows: "Iraq—a tactical goal, Saudi Arabia—a strategic goal, and Egypt—the great prize."

No wonder then that the entire Arab world and "old Europe" are on edge. Growing discontent within the American military and a real shortage of troops will not necessarily stop a zealously ideological Christian fundamentalist White House, no doubt anxious to hasten Armageddon, from widening the war in the region—and certainly not from launching murderously destructive bombing raids on Iran. *U.S. keep your bloody hands off Iran!*

AFP

A polling station in the northern city of Samarra blown to rubble in lead-up to January 30 "elections."

Democratic rights for *all* the peoples of Iraq, and across the Near East more broadly, cannot be achieved under capitalism, but require the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. This means combining the struggle against the occupation with a struggle against all manner of bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism, and poses the urgent need to forge Marxist parties to lead the struggles for workers rule. International extension of the revolution to the rich centers of imperialism—chiefly the United States, Germany and Japan—is not only essential for worldwide egalitarian socialist economic planning, but taking power out of the hands of the war-crazed U.S. imperialist rulers is essential for the future of life on the planet!

Imperialist War and Workers Revolution

The imperial ambitions so blatantly displayed in Bush's second inaugural speech were couched in bizarre Christian fundamentalist rhetoric. They were also inspired by Zionist neocon ravings, as former Soviet dissident and right-wing Israeli minister Natan Sharansky is now being touted by both the born-again president and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. A London *Guardian* (22 January) writer quipped that Bush's speechwriter suffered a heart attack while working on the inaugural address, "and its fire-and-brimstone rhetoric seems to have been aimed at having the same effect on some of the world's leaders."

The template for the U.S. imperial presidency was set a long time ago. And though this ruling class may currently have a Christian wacko at the helm, nonetheless the power behind the ship of state is the relentless U.S. capitalist drive for profits, which in a world economy necessarily results in imperialism, the inevitably bloody expression of capitalism at its highest stage. Imperialist aggression and war are not "policies" that can be ended within the framework of capitalism—the entire system must be overturned.

Rejecting this Leninist understanding of imperialism, the reformist organizers of the antiwar movement, like Workers World and the International Socialist Organization, peddled the lie that the capitalist system can be reformed to work in the interest of human needs. They built antiwar demonstrations designed to appeal to liberal Democratic politicians who argue that the Iraq war is damaging to the interests of the U.S. On January 12, 16 Congressional Democrats issued an open letter to Bush calling for "immediate steps to begin the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq." These Democrats are getting themselves in position to play the same role they did before the war: to corral antiwar sentiment into the safe fold of the capitalist Democratic Party.

The fight against imperialist war must become a fight against the entire capitalist system which breeds it, and against both U.S. capitalist parties, Democrats as well as Republicans, who take turns presiding over an increasingly cruel and divided society. Largely because of its pro-capitalist misleadership, the working class, which alone has the ability to overthrow capitalism and open the road to human progress again, has been absent far too long as a contender for political and social power. Our task, as a small Marxist international organization, is to fight to reestablish the understanding that the road to human freedom lies through working-class socialist revolution.■

Narratives...

(continued from page 5)

often shared platforms with abolitionist Frederick Douglass and also worked on the *North Star*. Eventually becoming a frequent letter contributor to the *New York Daily Tribune*, she gained courage to write her autobiography and later served as a correspondent for William Lloyd Garrison's the *Liberator*, as part of activist circles in Rochester, New York and Boston. Her views were no doubt shaped by her involvement with organized reformers from the anti-slavery and women's rights struggles in Rochester.

These abolitionists were part of a broad, bourgeois social radicalization among the 19th-century heirs to the Enlightenment, Protestant religious ideals and the American Revolution. Although opposition to slavery was by no means as widespread in the 1830s as it was to become immediately before the Civil War, nonetheless many prominent men, such as the wealthy Tappan brothers of New York and Gerrit Smith, the biggest landowner in the North, had joined the movement by the middle of the decade. Garrison understood that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document but thought that the institution could be done away with peacefully through "moral suasion." The movement split in the 1840s around the questions of women's rights and how to end slavery. Garrison believed the pro-slavery U.S. Constitution should be abolished and that the North should expel the South. Another wing, represented by eminent men like the Tappan brothers, excluded women from office within their organization, was against women's rights and wanted to orient struggles toward political work in Congress. On the left wing of the abolitionist movement were militant ex-slaves, free blacks and white abolitionists—revolutionary fighters like Frederick Douglass and John Brown who became convinced that the fight must be against the whole system of slavery, by armed force, including arming black slaves. Douglass and the insurrectionist wing were thoroughgoing egalitarians and, therefore, were also the most consistent supporters of women's rights.

Library of Congress

John Brown, courageous fighter against slavery.

The Jacobs' move to Rochester coincided with her brother John's hiring by the abolitionists' Anti-Slavery Office and Reading Room. Jacobs stayed with her brother's friends, Isaac and Amy Post, frequent hosts to executive sessions of the Western New York State Anti-Slavery Society. A major feature of their work in the winter of 1849 was mounting protests against school segregation. At the time, the threat of a national compromise over slavery also loomed, as abolitionists countered pro-slavery arguments against expanding slavery to territories seized in the 1848 Mexican War. Nonetheless, Congress passed the Compromise of 1850, which maintained slavery in these areas. Measures included a more brutal version of the Fugitive Slave Law, which made it a crime for federal marshals not to arrest an alleged runaway slave and for anybody to assist a runaway, while also denying a suspected runaway any legal rights.

Amid this climate, Jacobs finally got her freedom when her close friend and employer negotiated the purchase of her freedom for three hundred dollars. She concludes her autobiographical account a freedwoman. According to Yellin, the draft text ended with a tribute to John Brown, but Lydia Maria Child, her editor, convinced Jacobs to drop it. Was this editorial measure a reflection of continuing debate among the pacifist Garrisonians over what course to take in the unfolding conflict?

Brown Brothers

The capture of Nat Turner after defeat of heroic slave revolt.

It was certainly to Jacobs' credit, and an indication of her political allegiances, that she recognized the significance of Brown's October 1859 raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). In the battle that followed, Brown was wounded and ten of Brown's men—including two of his sons—were killed. Militarily defeated and hanged in punishment, Brown's political mission to destroy slavery by force of arms was spectacularly brought to conclusion by more than 200,000 freed slaves who fought in the Civil War.

At the outset, the "war between the states" was being fought only to "preserve the Union," and President Abraham Lincoln only opposed the extension of slavery. Karl Marx understood that the Civil War was at root a "conflict between the system of slavery and the system of free labor." Abolitionists sought to transform the war into a war of emancipation. Frederick Douglass insisted: "*Let the slaves and free colored people be called into service, and formed into a liberating army*, to march into the South and raise the banner of Emancipation among the slaves." It took two years of ignominious defeats led by politically unreliable Union Army generals to convince Lincoln of the necessity of freeing the slaves. After it became clear that the North could not win in any other way, he declared on 22 September 1862 all slaves in the Confederacy would be free on the first of January, 1863. Almost as important as freedom itself was the government's decision to form regiments of black soldiers. About 180,000 black soldiers served in the Union Army and as many as 29,000 men joined the Union Navy. This helped to turn the tide of battle. The Civil War and Reconstruction broke the class power of the slave South. It was the last great bourgeois revolution, the second American Revolution; the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were the legal codification of the revolutionary gains won at rifle-point by the interracial Union Army. The war and its aftermath ushered in the most democratic period for black people in U.S. history, underlining that a truly egalitarian radical vision of social reconstruction ultimately could not be fulfilled by a capitalist ruling class.

Civil War Years

Harriet Jacobs' role in the anti-slavery struggles and in the emerging Freedmen's Bureau was that of a political field worker. In October 1861, after Union General William Tecumseh Sherman led his troops in an attack on Confederate Fort Walker on Hilton Head Island, a decisive step was made in the Civil War. Sherman's army drew behind it hundreds of former slaves who set up camps on the Sea Islands along the Carolina Coast. Union authorities set up a Department of the South, taking over some 195 plantations, employing 10,000 former slaves to raise cotton and auctioning land off to Northerners and a few freedmen with a bit of money.

Sherman's occupation of Port Royal, South Carolina, became a starting point for the abolitionists and slaves to work together on Southern terrain. Historians have called this "Port Royal Experiment" a "dress rehearsal for Reconstruction." As W.E.B. DuBois later observed in *Black Reconstruction in America* (Atheneum, 1983): "The Negroes were willing to work and did work, but they wanted land to work, and they wanted to see and own the results of their toil. It was here and in the West and the South that a new vista opened. Here was a chance to establish an agrarian democracy in the South." It became clear to Jacobs that it was in places like Port Royal that the future of her people would be determined. She looked at reports from Port Royal and turned her eyes toward Washington. In the spring of 1862, Lincoln had not yet issued his Emancipation Proclamation, but in states that remained loyal to the Union, Congress had designated as "contrabands of war" any men, women and children escaping from Southern masters.

Jacobs' moving report of "Life Among the Contrabands," printed in the *Liberator*, details the chaos among these "refugees." She spent the spring and summer in Washington, setting up hospitals with the newly established Freedmen's Association. Her work often entailed a struggle against the civilian and military hierarchy in the refugee camps. The government-appointed superintendent of "contrabands" registered and hired people out as workers, with little attention to their needs. Jacobs spent her mornings in a small ground-floor room where "men, women and children lie here together, without a shadow of those rites which we give to our poorest dead. There they lie, in the filthy rags they wore from the plantation. Nobody seems to give it a thought. It is an everyday occurrence, and the scenes have become familiar."

Later that year, she moved to Union-occupied Alexandria and while distributing supplies of clothing and food, Jacobs began to envision a sustained mission. She would produce several letters over the next four years of work, articulating the freedmen's dreams for equality, land, education, jobs and housing. In lengthy letters to Lydia Maria Child she reported what she'd seen of black life, confident her writings would be printed in the abolitionist press. With Alexandria under Union occupation the people still suffered humiliations: "In return for their kindness and ever-ready service, they often receive insults, and sometimes beatings, and so they have learned to distrust those who wear the uniform of the U.S.," she notes. And, allowing herself a moment of outrage: "Oh, when will the white man learn to know the hearts of my abused and suffering people!" By midsummer, the federal superintendent in Alexandria was replaced, with improvements instigated from her collaboration with the Freedmen's Association.

In the summer of 1864, as Union Armies drew closer to taking Richmond, black "refugees" were drafted in response to threats on Alexandria, joining Union forces to defend the city against the Confederacy. Jacobs and her daughter Louisa organized the first commemoration of British West Indian Emancipation, featuring the presentation of a flag to the Colored Hospital—named L'Ouverture for the Haitian liberator—that had recently opened as a receiving place for the Colored Division of the Ninth Army Corps. She presented the flag to the surgeon in chief, addressing herself to black men in Union blues:

> "Soldiers, what we have got came through the strength and valor of your right arms. Three years ago this flag had no significance for you, we could not cherish it as our emblem of freedom. You then had not part in the bloody struggle for your country, your patriotism was spurned; hut to-day you are in arms for the freedom of your race and the defence of your country—to-day this flag is significant to you. Soldiers you have made it the symbol of freedom for the slave."

The Alexandria celebration was among many commemorations at which black fighters began to forge a sense of struggle not only for an end to slavery, but also to claim equal rights as American citizens.

Through the remaining days of the war, Jacobs volunteered in Alexandria as a visiting relief worker in the camp and in the hospitals. Freedmen there had already begun building a school and meeting-house, which she pushed to find funding for at the first congress of the Women's National Loyal League. Jacobs coordinated aid with the goal of opening a free school under black leadership, volunteering her daughter Louisa and Virginia Lawton, the daughter of old Boston friends, as two "colored teachers." Jacobs School's doors opened to seventy-five students in January 1864. Given her name recognition among readers of *Incidents*, the school was featured in the reform press, with Alexandria becoming a regular stop on tours of the conquered South. A photo of Jacobs among her charges was carefully taken to publicize the ability of former slaves to become exemplary citizens. At the time, the photo hung prominently in the offices of the *Freedman's Record*. By the end of March 1865, Congress estahlished the Freedmen's Bureau, putting it in charge of relief and oversight for former slaves in the South.

Radical Reconstruction Overturned

Harriet and Louisa Jacobs later went to Savannah, where, Yellin notes, "both control of the schools and control of the land were at stake." Against local government resistance, they opened the Lincoln School, a black-run institution, and attempted to set up an orphanage and home for the elderly. Military rule ended just before Jacobs and her daughter arrived and, though posing as a protector, the Union Army also would be wielded to aid the city's powerful elite and stymie black efforts at freedom. The land question features in many of Jacobs' dispatches because the land with freedmen's settlements where schools were located was soon turned over to their old masters. Louisa's Lincoln School survived, but by January 1866, all freedmen were ordered to sign contracts for their labor.

The brief labor contracts, Jacobs wrote, "are very unjust. They are not allowed to have a boat or musket. They are not allowed to own a horse, cow, or pig. Many of them already own them, but must sell them if they remain on the plantations." The black population was disarmed. Backed hy the Freedmen's Bureau, "free labor" meant that most blacks worked in cotton production, suffering working conditions akin to slave exploitation of prewar years. In exchange for backbreaking field work, the freedmen gave the former masters two-thirds of the crop, kept a third, then

saw rations and rent deducted, resulting in a cycle of debt bondage.

However, Reconstruction posed a possibility of socially revolutionary transformations in the South: the regional ruling class, based on land and slaves, had heen militarily defeated; under the occupying Northern power, hlack men and women, formerly slaves, exercised political rights for the first time in the South. Before the defeat of Reconstruction, many political offices in the South were held hy black men.

Reconstruction not only hrought about voting rights for black men and even many poor illiterate Southern white men but also ushered in the establishment of the South's first public schools, liberalized the South's barbaric penal code and reformed the planters' property tax system. These measures allowed for real prospects for schooling, land and jobs for black freedmen. But northern capitalists betrayed the promise of Reconstruction, allowing it to be physically smashed, aided by forces such as the Ku Klux Klan. In 1877, the last of the Union troops were withdrawn from Southern occupation, marking a compromise that put Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House. From this defeat of Reconstruction grew the postwar Southern system of sharecropping, poll taxes, chain gangs, lynch law and "separate but equal"—i.e., unequal—Jim Crow facilities.

During Reconstruction, Jacobs and other female abolitionists working as teachers risked their lives to participate in freeing black people from the chains of bondage—their fight for free quality education was put front and center. But the sharpest debate raged over the question of land ownership. Freedmen and destitute white Unionist Southerners wanted the secessionists' estates confiscated, as at Port Royal, and distributed to them. Triumphant Northern rulers, however, would not permit an attack on "property rights," particularly as Northerners and Northern banks were grabbing up a good deal of Southern property. Intensive exploitation of black agricultural labor was allowed as the only way to rebuild the Southern economy, rather than industrial development or capital investment in modernization of agriculture.

Library of Congress

Soldiers of the 107th U.S. Colored Troops at Fort Corcoran, near Washington, D.C. Black soldiers were key to Union victory in the Civil War.

This failure and betrayal of Reconstruction perpetuated the oppression of blacks as a color caste at the bottom of American capitalist society. This racial division, with whites on top of blacks, has been and continues to be the main historical obstacle to the development of political class consciousness among the American proletariat. It will take a third American Revolution, led by a multiracial workers party against capitalism itself, to break the fetters on blacks, women and all the oppressed.

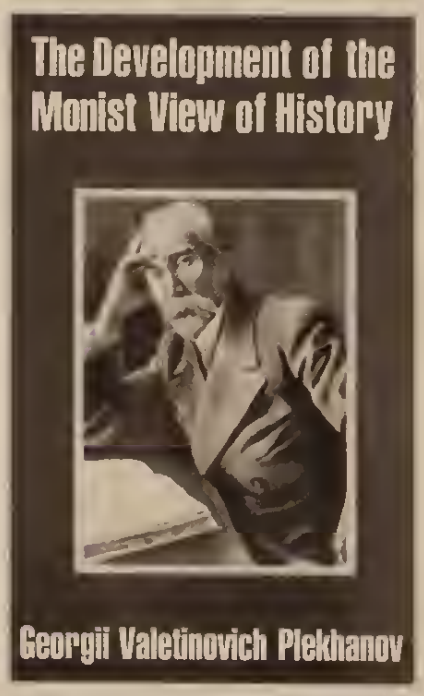
Jacobs served with valor in the antislavery battles through Radical Reconstruction, but her story also fell victim to its defeat. At the time of her death in 1897, her name was barely remembered in the Boston abolitionist circles she once frequented. Even in her obituary, the Jacobs School and her relief work during the Civil War and Reconstruction were completely omitted. As the years passed, the memory of Jacobs faded and photos and records of her Alexandria school were lost. Even her book came to be seen as Child's.

Anyone who has ever wondered how black people managed to struggle and survive the hideous tortures meted out during slavery and afterward would gain a lot from reading these books. They offer inspiration to a new generation of fighters facing the daunting task of toppling the dominance of capitalist exploitation and sexual oppression today. Though the Civil War smashed slavery, the dreams of men and women like Jacobs remain to be realized. Finish the Civil War—For black liberation in a workers' America!■

Conference...

(continued from page 8)

tailing black nationalism while accommodating white racism at home. Delegates were angry at the decision of several comrades in the central party leadership to take the "high road" with the LRP in our debate presentation. Thus, we did not thoroughly enough lambaste the LRP for, e.g., their opposition to busing to achieve school integration, though our speakers from the floor at the debate did this.



Plekhanov, founder of Russian Marxism, faced task of explaining basic Marxist worldview.

At its meeting, the Trade Union Commission stressed the need for increased attention to the party's trade-union fractions and discussed the work of our locals, analyzing the successes and problems. The Commission took up the Million Worker March, called by the more left-wing trade-union leaders to corral dissatisfied workers to vote for the Democrats. As well, the Commission reviewed our propaganda on labor struggles, raising several questions that require further discussion and recommending one correction.

Thus, on the recommendation of the Commission, the conference adopted a correction to a sectarian error concerning a September 1997 "community picket line" at the Port of Oakland that aimed to stop the unloading of the scab ship *Neptune Jade* in solidarity with the Liverpool dock workers strike in Britain. While we actively participated in the subsequent defense of the picketers, the ILWU and the Inlandboatman's Union against the port bosses, we dismissively declared in *WV* No. 681 (2 January 1998) that "ILWU officials refused to picket out the *Neptune Jade* because they fear retaliation by the PMA [the employers' Pacific Maritime Association]. Covering for the bureaucracy's capitulation to the bosses' rules, the protest organizers substituted a demonstration organized by leftists for a real picket line." As the conference document notes, "While this picket line was not officially sanctioned by the union, it allowed longshoremen to refuse to cross the line (under a contractual agreement that the situation created a 'health and safety hazard'). In fact, the ship was never unloaded in Oakland (or Vancouver or Japan) and was reportedly eventually sold in Taiwan with all its cargo on board."

Another issue addressed by the delegates was the need for systematic education in the fundamentals of Marxism, which the "Tasks" document underlined. Responding to widespread demand for more Marxist education of our newer members and cadre, a group of comrades set up an informal Education Commission at the conference, whose meetings were flooded with delegates and guests.

A Step Forward

In a vibrant if somewhat chaotic process, delegates submitted numerous amendments to the main conference and "Tasks" documents. Amendments were voted up or down by the delegates, with some substantial controversy on a few of them. The amended versions of the conference and "Tasks" documents were adopted unanimously. Delegates decided to continue the discussion begun at the ICL Conference on whether or not Marxists should run for executive office (e.g., mayor, governor, president) in bourgeois elections, and the section of the document on this question was removed.

In a final session, closed to all but elected and fraternal delegates, the conference discussed a slate for Central Committee, which had been proposed by the outgoing Central Committee and then amended by a Nominating Commission based on the recommendations of individual delegates. After debate and further nominations, a new CC was elected and met following the conference to elect national officers and the Political Bureau, a resident body subordinate to the CC, and to assign comrades to various commissions.

The 12th National Conference represented a significant step forward. It reaffirmed the importance of maintaining our international flagship publication and central tool for intervention in the U.S., the bi-weekly *Workers Vanguard*. Our test now is how we deal with questions, opportunities and dangers as they arise, including those we cannot now predict.

Our opponents may well be tempted to take heart (and some cheap shots) from our own frank assessment of the party's problems. Unfortunately for them, the purpose of our rigorous internal accounting and making such public corrections as we deem necessary has to do with the fact that we are serious about our tasks and historic responsibility, including undertaking more effective combat against our opponents. Comrade Lenin did not spare Bolsheviks from withering criticism when departures within the party threatened to undermine its revolutionary purpose.

For our opponents, "sectarianism" is an all-purpose epithet aimed at denigrating the struggle to forge a revolutionary party that embodies and applies the lessons of past proletarian struggles. Comrade Trotsky, vilified as sectarian by those "socialists" who had made peace with their own bourgeois rulers, wrote in a 1935 article, "Sectarianism, Centrism, and the Fourth International":

> "Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our 'sectarianism.' Most of the time they have in mind not our weak but our strong side: our serious attitude toward theory; our effort to plumb every political situation to the bottom, and to advance clear-cut slogans; our hostility to 'easy' and 'comfortable' decisions, which deliver from cares today, but prepare a catastrophe on the morrow. Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment."

We have made our share of errors. And we have fought to rectify and reconstruct. As the ICL Conference document stated:

> "What is critical is that future workers revolutions must have a Bolshevik political arsenal; their cadres must be educated in the experiences of the Bolshevik Revolution, the early Communist International, Trotsky's Fourth International and our own ICL. New gains will be won only by those who prove able to fight to defend past gains. The ICL tenaciously fights to uphold the banner of new Octobers."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Outrage: Cops Awarded Millions for Beating Black Youth

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—The capitalist courts have in effect issued an all-points-bulletin to their racist thugs in blue: Beat blacks with impunity, win millions of dollars! On January 18, a civil jury in Los Angeles awarded Jeremy Morse, the then-Inglewood cop who was videotaped leading a viciously racist attack on black teenager Donovan Jackson-Chavis on 6 July 2002, $1.6 million for "wrongful termination," saying the city's decision to fire him amounted to "reverse racial discrimination"! Morse's partner on the scene, Bijan Darvish, who was suspended for ten days, was also awarded $811,000 for "unfair discipline." And in a vindictive move aimed at silencing any victim who would dare speak out against racist police brutality, Jackson-Chavis is now being threatened with prosecution for perjury for allegedly giving conflicting testimony about the incident that sparked criminal charges against the two officers. This is a racist outrage!

The jury, deciding a case centered in the city of Inglewood, where 47 percent of the population is black, had not one black person on it. They awarded the over $2.4 million based on the "pain and suffering" Morse and Darvish experienced (!) and the potential loss of future earnings. "It seems they're getting millions of dollars for beating someone," said Nancy Goins, Jackson-Chavis' aunt. Indeed, this award clearly gives the green light for further racist cop terror. Morse has a documented history of brutal beatings; one of several out-of-court settlements that the city of Inglewood reached with one of his victims involved a man who went into a coma after being placed in a choke-hold by Morse two weeks before the beating of Donovan Jackson-Chavis! While Jackson-Chavis reportedly has reached a tentative settlement with the city of Inglewood, the payoff to Morse and Darvish can only serve to embolden the cops whose job it is to repress the seething black and Latino ghetto masses through violence. It sets a precedent, making it even more difficult for victims of cop brutality to pursue any redress in the courts, even with damning video evidence.

Multiplied nearly a hundredfold, the awarding of millions to Morse and Darvish is reminiscent of the $35,000 racist bounty awarded to Orange County child-killer cop Anthony Sperl as "workers' compensation" for "psychological damage" after he killed Patrick Mason, a five-year-old black child, by shooting him in the chest in his own apartment bedroom 20 years ago. We noted at the time of Patrick Mason's killing that "the gestapo police forces of Los Angeles and Orange County" are "trained in the My Lais of Vietnam." They know their job is to terrorize black people, "and the victims had better not squawk about it" (*WV* No. 339, 7 October 1983). Today, the racist, marauding cops and prison guards trained in torture on the streets and in the prisons of America are using their "expertise" in the torture chambers of U.S. imperialism in Iraq.

AP

Inglewood, California, 6 July 2002: Cops beat 16-year-old Donovan Jackson.

The civil lawsuit alleged that Morse and Darvish—both white—were punished more severely than a black officer, Willie Crook, who also struck Jackson-Chavis and was suspended for four days. Morse's attorney claimed that the city of Inglewood did this to appease blacks who felt Morse and Darvish's actions were racially motivated. As if it weren't racially motivated for a bunch of cops—black or white—to harass a black man about his car tags in a gas station and brutally attack his developmentally disabled son for nothing more than coming out of the snack shop at the wrong time. At least one of the cops involved called Jackson-Chavis a "n----r." Jackson-Chavis was struck repeatedly on the face, head and eyes, and then body-slammed to the ground and maliciously choked with a silver chain he was wearing until rendered unconscious. Mitchell Crooks, who filmed the assault from a motel across the street, captured Morse lifting the limp, unconscious body of the handcuffed youth off the ground, viciously slamming his head onto the trunk of a police car and punching him in the face. Out of revenge for Crooks' capturing the battering on film and turning it over to the media, L.A. County District Attorney Steve Cooley had Crooks arrested!

Shortly after the beating, the L.A. County grand jury returned indictments against both Morse and Darvish. Morse was charged with "assault by a peace officer under the color of authority," while Darvish was accused of filing a false police report. Not surprisingly, Darvish was quickly acquitted, and Morse was tried twice with both juries deadlocking and mistrials being declared. From the beginning, black people were barely represented on the juries, with only one being allowed on during the first trial. The District Attorney announced last February that he would not prosecute Morse a third time, saying that he did not believe 12 jurors could agree on whether Morse broke the law. Last year, an "impartial arbitrator" found Morse did not use excessive force and recommended that the city of Inglewood compensate Morse with full back pay.

As L.A.'s Democratic Party bosses like Mayor James Hahn and councilmen Antonio Villaraigosa and (ex-LAPD chief) Bernard Parks continue to push for more police to wage war on the ghettos and barrios, it is no wonder that widespread hatred of the cops in largely black areas of Compton, Inglewood and South-Central Los Angeles helped to sink last November's ballot Measure A. The measure would have raised the county sales tax to hire more cops. A string of police abuse cases dating from before the 1991 Rodney King beating through last year's flashlight beating of Stanley Miller in Compton is well remembered by the black population.

Speaking at a January 21 protest against the verdict, prominent black Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters declared, "There are good cops and bad cops. We are not going to roll over for the bad cops." This is not a question of "good" or "bad" cops. What the award to Morse and Darvish demonstrates is that there is no justice for black and working people in the capitalist courts. By the standards of bourgeois legality, the cops who beat Jackson-Chavis broke no laws. What they did was part of the job they are paid to do.

Racist cop brutality and killings are inherent in capitalist society because it is the job of the cops—whether white, black, Latino or Asian—to "serve and protect" the interests of the racist, capitalist rulers. And in the U.S., where racial oppression is fundamental to the American capitalist order, the primary targets are often blacks and minorities. The police, like the prisons and courts, are at the core of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of organized violence whose purpose is to maintain the class rule of the capitalist exploiters against all those they oppress. While Los Angeles has seen some successful union organizing drives and a number of hard-fought strikes in the last 15 years, particularly involving the immigrant and Latino proletariat of the area, it is a historically anti-union city where the racist cops have never had to go toe-to-toe against the mighty power of the multiracial labor movement. As a consequence, the police are notoriously bonapartist.

We in the Spartacist League fight to build the revolutionary workers party needed to instill within the American proletariat the consciousness that the cops engaged in the daily racist occupation, beating, torture and terrorizing of blacks and Latinos in America's ghettos and barrios work for the same capitalist state that seeks to bust the unions and break strikes. They work for the same state whose military is engaged in the racist, neocolonial occupation of Iraq—in the name of the "war on terror"—with the concomitant killing and torture of Iraqis. Led by such a party, the working class must be mobilized in defense of its own interests and those of all the oppressed.

At the time of the assault on Jackson-Chavis, we pointed out in "Black Democrats Smother Outrage" (*WV* No. 785, 9 August 2002) that the attack

> "came in the midst of a contract battle pitting the powerful ILWU longshore union against the shipping bosses out to gut the union. An ILWU strike would demonstrate the social power of the labor movement, a power that needs to be mobilized in defense of the ghettos and barrios against the marauding racist cops. But the labor movement is hamstrung by the union tops, whose program is one of class peace and collaboration with the bosses, in particular through their support to the Democrats....
>
> "The working people need their own party—one that champions the rights of black people and all the oppressed; a workers party committed to the fight for workers revolution.... Only then will cop terror and racist oppression be forever done away with."■

WV Photo

Los Angeles, April 1983: Spartacist League protests racist cop killing of five-year-old Patrick Mason.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 842 | GCU C-701 | 18 February 2005

Government Conspiracy Against All Our Rights

Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted

Outrage!

WV Photo

February 10: Lynne Stewart with her husband, Ralph Poynter, tells press conference following her conviction, "I will fight on."

The government's victory in the Lynne Stewart trial is, as Stewart herself told supporters outside New York City's federal courthouse on February 10, "a wakeup call" and "the beginning of a longer struggle." All three defendants—leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, her translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar—were convicted on all counts in a frame-up trial. Stewart and Yousry face decades behind bars on charges of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorism and conspiring to defraud the U.S. government. Abdel Sattar could face life imprisonment on the more serious charge of conspiracy to "kill and kidnap persons in a foreign country." The defendants plan to appeal.

Even the government admitted that not a single act of violence arose from this alleged terror conspiracy. All Lynne Stewart did was publicize a statement by her client, the blind Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman—who is imprisoned for life on conspiracy charges stemming from the 1993 World Trade Center bombing—against a cease-fire between the Islamic Group and the Mubarak dictatorship in Egypt. The political implications of this conviction threaten all of us. The verdict gives the government a green light to prosecute lawyers for the alleged crimes of their clients, thereby shooting the basic right to counsel to hell. As a February 10 statement by the National Lawyers Guild protesting the conviction states, "The government is hoping that lawyers will now think twice before representing clients with unpopular views or related to unpopular causes."

Of what use to a defendant is an intimidated lawyer who kowtows to the state? And if nobody can get a

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Break with the Democrats— For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Bush to America: No Pensions, No Jobs, No Rights

In this era of spin control, Bush's speechwriters turn to the classic rule of thumb: list a person's most shameful and repulsive traits and turn them into virtues. Thus, in his inaugural address, George W. Bush proclaimed that all have "rights, and dignity, and matchless value," that "oppression is always wrong," and that "America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains...or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies." The hundreds imprisoned without a shred of due process since the September 11 attacks, the victims of torture at Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, the Iraqis slaughtered in the service of "liberation," and those who dissent, now defined de jure as terrorists, are supposed to have no quarrel—they are made in the "image of the Maker of Heaven and earth," and "the Author of Liberty." Interspersed in the address by Bush-the-rehired is a recruiting pitch for "our youngest citizens...to serve in a cause larger than your wants." Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition.

George/amNewYork

New York City: Thousands of janitors and custodians in SEIU rally for health care, September 2004.

"Ownership" and a "more prosperous and just and equal" society are promised, but what is projected is that future generations of working people will see the pittance currently available to them from Social Security slashed, their years of toil extended and health care increasingly unaffordable. Under these proposals, the journey in store for most of the aged and infirm would be from dog food to the dumpster.

At a January 11 forum in Washington, D.C., Bush declared: "African-American males die sooner than other males do, which means the [Social Security] system is inherently unfair to a certain group of people." The fact that black men have a lower life expectancy than others powerfully illustrates the entrenched and vicious racial oppression of black people. But for Bush, this is a virtue to be cynically extolled to promote a Social Security "reform" scheme that would gut retirement benefits for all working people. This blatant racism barely elicited a response—such is today's reactionary social climate where black people's exclusion from a decent life is to be accepted as a given for all time.

There has been much hand-wringing over Bush's re-election. There is much to worry about. Bush seems to really believe he can conquer the world, a "vision" usually addressed by the appropriate psychopharmacological agents. And although the cloying incense of religion has been

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Shipping Booms, Longshoremen Die

SAN FRANCISCO—With a boom underway in Pacific Rim shipping and the output per hour of U.S. workers increasing at the fastest pace in 50 years, two veteran California longshoremen were killed in separate accidents in a five-day period at the end of January. Port of L.A. hatch boss Matt Petrasich, 63, was crushed to death on the top of a container at the Evergreen terminal on January 31, and 56-year-old Robert Padgett dropped more than 30 feet to his death on January 26 when a walkway, high above a cargo ship's deck, collapsed in the Bay Area Port of Redwood City.

Meanwhile, the maritime bosses' mouthpiece, the *Journal of Commerce* (25 January), bemoans the cost of personal injury claims filed by workers bloodied and maimed on the waterfront. Two members of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were killed in July in South Carolina—one under a 20-ton shipping container and another under three 1,000-pound rolls of paper that fell from a forklift. A straddle carrier crushed an ILA checker in New Jersey in late November. Another Los Angeles Harbor port worker died January 26 when a Burlington Northern and Santa Fe cargo train rolled over him and severed his leg.

Waterfront workers are confronting the cruel fact that their lives are cheap in the view of shipping and stevedoring companies. This is the brutal reality of the relationship between the working class and the ruling class under capitalism: workers sell their labor to survive; capitalists, who own the means of production, extract their profits from workers' labor.

The rapidly rising revenues of shippers are the backdrop to the mounting corpses of longshoremen. The Port of Oakland handled its highest volume of shipments ever in 2004, due mainly to expanding trade with Asia. In the Port of Long Beach, December 2004 imports via container ship were up a total of 28.3 percent over December 2003, as U.S. imports overall for November 2004 rose 26.3 percent over November 2003. Under capitalism, this expanding international trade signifies deadly speedup, overtime and exhaustion for dock workers. A 4.1 percent increase in worker productivity in 2004 indicates the same is true for working conditions throughout the U.S.

How much the capitalists seize in profits from the wealth produced by workers is determined by the struggle between labor and capital. The capitalists push for low wages, harsh working conditions and the longest possible workday while the workers' tendency is to press in the opposite direction. Following Petrasich's death in Los Angeles, the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 13 and the employers agreed to close the Evergreen terminal for 24 hours. But at Redwood City in the San Francisco Bay Area, ILWU Local 10 leaders didn't even do that much. High rates of on-the-job injury persist despite the "progressive" rhetoric of the ILWU officials. And divisions within the workforce contribute to that, with the least experienced workers doing a lot of the most dangerous work. What is needed is for the union to vigorously enforce safety standards and procedures.

In 2003, the ILWU tops signaled maritime employers that they would face no union action for endangering dock workers. In the Port of Oakland on 7 April 2003, in an attack planned jointly with port bosses, police rampaged against antiwar protesters and longshoremen. Among the over 50 people injured were nine longshoremen, including an ILWU crane operator whose hand was badly mangled by police fire. The Local 10 leadership should have called a port shutdown, interrupting the flow of enormous profits the U.S. capitalists reap from Pacific Rim trade and thereby striking a powerful blow in defense of longshoremen and against the war in Iraq.

Safety provides a direct measure of a union's strength. When the union is weak, the capitalists will force workers to labor under dangerous conditions. On the waterfront, with 20-ton containers and 1,000-pound rolls of paper being moved about, a lack of safety means workers die. In West Coast terminal yards alone, eight union workers were run over by container-handling cranes and killed in 2003, according to ILWU president James Spinosa.

Fatalities in the U.S. run especially high among Mexican-born workers, who often lack union representation and take the most hazardous jobs with the least safety training and equipment. In 2002, Mexican-born workers were about ***80 percent more likely to die on the job*** than U.S.-born workers.

Immigrant and all workers urgently need unions as organs of proletarian self-defense to fight against the general tendency of capitalism—which would otherwise reduce them, in Karl Marx's words, "to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation" (*Value, Price and Profit* [1865]). Such self-defense can win only temporary victories, however, as long as society remains organized for profit, in the hands of the capitalists. When workers take state power in their own hands, then worker safety, not profit, will govern the conditions in which industry operates.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Religion, Reaction and Education

One index of the reactionary social and political climate is the encroachment of religion—which should be a private matter—on civil society. The displacement of science by superstition, of rational discourse by fire and brimstone, serves the purpose of preparing further the rollback of gains wrested through struggle by workers, black people and women. Perhaps most insidious is the effort to inculcate fear, ignorance and docility in the next generation of workers by bringing religion back into public schools, displacing Darwin with biblical tales of creation. Lenin outlined the approach of the revolutionary Soviet workers state to education and religion.

In respect of the policy on religion the task of the (R.C.P. [Russian Communist Party]) dictatorship of the proletariat must not be confined to decreeing the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, that is, to measures promised by bourgeois democrats but never fully carried out anywhere in the world because of the many and varied connections actually existing between capital and religious propaganda. The proletarian dictatorship must completely destroy the connection between the exploiting classes—the landowners and capitalists—and the organisation of religious propaganda as something which keeps the masses in ignorance. The proletarian dictatorship must consistently effect the real emancipation of the working people from religious prejudices, doing so by means of propaganda and by raising the political consciousness of the masses but carefully avoiding anything that may hurt the feelings of the religious section of the population and serve to increase religious fanaticism.

In the sphere of public education, the object of the R.C.P. is to complete the work that began with the October Revolution in 1917 to convert the school from an instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie into an instrument for the overthrow of that rule and for the complete abolition of the division of society into classes.

In the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., in the period in which conditions are being prepared for the full realisation of communism, the school must be the vehicle, not merely of the general principles of communism but also of the ideological, organisational and educational influence of the proletariat on the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian sections of the working people, in order to train a generation that is fully capable of building communism.

—V.I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the R.C.P.(B.)" (1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguerd@tlac.net Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 15 February.

No. 842 **18 February 2005**

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LOS ANGELES

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Speaker: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League Central Committee

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Black Troops and the Struggle to Destroy Slavery

26 January 2005

To the Editors of *Workers Vanguard*:

Please note that the Massachusetts 54th was not the first black regiment to be mustered into service or fight in the Civil War, as we state in *WV* No. 833 ["Black Disenfranchisement and American 'Democracy'," 1 October 2004]. The 54th's heroic conduct at Fort Wagner in July 1863 was indeed a lightning bolt that galvanized Northern sentiment in support of black soldiers, and paved the way for the hundreds of thousands of black troops to follow. However, the honor of being the "first" goes to the First South Carolina Volunteers, led by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the abolitionist and comrade of John Brown (see Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, Appendix B "The First Black Soldiers," and *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 7, "Black Troops in Battle Against Slavery"). The First and Second South Carolina Volunteers had been involved in operations in the Department of the South for several months by the time the 54th arrived.

On another point, while I was reviewing *Black History* No. 7, I happened upon a small inaccuracy in a quote we use about Higginson (p. 7). It's in reference to "total war" and the burning of Darien, Georgia by black troops under the command of Colonel Montgomery, which Colonel Shaw protested. We quote Dudley Taylor Cornish's *The Sable Arm, Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*: "Higginson, the romantic, had raised money to send Sharps rifles to Kansas in the fifties. Montgomery, the realist, had used them." That is not quite true. Higginson was not Shaw, and I don't think that he was much of a romantic about how to smash the slave system. Remember, this is the man who organized the attempted rescue of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns in Boston in 1854, during which Higginson was beaten and a U.S. marshal was killed, and then he practically dared the government to arrest him, which they declined to do.

Higginson did in fact raise money for supplies and arms to send to Bleeding Kansas, but he also went to Kansas himself. Apparently he was not involved in any of the fighting, but he did pull guard duty. So on the specific point that Higginson was too "romantic" to engage in "total war," Cornish is wrong. In his *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Collier Books, 1952), Higginson is hardly as harsh a critic of Montgomery's actions as was Shaw. He writes: "In Colonel Montgomery's hands these upriver raids reached the dignity of a fine art. His conceptions of foraging were rather more Western and liberal than mine, and on these excursions he fully indemnified himself for any undue abstinence demanded of him when in camp" (p. 120). Although, on the torching of parts of Jacksonville by white troops, he saw it is "an act...most deeply to be regretted." I'd be interested in finding out how his views changed by the end of the war, as I'm sure they did. He speaks favorably of Sherman's March to the Sea later on in the book. Higginson was quite an interesting guy. He ended up in the Anti-Imperialist League before he died in 1906.

Comradely,
Brian

Michael Friedman Publishing

First South Carolina Volunteers, first black regiment of the Civil War, depicted at their encampment in 1862.

***WV* replies:**

The Civil War—which we call "the second American revolution"—was the shaping event of American history. It grew out of the conflict between two economic systems—the industrial capitalism of the North vs. the slave-based agricultural plantation system of the South. From the founding of the American republic, the Northern bourgeoisie had attempted to evade a definitive clash over slavery through a series of "compromises," and even when the Southern slavocracy went into open rebellion, Lincoln and the federal government hesitated to emancipate the slaves. But in order to win the war, Lincoln was led inexorably to the Emancipation Proclamation and then to the arming of free blacks and former slaves. Arms in hand, 180,000 black Union soldiers fought for their own liberation and the destruction of the hideous slave system, and played a powerful role in turning the tide of the war.

The primary role of politics in the Civil War was clearly demonstrated by the conflict between the moderate Republicans like Lincoln and the Radical Republicans such as Frederick Douglass over emancipation, the recruitment of black troops and the carrying out of "total war" on the Confederacy. In 1861, Lincoln assigned the abolitionist major general Frémont the task of putting together an army in the slave state of Missouri. In order to combat pro-slave guerrilla forces, Frémont instituted martial law and issued an emancipation proclamation. Fearing that this action would cause the slaveowners in the border states to join the Confederacy, Lincoln publicly ordered Frémont to modify his emancipation edict and soon thereafter relieved him of his command. This provoked controversy, as more Republicans began to agree with Frémont that the aim of the war should be to put an end to slavery.

In May, 1862, General David Hunter began enlisting black soldiers in the occupied areas of South Carolina. Lincoln, again following a policy of appeasement, ordered the disbanding of the First South Carolina Volunteers, but by July, 1862, the Militia Act was passed, authorizing the use of freed slaves in the army; hence the First South Carolina Volunteers became, as Brian correctly states, the first black regiment of the Civil War. As part of the policy of appeasing slaveholders in the border states of the Union, however, Lincoln resisted unleashing what Frederick Douglass called "the Black Phalanx" against the Confederacy, and so refused to officially organize black soldiers into the Union Army until the formation of the Massachusetts 54th the following year.

A Civil War Against Slavery

The year 1862 was a turning point in the Civil War as it became apparent that a swift Union triumph over the South was not going to occur. Lincoln's policy of appeasing the slaveholders increasingly came into conflict with the military and political reality of conducting the war. As Frederick Douglass put it, "To fight against slaveholders, without fighting against slavery, is but a half-hearted business." Union reverses in the spring of 1862, particularly Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign, which successfully blocked Union reinforcements in Virginia, made it evident that halfhearted warfare could never bring the South into submission. Two even more significant reversals for the North were the Union defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run, and the Peninsula Campaign, where General George McClellan retreated after winning all but one of the battles fought at the climax of the campaign.

By September of 1862, after the Union won a victory against the South at Antietam, which forced the Confederates to retreat back across the Potomac, Lincoln finally issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. This marked a qualitative leap in Lincoln's understanding that defeat of the Confederacy required the abolition of slavery. In the spring of 1863, the War Department organized the Bureau of Colored Troops. The bureau began a massive army recruitment program aimed at free blacks in the North and emancipated slaves in Union-held Southern territory. These black soldiers, bearing arms and the Emancipation Proclamation, exerted a magnetic pull on their black brothers.

Robert A. Bell Post Memorial

Massachusetts 54th veterans before Boston's Colonel Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in 1897.

All the new regiments of U.S. Colored Troops were led by white officers, recruited from existing army units. The formation of the Massachusetts 54th as an official Army regiment, organized under abolitionist colonel Robert Gould Shaw, resulted from insistent demands by radical abolitionists such as Douglass. Douglass made recruitment appeals for the Massachusetts 54th and two of his own sons signed up and put their lives on the line to fight against slavery. It was widely understood, not least by the men of the

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Library of Congress

Union general Sherman's troops rip up railroad in Atlanta before setting out on march to the sea.

Japanese Trotskyists Say:

Down With Japanese Provocations Against China, North Korea!

We print below a translation of an article published as a Spartacist *supplement (4 February 2005) by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League. Following North Korea's annauncement last week that it has nuclear weapons, Washington revealed longstanding plans to further tighten its starvation embargo against North Korea. We demand: All U.S. troops out of Korea! Down with the sanctions!*

スパルタシスト

The Japanese and U.S. imperialists are playing a dangerous game in East Asia. Using the excuse of a Chinese military threat and instability on the Korean peninsula, Tokyo and Washington are in the process of strengthening their security agreements, repositioning their military and placing a ballistic missile system in the region. A recent deadly cat-and-mouse chase on the high seas, threats of sanctions against North Korea and worse, combined with Japan's newly released "National Defense Program Guideline for FY2005 and After" are dangerous provocations against both the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states and the workers and toilers of the entire region.

As Marxists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—and Vietnam and Cuba—against the increasingly bellicose Japanese capitalist rulers. The social revolutions in China and North Korea were historic defeats for imperialism and victories for the working class in Asia and around the world. Though deformed from their inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist, Stalinist bureaucratic caste, these revolutions overthrew capitalist property relations and imperialist subjugation. This resulted in the construction of collectivized economies which meant enormous social progress for workers, women and peasants, such as the right to a joh, housing, education, childcare, social insurance and medical care.

The core of the economies in China and North Korea remain collectivized. We oppose capitalist penetration into the deformed workers states because it further undermines the collectivized economies. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing have increasingly opened the country to imperialism, paving the way for capitalist restoration. This simultaneously prepares the ground for a new revolutionary explosion—not a social revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949, but a political revolution that is premised on the defense of the collectivized economy and which would oust the ruling bureaucracy and place political power in the hands of worker, soldier and peasant soviets.

Morton/U.S. Navy

U.S. and Japanese destroyers on joint maneuvers in December 2004 in Western Pacific Ocean.

The same program holds true for North Korea where a nepotistic, cultist Stalinist regime rules. While extremely impoverished, the collectivized economy enabled the North Korean masses to receive most basic daily necessities for free. While education, childcare and medical care continue to be free, the 2002 "market reforms" have substantially raised the price of basic foodstuffs, housing and transportation. North Koreans are now expected to buy much of their food on the open market as opposed to receiving it from the state. As the UN World Food Program stated, "Life is much harder for many North Koreans." We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucratic castes, the main internal obstacle to defending the gains of the social revolutions, and we fight to extend proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries, with Japan as key.

Japanese Imperialism: Deadly Threat to Workers in Asia

For ten days in mid November 2004, the Japanese military and U.S. forces stationed in Japan conducted major joint military exercises. "Exercise Keen Sword 2005," at military installations throughout the country. The purpose of these exercises was to "increase the defensive readiness of Japanese and American forces in the air, land and at sea" and practice "suppression of enemy air defenses, surveillance and reconnaissance, safe passage" (*Strategy Page*, 18 January).

In reality, these provocative "defensive readiness" exercises began a month earlier. Acting as if the Pacific Ocean and adjacent seas are their own personal lakes, U.S. armed forces and the Japanese navy and coast guard monitored the entire 30-day voyage of a Chinese Han-class nuclear-powered submarine. From the time the sub left its base in Qingdao in northeast China, as it circled Guam and during its return to China, surveillance satellites, warships and patrol aircraft tracked its every move. On its return, even before the submarine had entered waters in the East China Sea that are claimed by Japan, the Self-Defense Forces had been tracking the vessel with P3C anti-submarine patrol aircraft for several days. The two-hour incursion unleashed Japan's anti-submarine network which has the largest density in the East Asian region, equipped with over 100 high-function patrol planes and numerous anti-submarine warships. The navy was placed on high alert for the second time since the end of World War II, triggering a two-day chase with Japanese destroyers and aircraft in hot pursuit. The first instance was in 1999 at the start of the imperialist war against Serbia when the coast guard dropped 12 bombs while chasing a North Korean ship.

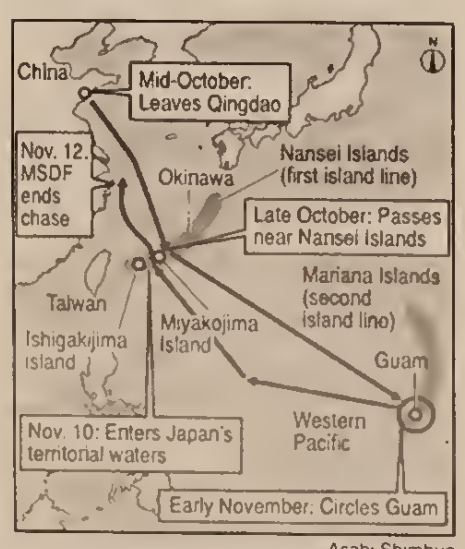
The new defense guidelines represent a strengthening of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, an anti-Communist alliance initially directed against the former Soviet Union and today targeting China and North Korea. In addition to its own missile defense system hought in 2003 at the cost of 700 billion yen ($6.5 billion), Japan has entered into a ballistic missile defense system agreement with the U.S. To sell technology to the U.S. imperialists, the government has selectively ended its han on arms exports. Japan's Aegis destroyers will he upgraded, the capabilities of its Patriot missiles will he enhanced. To supplement the guidelines, additional plans have been drawn up to "defend" the hundreds of islands between Kyushu [one of the four main islands of Japan] and Taiwan against a "Chinese invasion of Japan." To this end, the number of Japanese soldiers on Okinawa will he increased to full brigade status, F-15 fighters will he stationed there, and a rapid deployment force will he created.

Sounding as if Japan was some kind of Third World country, the reformist Communist Party, the third-campist Kakumaru and the United-Secretariat affiliated Kakehashi group oppose the new defense guidelines because they claim the Self-Defense Forces will be "subservient" to and "become one with" the American military. This position alibis the appetites of the Japanese bourgeoisie which is just as committed as its American counterpart to overturning the gains of the Chinese and North Korean social revolutions and brutally exploiting the workers and toilers of Asia. Despite its "lost decade" [the 1990s when Japan's economy suffered a decline], Japan is still the second most powerful imperialist country on the planet. In 2003, cabinet members called for a policy of pre-emptive strikes against North Korea, and several leading politicians have stated that Japan could and would go nuclear. In fact, Japan's inventory of 55 tons of separated plutonium is enough to manufacture 10,000 nuclear warheads.

While the guidelines call for a "close cooperative relationship between Japan and the United States," their purpose is to create a leaner, meaner military machine whose reach is now to extend to "the region spreading from the Middle East to East Asia." For now, the ruling class has decided to strengthen its alliance with the world's top cop in order to serve its own interests. With memories of the slaughter of tens of millions by Japan's imperial army during the Pacific War still very much alive, it is only through its alliance with Washington that Japanese imperialism has been able to deploy its already highly advanced military overseas. Japanese military out of West Timor, the Golan Heights, the Indian Ocean and Iraq! We call to smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific!

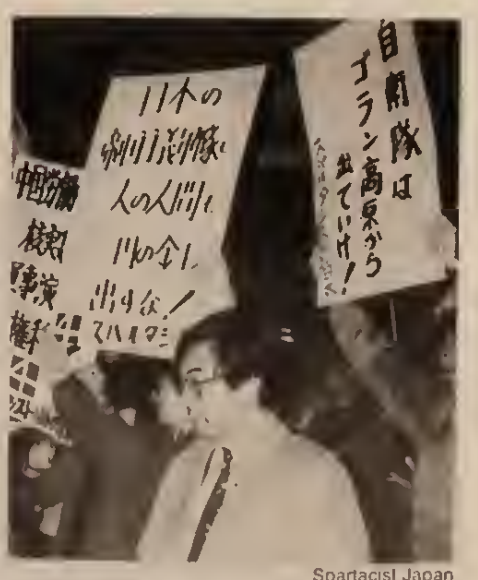
Reformist Left in Service of Counterrevolution

As part of the unrelenting pressure against Pyongyang, legislation that would stop money transfers to North Korea and ban port calls by North Korean ships has already been enacted. Currently, the Japanese government is considering imposing economic sanctions against North Korea, which would be an act of war. It is also drafting legislation similar to that passed



Asahi Shimbun

U.S./Japanese forces monitored 30-day voyage of Chinese Han-class nuclear-powered submarine, November 2004.



Spartacist Japan

SGJ supporters at 1996 protest against U.S.-Japan military alliance carry signs reading: "For the Right of Nuclear and Military Testing for Chinese Workers State!" and "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"

in the U.S. to aid defectors. As acting Liberal Democratic Party secretary-general Shinzo Abe said, "By supporting defectors from North Korea, we will be encouraging a regime change" (*Asahi Shimbun*, 13 January). This position dovetails with that of the Kakehashi group. While opposing sanctions, they write that what is needed is "stronger international criticism against the Kim Jong Il dictatorial regime, and aid to the North Korean workers and masses who are starving, including the 'defectors' and victims of human rights violations" (*Kakehashi*, 20 December 2004).

The highly staged defections from North Korea are heavily funded (reportedly costing 200,000 yen [$2,000] per defector) and organized by anti-communists like the Korean American pastor Douglas Shin, whose goal is to bring about the collapse of the regime in the North by encouraging a wide-scale exodus to the South, and who has "plans to infiltrate North Korea with tiny radios tuned to [the CIA's] Radio Free Asia" (*Chosun Journal*, 24 October 2004). In Japan there is the "Rescue the North Korean People! Urgent Action Network" whose prominent members include Lee Young-hwa. In Lee's book, *North Korea: The Night of Secret Meetings*, he writes of his trip to the North in the early 1990s. He details his attempts to promote capitalist counterrevolution in North Korea along the lines of that which occurred in the former Soviet Union and East Europe: "I thought there would be interest in the collapse of the socialist sphere. So, I talked about the collapse and the reality.... I noted that there is no perspective for North Korea without democratization and economic opening." The counterrevolutionary destruction of the former USSR and East Europe has meant massive pauperization of millions of working people. Such historic defeats must not happen in China, North Korea, Cuba or Vietnam. The only way forward for the Korean working masses is through revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula. This means workers socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North.

It is in the direct and immediate interests of working people in Japan to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. If the working class does not understand the historic significance of the gains of the Chinese and North Korean revolutions, such as the collectivized economy, they will never understand the importance of making a revolution against their "own" bourgeoisie. The biggest obstacle for workers to achieve this understanding is the reformist left, in particular the mass bourgeois-workers parties such as the Communist Party, that serve as transmission belts for bourgeois ideology into the working class. Just as the leadership of the Communist Party-led Zenroren [trade-union federation] refuses to mobilize the unions against privatization and other attacks by the Japanese capitalists and government, these parties refuse to defend the workers states against Japanese imperialism. The social-patriotic Communist Party criticized the government for not quickly identifying the submarine which "criminally invaded Japanese territorial waters," and demanded that "the Chinese side quickly display the attitude of responsibility" (*Akahata*, 13 November 2004).

Our unconditional defense also includes the right of China and North Korea to possess and test their nuclear arsenals as part of maintaining a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail. Most left organizations oppose the right of these states to have nuclear weapons, which means they want these states to be relatively defenseless against the nuclear-armed imperialist madmen whom they claim to oppose. In the 10 February 2003 issue of *Zenshin*, Chukaku wrote: "From the perspective of the people we must absolutely oppose North Korea's development of nuclear weapons." The 18 November 2002 issue of Kakumaru's paper *Kaiho* polemicized against "degenerate Trotskyists who defend the Kim Jong Il regime against unscrupulous attack by imperialism." They go on to write that: "Kim Jong Il's nuclear weapons and their meaning are anti-people."

Under their infamous slogan "Down with Imperialism! Down with Stalinism!", the third-campist Chukaku and Kakumaru attempt to give a theoretical cover to their program of capitulation to anti-communist bourgeois public opinion and the renunciation of a proletarian revolutionary perspective. Since their inception, both organizations have pushed the lie that imperialist countries—for example, Japan, which carried out the rape of Nanjing [in 1937]; America, which dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and Germany, which carried out the Holocaust—are equally enemies of the world's working class as those countries that overthrew capitalism and instituted collectivized economies. This was made explicit in the document for the Chukaku's sixth conference when they wrote: "There is no other way to stop the process of a third world war than overthrowing imperialism and the remaining Stalinist [states]" (*Zenshin*, 12 August 2002). In the 1 January issue of their paper, Chukaku has had to finally acknowledge that "China and the Chinese economy have not been transformed into capitalism." But nowhere do they state that the elimination of capitalist property relations is important for the world's proletariat, much less a gain that must be defended. As Trotsky wrote in 1940, on the eve of the second imperialist world war, against those who refused to defend the Soviet Union: "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressures of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend the old positions will never conquer new ones" ("Balance Sheet on the Finland Events").

AP

Bush at "demilitarized zone" separating North and South Korea. All U.S. troops out of Korea!

Getty

Japan sent troops to Iraq, demonstrating renewed imperialist military ambitions.

Japanese Pirates: Hands Off All Chinese Ships!

It is essential that China be able to break through the two crescent-shaped island chains controlled by Tokyo and Washington that largely obstruct its access to the Pacific. As Liu Yijian, a staff member at the Chinese Naval Command School commented, "Many exits from the nearby seas to the external oceans are shut off by the chain of islands, where China cannot avoid foreign restraint of its navy's movement into the open seas and faces the major possibility that its exits will be shut off by the enemy" (*Tokyo Foresight*, 16 September-20 October 2000). The first chain Liu is referring to is composed of islands that are like stepping stones, running through the four main islands of Japan to the Ryukyus, Taiwan and the Philippines. The second chain stretches from Tokyo Bay, running through the Izu and Ogasawara [Bonin] Island chains to the Marianas and Guam, to Palau island. Defend China's unrestricted passage to the Pacific Ocean!

It is with utter hypocrisy that the Japanese government claimed that its "territorial waters" were violated when the Chinese submarine entered waters around Ishigaki-jima in the Sakishima Island chain. In 2001, the Japanese coast guard sank a North Korean ship *in Chinese waters*, murdering the entire crew, and then grotesquely toured the bullet-ridden ship throughout the country. The only reason Japan can lay claim to some of the waters in the East China Sea is that Tokyo colonized and annexed the islands in this area on its way to becoming an imperialist power in the late 19th century. The once culturally and economically rich Ryukyu Kingdom—today known as Okinawa and the poorest of the 47 prefectures—and surrounding islands were formally incorporated into Japan in 1879. The first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 had two strategic goals: to acquire the Liaotung Peninsula and thereby the Korean peninsula, and to grab Formosa (Taiwan) as a base from which to control the sea-lanes of the China trade and the southern approaches to Japan. Shortly before the end of the war, a marker was erected on the rock islands that are now known as the Senkakus (Diaoyus [Chinese name]), which comprise a mere 2.4 square miles, declaring them Japanese territory. With the May 1895 Treaty of Shimonseki, Japan brutally grabbed control of Taiwan. During World War II, Japan used Taiwan as a staging area for assaults on southern China, the Philippines and Southeast Asia. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, stood for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it fought for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and championed the self-determination of all the colonies against their subjugation by the "Axis" and "Allied" imperialists alike. The Fourth International stood for the political independence of the proletariat from its "own" ruling class in the advanced and the oppressed countries.

Then and now, Taiwan is of vital strategic value to the Japanese and U.S. imperialists. As an Autumn 2001 article in the U.S. *Naval War College Review* stated, "Japanese geography and sea power, therefore, collectively pose an inherent obstacle to Chinese expansion into the Pacific as long as Taiwan remains free of mainland control." Ominously, the Taiwanese parliament is set to purchase a massive arms package from the U.S. which would include submarines, an anti-missile system and anti-submarine aircraft. This should make the [fake-Trotskyist] United Secretariat very happy. At a November 2001 Kakehashi meeting in Tokyo, a representative from the Hong Kong Pioneer group [supporters of the United Secretariat] stated that they would defend capitalist Taiwan in a war with China. As for the Kakehashi group, which had been debating for six years whether or not China is a workers state: after "discussions with our Pioneer comrades," they decided that "sometime in the 1990s" China became capitalist. By labeling China capitalist, the social-democratic Kakehashi group can justify supporting imperialist-backed, anti-Communist forces in China in the name of promoting "democracy," just as it sided with capitalist restorationist forces in the former Soviet Union and East Europe.

Taiwan is ethnically, linguistically and historically Chinese. We are opposed to the Chinese plan of reunification embodied in "one country, two systems." We call for the revolutionary reunification of China: That means a workers socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie and a proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

In an attempt to prevent China's ability to search for new sources of oil, the Japanese imperialists are trying to bully China by claiming that large swaths of the Pacific Ocean lie within its exclusive economic zone. A case in point are the Okinotori Islands, which stand no more than six and a half inches above water and have been capped with titanium alloy to prevent further erosion. Around these rocks, Japan claims an exclusive economic zone over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean. Shintaro Ishihara, the racist, anti-woman and anti-communist governor of Tokyo, has called for Japan to take military action to repel Chinese scientific ships in the seas around the Okinotori Islands. Another example is the Chunxiao natural gas field in the East China Sea, which even the Japanese bourgeoisie admits lies ***within China's exclusive economic zone***. China's attempts to develop this field for much needed gas and oil have been continually threatened by the Japanese navy and coast guard. Defend China's right to access natural resources!

For Proletarian Internationalism

To some it may appear that there is inconsistency within the ruling class on how best to achieve capitalist counterrevolution in China and North Korea. While the navy chases down Chinese submarines and [Prime Minister Junichiro] Koizumi prays to the spirits of war criminals at Yasukuni shrine, the *zaibatsu* [family

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Spartacist (English edition)
No. 58, Spring 2004
$1.50 (60 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
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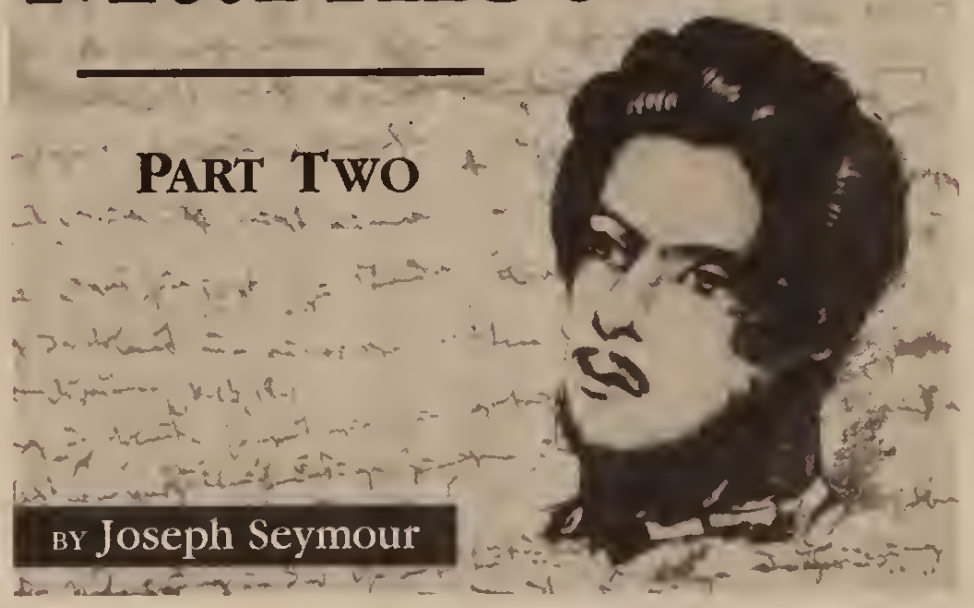
Young Spartacus

How Marx Became a Marxist

PART TWO



Young Spartacus graphic; drawing of Marx by H Baath

BY Joseph Seymour

We print below the second part of an educational given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Twelfth National Conference of the SL/U.S. held last summer. Part One appeared in WV *No. 840 (21 January).*

Buonarroti and Hegel on the French Revolution

In 1843, commenting on the increasingly repressive policies of the Prussian state, Marx wrote in a letter to a colleague, Arnold Ruge:

> "The mantle of liberalism has been discarded and the most disgusting despotism in all its nakedness is disclosed to the eyes of the whole world.
>
> "That, too, is a revelation, although one of the opposite kind. It is a truth, which, at least, teaches us to recognise the emptiness of our patriotism and the abnormity of our state system, and makes us hide our faces in shame. You look at me with a smile and ask: What is gained by that? No revolution is made out of shame. I reply: Shame is already revolution of a kind; shame is actually the victory of the French Revolution over the German patriotism that defeated it in 1813."

The French Revolution was the Russian question of the day. One's attitude toward the French Revolution and its various phases centrally defined one's political outlook and program. If you opposed the French Revolution *in toto* from the beginning, you were a monarchical reactionary. If you supported the early moderate period of the revolution—expressed in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which explicitly included the right of private property deemed "sacred and inviolate"—then you were a liberal. If you supported the Jacobin regime of Robespierre, you were a radical democrat. And if you supported Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals, you were a communist.

In our *Enlightenment* pamphlet, I said one could think of two roads leading from the French Revolution to the Marx of the Communist League and *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, a rightward road and a leftward road. The rightward road ran from the Napoleonic occupation of western Germany through Hegel to the left Hegelians. The leftward road ran from Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals through Buonarroti and Auguste Blanqui to the German worker-communists of the League of the Just in the 1830s and 1840s.

In keeping with this approach, one can say that Marx had two political godfathers, a liberal political godfather, Hegel, and a Jacobin communist political godfather, Buonarroti. Both had been members of the *defeated* progressive party. Buonarroti had been a left-wing Jacobin, part of Robespierre's personal circle. Hegel had been one of the few prominent German liberal intellectuals who supported the Napoleonic occupation throughout as historically progressive. He called Napoleon the "world spirit on horseback." If you understand that image, then you can understand Hegel. In 1813, Hegel advised his students *not* to join the German volunteer corps fighting the French army in the so-called "wars of liberation."

In the long period of reaction following Napoleon's decisive defeat at Waterloo in 1815, both Buonarroti and Hegel thought long and hard about the causes of the defeat of the French Revolution. Why had Robespierre been overthrown? Why had Napoleon been defeated? More fundamentally, why had the ideals of the French Revolution expressed in the slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" not been realized in the Europe of the day?

Buonarroti and Hegel arrived at fundamentally different answers and corresponding programmatic conclusions. Buonarroti operated with a Rousseauean worldview. Hegel rejected the concept of natural law and natural right in favor of a dialectical—though not materialist—conception of historical development.

To use a term and concept with which we're all familiar, Buonarroti maintained that the French Revolution was "betrayed." Robespierre was overthrown by a group of Jacobin leaders who had become morally corrupted by access to the wealth which their newfound political power and influence gave them. He maintained and truly believed that had Robespierre continued to rule France, he would gradually have introduced communism in the Babouvist sense.

What then was to be done? To use another term and concept with which we're all familiar, Buonarroti maintained that the crisis of humanity had been reduced to the crisis of "revolutionary leadership." He and his successor Auguste Blanqui sought to construct an organization of morally stalwart revolutionaries which at a suitable moment would launch an insurrection to establish a revolutionary dictatorship on the Jacobin model. This regime would install a communist system based on the egalitarian distribution of the means of consumption, which would in fairly short order bring about the moral regeneration of the citizens of the new "red republic."

Doubtless everyone in this room has relatives and friends who say that communism is contrary to human nature. But the main body of communists in early 19th century Europe believed just the opposite, that it was private property which was unnatural. Communism was that form of social organization which corresponded to man's instinctual empathy with the fellow members of his species.

Hegel rejected that concept, both its programmatic conclusion and theoretical premise. He maintained that society was not governed by man's supposedly instinctual nature. Men's consciousness changed qualitatively over the course of history as it expressed the progressive development of what he called the "absolute spirit." The ideals of the French Revolution could not be realized because European civilization had not attained a sufficient level of spiritual maturity.

What did Hegel mean by "spirit"? Not an easy question to answer. I've read a couple of dozen books and articles on this subject and have gotten several different and mutually exclusive explanations. In the early 1840s, Ludwig Feuerbach exercised a strong influence on Marx and also Engels. At this time he summarized his own intellectual evolution in this way: First, I believed in God. Then I believed in reason (that's when he was a more or less orthodox Hegelian). Now, I believe in man. All of us understand what it means to believe in God, doubtless some of you from bitter personal experience. And you can understand what Feuerbach meant when he said he now believed in man. If you recognize the illusory character of an all-powerful supernatural deity, then you can believe that man is the master of his own fate.

But what does it mean to believe in reason instead of and in between believing in God and in man? Reason is not an all-powerful entity; it's an *activity*. Men reason, they think in order to pursue their needs and interests. But for Hegel, it was the other way around. Man in the natural, biological sense existed to serve the needs and interests of reason. Men were the necessary agents to actualize the progressive development and self-consciousness of the absolute spirit.

But let's try to set aside the semi-mystical, metaphysical component of Hegel's philosophy. What was he saying in real-world terms about Europe in the era of the French Revolution? He was saying that the leaders of the French Revolution like Robespierre had failed because they tried to wipe out in one stroke the cultural inheritance of millennia of European civilization—the Christian religion, respect for monarchical authority. At another level, Hegel maintained that no government, including a revolutionary government, could eliminate individual egoism—material self-interest. He held that the role of the state was to represent the general interests of the community by mediating between the conflicting material interests of individuals and groups, for example, between employers and workers.

Hegel maintained that social progress had to be organic and gradual—in his case, very gradual. Thus he wrote in his major work on political philosophy that political change should be such that "the advance from one state of affairs to another is tranquil in appearance and unnoticed. In this way a constitution changes over a long period of time into something quite different from what it was originally" (*The Philosophy of Right* [1821]).

As Marx developed historical or dialectical materialism, he incorporated Hegel's understanding that one could not reconstruct the world anew according to some ideal model. He likewise agreed with Hegel that Europe during the French Revolution and in subsequent decades was not sufficiently developed to realize the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity." But he came to understand that underlying what Hegel called the "spiritual immaturity of European civilization" was its material or economic immaturity.

In one of Marx's last major writings he stated: "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development which this determines" (*Critique of the Gotha Programme* [1875]). This statement encapsulates the fundamental difference between Marxism and both the Rousseauean concept of natural law and the Hegelian concept of the autonomous and transcendent development of consciousness or culture. How Marx arrived at this understanding is the subject of the next session.

Many, many years ago I did a multi-part series of educationals under the general heading of "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition." One reason

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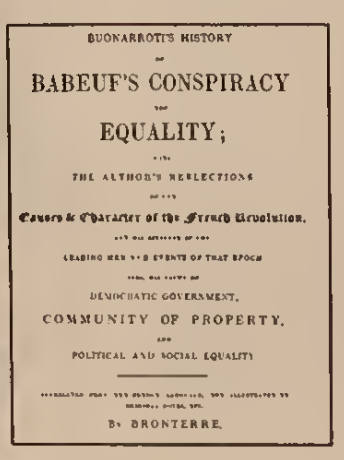

BUONARROTI'S HISTORY
OF
BABEUF'S CONSPIRACY
FOR
EQUALITY;
WITH
THE AUTHOR'S REFLECTIONS
ON THE
Causes & Character of the French Revolution,
AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE
LEADING MEN AND EVENTS OF THAT EPOCH
AND AN ESSAY ON
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT,
COMMUNITY OF PROPERTY,
AND
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY
By BRONTERRE.

Jacobin communist Philippe Buonarroti's writings influenced the young Marx.

painting by J. L. David

Hegel's "world spirit on horseback." Napoleon inspired intellectuals across Europe in the 1800s.

Campus...

(continued from page 12)

professors critical of American and Israeli policies in the Near East, is a case in point. Campus Watch's Daniel Pipes is part of the Project for the New American Century, which has included Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his lieutenant Paul Wolfowitz. But, as the recent campaign of defamation and harassment of Professor Joseph Massad at Columbia University shows, the pro-Zionist Democrats have been no less vicious.

Columbia is today the front line of this Zionist blitzkrieg. There, a squalid, scurrilous little film, *Columbia Unbecoming*, launched charges that professors in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures (MEALAC) department had engaged in "academic intimidation" of pro-Israel students. The arch-Zionist *New York Sun* and the gutter-press *Daily News* embarked on a vicious campaign against the targeted professors, most notably Massad. New York City Democratic Congressman Anthony Weiner called for Massad's firing. Toeing the line, Columbia president Lee Bollinger has formed a committee that is "investigating" the charges. The New York City Council has already announced that it will demand another investigation if Columbia's "comes up dry" (*New York Sun*, 12 November 2004).

In a statement responding to the bogus charges laid out in *Columbia Unbecoming*, Massad, a regular recipient of death threats, wrote: "I chose under the duress of coercion and intimidation not to teach my course this year. ***It is my academic freedom that has been circumscribed. But not only mine.***" Indeed, Professor Massad's case calls for militant united-front protest of students and workers to demand that the Columbia administration keep its hands off all the victimized professors and MEALAC. This is the perspective for which the SYC fought at Columbia. We oppose any and all snooping "investigations" of departments and faculty targeted by the Zionists and right-ists. We also insisted, in a leaflet widely distributed (see "Down With Zionist Witchchunt on Campus!" *WV* No. 837, 26 November 2004) that "Key to defeating the witchhunt against Columbia professors and MEALAC is forthrightly taking up the defense of the Palestinian people." And we warned against, as we have before, any illusions that the union-busting Bollinger administration could be relied upon to defend free speech.

May 2001 Chicago protest against Horowitz.

There was every reason for that warning, not least the track record of the ISO as a reformist pressure group allergic to revolutionaries who tell the truth about the society in which we live, and the necessary struggle to fundamentally change it, i.e., a workers revolution. For example, when the Columbia College Conservative Club staged a racist "affirmative action bake sale" on campus last February—a calculated insult to black and other minority students at Columbia, challenging their very right to attend—the campus seethed in anger. A series of protests erupted, in which the Spartacus Youth Club actively participated, including by initiating two protests of our own. But the leadership of the Columbia University Concerned Students of Color (CUCSC), with the ISO's support, dissipated the protests in favor of demands that the Columbia University administration take a more active role in "protecting" students against racism.

Among the demands supported by the ISO et al. was one for "disciplinary actions and policies to prevent and handle transgressions against marginalized student populations." At the time, we warned, "One could well imagine legions of rabid Zionists, as has happened on other campuses, running to the administration with cries of 'anti-Semitism' to encourage a crackdown on any pro-Palestinian protest" ("Campus Right-Wingers Target Black Students," *WV* No. 821, 5 March 2004).

That is in fact what happened to Massad and the MEALAC department. True to form, the ISO's reaction to the Massad case illustrated an abiding faith in the campus administration as a potential force for justice. At a December press conference at Columbia, ISO supporter Monique Dols declared, "At a time when Arab dissenters are disappearing into deportation centers, President Bollinger should be doing a lot more than holding a symposium on civil liberties [which had occurred at Columbia earlier in the semester]—he should be protecting them." Dols took a similar tone in the pages of *Socialist Worker* (3 December 2004): "Rather than continue to play an active role in the witch-hunt of international students and the silencing of dissent, the Columbia University administration should take a stand against the attacks on its own professors." These remarks came at a time when the Columbia administration had already announced its intent to "investigate" the allegations purveyed by *Columbia Unbecoming* and moreover had been cooperating with the Feds' "war on terror" harassment of and spying on immigrant students for years!

And the hits just keep on coming. On February 7, Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, a rabid Zionist who recently and infamously championed the use of torture as part of the "war on terror," was sponsored on campus by Columbia Students for Israel; Columbia Law School's Israel advocacy club; Columbians for Academic Freedom and others. Dershowitz urged students to cooperate with the committee "investigating" allegations against MEALAC and Massad, denounced critics of Israel as "encourag[ing] the terrorists," and threw in his defense of "regulated" torture (*Columbia Spectator*, 8 February).

Dershowitz also used the "anti-Zionism means anti-Semitism" slander typically used by Zionists. In the statement defending himself against the charges in *Columbia Unbecoming*, Massad eloquently refuted this assertion:

> "Unlike the pro-Israel groups, I do not think that Israeli actions are 'Jewish' actions or that they reflect the will of the Jewish people worldwide! All those pro-Israeli propagandists who want to reduce the Jewish people to the State of Israel are the anti-Semites who want to eliminate the existing pluralism among Jews.

Corbis-Bettmann

Scarred back of slave. Apologetics for slavery are Horowitz's stock-in-trade.

> The majority of Israel's supporters in the United States are, in fact, not Jews but Christian fundamentalist anti-Semites who seek to convert Jews.... Therefore, it is not anti-Semitism that offends pro-Israel groups; what offends them is anti-Israel criticism."

Equating anti-Zionism with "anti-Semitism" has the effect of cheapening anti-Semitism, which is a very real phenomenon needing to be fought both in the West and the Islamic world. In fact, the Zionists have always reserved special venom for Jewish historians who defend Palestinian rights like Joel Beinin and Norman Finkelstein.

As revolutionary Trotskyists, we seek to win students and youth to a Marxist worldview, to *taking a side* with the exploited and oppressed against capitalist imperialism. Against the Zionists and all variants of Arab nationalism, we understand that the only solution to the problem of Israel/Palestine, where two peoples have valid, conflicting claims to a small territory, lies through the joint class struggle of Hebrew and Palestinian Arab workers, connected to class struggle throughout the region. In the first instance, this means that workers and their allies throughout the world must ***defend the Palestinian people against Zionist aggression and demand: All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!*** A just solution is not possible under capitalism. The only road to peace in the Near East lies through socialist revolution. This requires not only a revolutionary struggle against the Zionist butchers and the collection of dictators, corpulent imperialist puppets, mullahs and monarchs who rule the remainder of the region, but also against the paymaster of oppression in the Near East—the American bourgeoisie at whose teat the likes of Daniel Pipes suckle. ***U.S. out of Iraq now! Hands off the world!***

"Culture Wars" on Campus

The focus on area studies, Middle East studies in particular, is not accidental. After World War II, U.S. government-funded area studies programs were

continued on page 8

"Academic Freedom" Horowitz Style

Communists Expelled from SFSU Event

We reprint below a letter submitted by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club to the Golden Gate [X]press, *the San Francisco State University newspaper, which was printed on 10 February.*

To the editor of *Golden Gate [X]press*:

In an outrageous incident, four members of the Spartacus Youth Club/Spartacist League were ejected from a forum given by racist ideologue David Horowitz on Thursday, February 3rd. When Horowitz rants that opponents of the occupation of Iraq are a "fifth column" or the "enemy within," it's clear he is calling to squash dissent. After Horowitz completed his ramhling, racist speech and opened the floor for questions, we attempted to refute his ideas. But the very idea of anyone commenting on his speech sent him into sheer hysteria. He threatened to pack up and leave if one of our female comrades, a student at San Francisco State, made her comment. Instead, at Horowitz's behest, she and other members of our organization—all brown-skinned individuals—were promptly removed by the administration. Four police officers took their names and issued a seven-day ban from campus to two non-student comrades of ours. This outrage exposed Horowitz's campaign for "academic freedom" as the exact opposite. Several students who attended the event voiced their solidarity with us and offered themselves as witnesses. We protest the expulsion of our comrades from the room and the administration's seven-day ban.

Had our comrade been able to make her comment, it would have simply amounted to these three sentences: "David Horowitz thinks that black people are lucky their ancestors were kidnapped and brought here to be slaves. Horowitz's campaign is part of an effort by the far right to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off the campuses while black students were excluded altogether. What Horowitz & Co. mean by 'academic freedom' is that the left and minorities are not allowed to get out their views." But Horowitz wouldn't let her get a word in, proving our entire point. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students to the side of the working class. We fight for a socialist revolution to get rid of this capitalist system that breeds racism and war. That's what Horowitz can't stand.

But it's not just us that Horowitz and his fellow neoconservatives are trying to shut down. There's a national witchhunt attempting to silence and drive out those on the campuses who oppose the Iraq occupation and defend the Palestinians. That's what the Zionist campaign against Joseph Massad, professor of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University, is all about. And just last semester on this campus, the College Republicans, echoed in Horowitz's online rag *FrontPage Magazine*, falsely labeled as "terrorists" four female students from predominantly Muslim countries. When these women refuted this deadly slander, they were ordered by the administration to apologize. The Spartacus Youth Club stands in defense of Professor Massad and the four women at San Francisco State. How far the right-wing witchhunt will go depends on how much labor, leftists and minorities are willing to stand up and voice their opinions. We will not be intimidated. Down with the police and administration attack on the right of free speech on campus—hands off all protesters, no administration reprisals!

Campus...

(continued from page 7)

established primarily to provide the U.S. imperialists with expertise on strategic regions in the Cold War. Following the September 11 attacks, the U.S. government developed a heightened interest in Middle East studies as part of the "war on terror." The Zionists and their allies in both the Democratic and Republican Parties, who object to *any* criticism of Israel in any public forum, have sought to drive out professors critical of Israeli and U.S. policy.

It is in this context that the ominous International Studies in Higher Education Act of 2003, or House Resolution (H.R.) 3077, has reared its ugly head. With the support of several Zionist organizations, notably the Anti-Defamation League and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, it passed the House unanimously and awaits a vote in the Senate. If passed, it would, among other things, lead to the establishment of a government "advisory board" including representatives of national security agencies to oversee federally funded university programs, Middle East studies in particular. Columbia's professor Rashid Khalidi warned: "If implemented as its proponents intend, it would impose the pseudo-sciences of terrorology and the demonization of Islam and Muslims as integral parts of teaching and research about the Middle East" (*In These Times* Web site, 11 December 2003). ***Down with HR 3077!***

The attacks on area studies like Middle East studies are but the sharp end of a larger wedge. With the far right in the lead, the ruling class wants big-time rollback: from abortion rights to the teaching of evolution in schools, from affirmative action to union rights. While their howls about "rampaging radicalism" on the university campuses are, unfortunately, a bad joke, the fact remains that they have not successfully established seamless ideological dominance. Therefore, those leftist faculty members who continue to work and teach are now particularly under the gun.

And the effects of the witchhunts on their targets can be devastating. The case of Oneida Meranto, a Navajo professor at the Metropolitan State College of Denver, is particularly telling. Two right-wing students who complained of her supposed "liberal bias" filed grievances against Dr. Meranto in the fall of 2003. In the meantime, one of the students, Nick Bahl, wrote an article denouncing Meranto in *FrontPage Magazine*. The other student, George Gordon Culpepper Jr., testified against Meranto before the Colorado Senate during deliberations on the "Academic Bill of Rights." Culpepper subsequently became an intern in the office of the bill's sponsor. Then the death threats against Dr. Meranto began rolling in, laced with revolting racist and sexist epithets, including, "Shoot this commie bitch." (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 26 November 2004). Though the university ruled the grievances to be without merit, two vicious right-wingers with a vendetta still managed to make Meranto's life a living hell.

AP

Helen Nestor

Civil rights struggles, as in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963 (above), inspired Berkeley Free Speech Movement (right).

Longtime American Indian activist and University of Colorado ethnic studies professor Ward Churchill is, at the time of this writing, the most recent target of a high-level onslaught. Churchill is well known in leftist circles for the history of the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO program he co-authored with Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Domestic Dissent*, his writings on the U.S. government's genocidal treatment of Native Americans and his exposés of the UN sanctions against Iraq that resulted in well over a million deaths.

When Churchill was slated to speak at Hamilton College in upstate New York on February 3, some students and faculty protested his appearing, based on an essay he had written titled, "'Some People Push Back': On the Justice of Roosting Chickens." Just after the September 11 attacks, Churchill wrote an angry liberal response to the crimes of U.S. imperialism, especially the murderous sanctions against Iraq. In this, he implied that Americans in general, due to their indifference to the suffering the U.S. government was causing abroad, were all guilty to an extent of these crimes. Thus, Churchill argues that the attack on the World Trade Center was a counterstroke in a war between the First and Third Worlds. In the course of this, Churchill referred to the "technocrats" in the World Trade Center as "little Eichmanns."

As Marxists, we find Churchill's interpretation of the attack on the World Trade Center—a *criminal act* that resulted in massive loss of innocent life and a godsend to the imperialist rulers—a grotesque version of liberal collective guilt. Churchill's outlook divides the world into good peoples and bad peoples rather than into opposing classes. Those who carried out that attack embraced the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and as a military installation the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack an "anti-imperialist" act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon. Nevertheless, we vigorously oppose the persecution of Professor Churchill for his unpopular views. The witchhunters, transparently, have seized on his World Trade Center statement in order to censor him, as payback for his long-time activism and exposure of the crimes of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Thus, Churchill's appearance at Hamilton was canceled due to a flurry of death threats. He has already stepped down as the head of ethnic studies at the University of Colorado, and the state's right-wing governor, Bill Owens, as well as Colorado Senate president Joan FitzGerald have called for his resignation. On campus, the board of regents has met to consider Churchill's future at the university. ***An injury to one is an injury to all! Defend Ward Churchill!***

The very movements that returned leftists to campus and got significant numbers of black people into the universities, like the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley and the New Left, were themselves born of the tumultuous struggles of the time—notably the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement. Likewise, the attempts to overturn these gains are part of a push by the emboldened right-wing rulers against ***all*** of the advances of previous struggles against oppression, repression and stultifying conformity.

Universities are repositories of knowledge, and, as Karl Marx remarked, ignorance never did anyone any good. Broader social struggles often find their reflection in student activism, which is by its very nature transitory (and by no means always leftist). Like any institution under capitalism, the universities are run to benefit the capitalists, in the first place by training the administrative, technical and cultural personnel the capitalist system needs. This can range from the benign (high school math teachers, say) to the deeply malignant (State Department cadres, researchers for the military-industrial complex, ROTC, CIA operatives, strikebreaking "industrial relations" experts). At the same time, universities serve to provide scientific, cultural and technical knowledge needed by those who will be ideologists and spokesmen for all classes in society.

As part of our work on universities, seeking to win "class traitors" to a lifetime of service to the cause of international workers revolution, we fight for the maximum access to and democracy within the groves of academe and to obstruct the university from being direct instruments of class rule and class discrimination. Thus we call for open admissions and no tuition along with a paid living stipend. Education, ***quality*** education, is a democratic right and should be readily available to all, not merely to the fewer and fewer who can pay for it—or whose parents can pay for it. The elite private schools should be ***nationalized***—and Columbia should be open to Harlem residents and Harvard to those of Roxbury! For the universities to genuinely serve the needs of those who study there, ***the campus administrations should be abolished***—for student, worker, teacher control! To impede the universities from being direct agents of U.S. imperialism we call for an end to ROTC and all forms of military research.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, the youth/student auxiliaries of the Marxist Spartacist League, seek to develop young radicals into communist militants, through socialist education and struggle, and to organize and link them, through the vanguard party, to the working class. Our goal is nothing less than the destruction of this rotten capitalist society through the seizure of state power by the working class. While many partial battles loom, it is only the revolutionary transformation of society that will put an end to the racist, witchhunting, warmongering offensive. Join us in the struggle against world filth and for a socialist future!■

SYC Classes

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Labour Must Defend All the Oppressed!

York University Student Centre
Room 311C
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

CHICAGO

Tuesday, March 1, 7 p.m.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Rm 202, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

VANCOUVER

Tuesday, March 1, 5:30 p.m.

No to Ontario's "Sharia Courts"!
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Down With Anti-Muslim Racism!

University of British Columbia
Student Union Bldg., Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

Marx...

(continued from page 6)

was because I thought the Hegelian contribution to Marxism had been overvalued, especially by bourgeois academics, and the influence on Marx and Engels of contemporary plebeian and proletarian radicalism—red republicanism—had been undervalued.

So I'd like to conclude this session with the wisdom of Philippe Buonarroti, a great and noble-minded man. For decades, usually under conditions of severe repression, he sought to form and lead revolutionary communist organizations. On one occasion he made a list of the personal qualities he looked for in recruits:

"Devotion to the principles of the order and willingness to sacrifice to them personal interests and pleasure."

"Courage, that is to say, scorn of danger, of work and hardship."

"Reflection, gravity, prudence." It's a dangerous world out there, so be careful.

"Patience and perseverance."

"Scorn for wealth, position, men, and power...."

"Inviolable respect for the word, the promise, and the vow." Say what you mean and mean what you say.

"Willingness to overlook personal wrongs." In other words, don't be subjective, don't be cliquist.

"Moderation in the use of intoxicating liquors." Well, that's really a matter of personal taste.

"The habit of speaking little and to the point." This will make local meetings a lot shorter, comrades.

"No wish to make an impression, to shine, and to impose oneself." In other words, don't try to be a star.

"Caution in gambling, in love, in anger, and in the opening of one's heart." That really is a matter of personal style.

And finally: "Exquisite sensibility concerning the wrongs that weigh on humanity." With that we can all agree.■

Stewart...

(continued from page 1)

lawyer to zealously defend him from prosecution, then fundamental liberties, from the right to a trial and an attorney, to even the right of free speech and assembly, are choked. In the racist, anti-immigrant post-September 11 climate, Mohamed Yousry and Abdel Sattar, both American citizens, were pre-judged guilty by reason of being Arab.

The world's biggest terrorist is the U.S. government, and its Democratic and Republican party rulers and spy agencies are the ones who should be tried by their victims as the animators and co-conspirators of the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* ilk. They armed, financed and trained these holy warriors to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan and helped supply competing factions, including Osama bin Laden's "training camps" (now dubbed "terrorist universities" by Washington), with war matériel. When Soviet president Gorbachev sold out to the West and withdrew the Red Army from Afghanistan in 1989, the U.S. stopped pumping billions to their "freedom fighters," who then turned on their "infidel" creator. A government agent was at the center of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and bin Laden was behind the destruction of the Twin Towers in the criminal attack that killed thousands on September 11, 2001, when the Pentagon was also hit. The U.S. government prose-

UPI

Ronald Reagan meeting with reactionary Afghan *mujahedin* at White House, 1983. U.S. imperialists armed and financed Islamic fundamentalist terrorists against Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

cuted Sheik Abdel Rahman in part to cover its own bloody tracks.

After September 11, George Bush told the world, "You're either with us or with the terrorists" in an unlimited "war on terror" against innumerable unnamed enemies with imaginary weapons of mass destruction allegedly located among all too real civilian populations. As a government-appointed attorney for an Islamic fundamentalist cleric, Lynne Stewart was a prime target on the domestic front of the "war on terror." But let's be clear: black people and the working class are the ultimate target. Why? Because the politically conscious mobilization of workers and black people, in a class-divided society where the color line and the legacy of slavery prop up capitalist rule, is the combination to unlock the gate to revolutionary social change and progress.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, seek to organize the tremendous social power of the working class to fight in defense of all victims of capitalist injustice, and in so doing, advance the struggle for a society where those who labor rule. Just as the prosecution of Lynne Stewart has ominous implications, so too does powerful protest against it have broader portent. The American labor movement has every interest in fighting against this conviction. All defenders of democratic rights and civil liberties should be mobilized behind the power of the multiracial working class. Put otherwise, her fight is ours and yours.

Mr. Gonzales's Gulag

The torture scandals in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo, with photographic evidence of "liberation" American-style, horrified the world. Death row political prisoner and award-winning journalist Mumia

Lisa Quiñones

Professor Mohamed Yousry with daughter, outside December 3 academic freedom conference. The American Association of University Professors condemned his firing by CUNY after his indictment in Stewart case.

Abu-Jamal wrote: "The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America." Indeed, the convicted torturer, Sergeant Graner, was a guard at SCI-Greene where Mumia, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, is jailed for a crime he did not commit. The conviction of Lynne Stewart, if not fought and overturned, promises more Abu Ghraibs here and abroad.

In the Lynne Stewart trial, the prosecutors said repeatedly that they thought they had "locked up" Ahdel Rahman and "thrown away the key." They accused Lynne Stewart of committing a "jailbreak" by communicating her client's views to Reuters news service. That this open communication of one man's opinion to one of the most established news agencies on the planet is construed as a "conspiracy" to provide "material support to terrorism" gives one a measure of how deep down in the dungeons the Justice Department seeks to lock up its opponents. We recall Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's early comment when the lid blew off Abu Ghraib: the pictures were illegal, he said. His concern was public exposure of the evidence, not the torture.

In a television and radio interview the morning after the conviction, Lynne Stewart and her attorney Michael Tigar were asked about the violation of privileged attorney-client communication, how Stewart's meetings with her client were secretly videotaped. They also spoke of the chilling effect of "Special Administrative Measures" (SAMs)—enacted to muzzle Sheik Abdel Rahman—which deprive prisoners of basic rights and privileges, limiting their access to mail, phone calls and even visits by their attorneys. Michael Tigar noted that such measures are now being imposed on lawyers representing detainees to limit their ability to function:

> "The only way that we will ever get to the bottom of the American concentration camp abuses at Gitmo and Abu Ghraib is that if the lawyers for these prisoners are permitted to tell their stories to the world. If the government can shut off that communication, which they have attempted to do over and over and over again, these activities will continue in secret, blessed as they are by the highest officials of government in a country which has for the first time in its history given a cabinet job to a fellow who says that the Geneva Convention is obsolete and that the torture memo doesn't mean anything."
>
> —Democracy Now! Web site (11 February)

The Stewart trial verdict comes in the context of increased attacks by the Bush White House—and the Democrats—on civil liberties. Sitting in power is a dangerously demented regime that wants to brand every protest against its policies de facto "terrorism." What next? Is publishing a column by Mumia Abu-Jamal—who was framed up effectively as a "terrorist" for his political views—"material support to terrorism"? How about buying his books? What about signing a petition on behalf of Irish nationalist IRA or Basque ETA prisoners?

Historically, conspiracy law (which comes from the Latin *conspirare*—to breathe together) has been used to nail anyone the government wants to silence yet can't charge with a single demonstrable criminal act. "To breathe together," to speak of how to defend oneself against the state and the ruling class is in itself the "crime." Organizing against slavery was "conspiratorial"; labor unions used to be illegal conspiracies in this country...and might well be judged so again if they don't get off their knees to fight the union-busting, anti-immigrant "war on terror" and legislation like the USA-Patriot Act. Every right that working people and minorities have has been wrested through struggle, and it's only through struggle that those gains can be held on to and advanced.

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

The irregularities in this seven-month trial could fill several very large tomes. The judge allowed highly inflammatory and utterly irrelevant "evidence" to be presented by the prosecution. Everyone admitted that the charges had nothing to do with the September 11 attacks. But in the very week of the anniversary, the prosecution was allowed to screen a videotape for the jury of Osama bin Laden speaking. As Lynne Stewart said, "When you put Osama bin Laden in a courtroom and ask the jury to ignore it, that's asking a lot." Likewise the kidnappings of foreigners in the Philippines and murder of tourists in Luxor, Egypt were outrageously introduced into court, because these acts were claimed to be the work of people inspired by Sheik Abdel Rahman, yet having nothing at all to do with the defendants!

A suspicious story carrying the distinct whiff of prosecution dirty tricks was aired on ABC TV news, linking the murder of an Egyptian Coptic Christian family in Jersey City to the Lynne Stewart trial. The story was broadcast and Lynne Stewart's picture was beamed into millions of television sets across the New York metropolitan area, and rebroadcast for days, smearing her and her co-defendants by association with this heinous crime, despite the fact that the Justice Department stated there was no connection between Stewart and the slaying. Although several jurors saw the broadcast or read articles about it, defense motions for a mistrial were denied, and no investigation was launched into the source of this calumny.

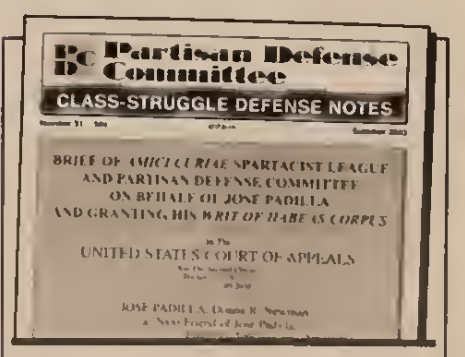
The prosecution repeated ad nauseam—literally *55 times* in the first two hours of rebuttal against Ahmed Abdel Sattar—that Abdel Sattar (and by implication his co-defendants) conspired to "kill the Jewish people." Yet those are not Abdel Sattar's words and they don't appear in the more than *90,000* wiretaps on his phone, and Abdel Sattar testified that these are not his views. This outrageous pandering to anti-Arab prejudice set the stage for murderous threats against Lynne Stewart issued by the fascistic, racist goons of the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO). On February 8, the JDO taped a threatening flyer to the door of Lynne Stewart's home at 2 o'clock in the morning. That same flyer, announcing "Operation Crush Terror" was posted around the courthouse. A JDO recorded phone message announced Stewart's home address and called for her to "be put out of business legally and effectively." It boasted that the JDO had already spread their message to the jury. The prosecution argued that the JDO death threat was an expression of "free speech."

Two days later the jury returned a unanimous guilty verdict. But as Stewart said, "Three of the women on the jury wept during the entire rendition of the verdict. Why were they weeping if they thought they had done justice?" One juror was so inaudible when polled as to her agreement with the verdict that the judge made her repeat herself *four* times. A measure of what a cynical political frame-up this was, is that after winning their conviction, the prosecution did not demand that Lynne Stewart or Mohamed Yousry be remanded to custody. They walked out of the courthouse with the public where they belong.

Lynne Stewart has been disbarred (automatic with a felony conviction) and noted that it is "my greatest sense of loss that I will be cut off from this profession that I love and that I feel that I have served, and I have served people who had no voice." Yousry, a highly regarded adjunct professor of Near East history at York College, was immediately severed from CUNY by the craven administration upon his arrest in 2002. His prosecution was a particularly vindictive act by the Feds who, prior to his indictment, offered him $1.5 million (plus cost-of-living increases) to fink for the FBI. He turned them down, and as he had nothing to "fink," this Justice Department-approved translator was convicted of...translating. The government's damning "evidence" against him was photographs of books stacked floor to ceiling in his home library. Ahmed Abdel Sattar is a supporter of Abdel Rahman and a postal worker who perhaps inflated his importance through phone calls with supporters of the sheik in Egypt and Afghanistan. A huge phone bill is hardly evidence of conspiracy to murder.

We're Marxists, not naive liberals who place their faith in the capitalist courts. We know dirty tricks and frame-ups are the stock in trade of the "justice" system. There are contradictions between the formal guarantees of freedom and the reality of capitalist state repression. While we strongly believe in the importance of using every legal means available to defend democratic rights, we place all our confidence in the class struggle, not the courts. The courts are not neutral. They are an integral part of the capitalist state, which masks the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with eyewash about equality before the law in a society where those who own the means of production make the laws to rule over those whose labor they exploit.

The verdict is a sign of these deeply reactionary times, and it is important to soberly assess this. But broader social struggle can in itself be a significant turn in the tide. We urge our readers to join protest actions and come to the sentencing hearing on July 15. Send donations to the Lynne Stewart Defense Committee, 350 Broadway, Suite 700, New York, NY 10013. ***Overturn the convictions! Fight the frame-up!*** ■



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Bush...

(continued from page 1)

used before to mask the putrefaction of carnage and social decay, there is something almost uniquely vile about being subjected to not-quite-literate sermons by a combat-dodging rich kid who views protest as treason. Minus the grandiosity, however, Bush's proposals are a variation of the depredations that have been visited on working and poor people for the past three decades under both Democratic and Republican regimes.

The pillaging and degradation of working people during this period have been nothing short of breathtaking. The share of total wages garnered by the lower 90 percent of the population has fallen by 13 percent. Meanwhile, the real income of the top .01 percent quadrupled.

With the deindustrialization of the nation, good jobs—those that pay something approximating a living wage—are few. Such hiring as has gone on in this, the up-phase of an economic recovery, has mostly been into McJobs in the retail, service and wholesale industries. Since Bush took office, more than 2.6 million manufacturing jobs have been lost. The labor participation rate (which includes those working and actively seeking employment) has been in a long decline and has now reached the lowest level since 1988, 65.8 percent of the working age population. Meanwhile, people 55 and older—most of them forced back to work after retirement—have become the fastest-growing portion of the workforce, comprising 14.3 percent of the workforce in 2002.

AP

Seniors rally in Bismarck, North Dakota on February 3 against Bush's plans to loot Social Security.

These developments reflect the normal dynamic of the capitalist system in the absence of significant labor struggle. As described by Marx, that dynamic is the accrual of profits and wealth by the owners of the means of production at one pole and the increasing misery and degradation of the producers of that wealth, labor, at the other pole.

For Class War, Not Massacre of Workers Rights!

For this reason, the only effective way for the working class to defend its interests is through class-struggle means—strikes, labor protests, plant occupations. But the trade-union tops have by and large abandoned effective means of class struggle. When pressed by the workers to strike, they have enforced the restraints of bourgeois legislation, like the Taft-Hartley Act, designed to vitiate the workers' ability to shut down production, hurt the capitalists' flow of profits and beat back the scabs. If forced to strike, usually these types have quickly thrown in the towel, often signing such egregious giveback contracts as to call into question the value of ever walking a picket line. A recent example of this was the UFCW grocery workers strike in late 2003-04 over the burning issues of health care and pensions. Despite the determined militancy of the workers, the UFCW leadership sold them out. The current trade-union bureaucracy is an obstacle to waging militant class struggle because it is tied to the capitalist system and subservient to its state apparatus. Its support to the Democratic Party is in direct counterposition to independent class struggle.

It is precisely because the Democrats are the other party of the ruling class that they have had nothing of substance to say to America's working and poor people in general and only the meekest response to Bush's agenda. Around the inauguration many Democrats praised Bush's triumph in pulling off the sham elections in Iraq. Indeed, in their quest to regain power over the government, they are now trying to compete with the Republicans in "family value"-speak, as witnessed by Hillary Clinton's recently revealed religiosity and her attempts at finding "common ground" with the right-wing, anti-abortion bigots.

AP

Jim Winslet

Amid exposés of torture and other American atrocities in Iraq, new secretary of state Condoleezza Rice seeks to extend U.S. imperialism's tentacles over the globe.

Reflecting the real concerns of sectors of the ruling class over mushrooming deficit spending, the Democrats have, since the reign of Ronald Reagan, increasingly tried to cast themselves as the defenders of fiscal responsibility. It should be remembered that it was Bill Clinton who savaged welfare and, with it, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, this when the economy was booming and government deficits were vanishing. It was also under Clinton that the prison system population soared, today reaching over two million.

Attacks on social programs, like welfare, which was justified through racist demonizing of black women, are detrimental to all workers, underlining the need for all working people to oppose them. As a November 2004 article in *Monthly Review* by Janine Fitzgerald pointed out, "The real winners of welfare reform are the companies seeking to hire low-wage workers. Not only does welfare reform create a mass of poor women desperate to find work and feed their children, it disciplines all low-wage workers. Desperate men and women who do not receive welfare know that if they complain or demand better wages, they can be replaced by even more desperate welfare mothers."

For years, many Democrats have put forward their own schemes for "reforming" Social Security, either by further raising the retirement age or by price indexing or both. Little wonder then that, in his "State of the Union" address, Bush was able to favorably cite these Democrats in promoting his plan to privatize Social Security. For both parties, the essential problem is that ordinary people are living too long.

Since the September 11 attacks, the Democrats have sought to outdo the Republicans on the "war on terror," whose real purpose is to increase the repressive powers of the state and attack democratic rights. While some Democrats expressed reservations about the Iraq war, they overwhelmingly voted for the USA-Patriot Act. Now that the popularity of the war and occupation, which are of no intrinsic value to America's imperialist rulers, has waned, many Democrats are pumping for a withdrawal in the short run with no diminution in their fervor for the "war on terror."

The strengthening of the repressive mechanisms of the bourgeois state, and the dismantling of benefits won in past social struggles, represent the American imperialist rulers' drive to plunder the working class and will not be fundamentally challenged by either of its political parties. In brief, imperialist war—the quest for profits and power abroad—is inextricably connected to the drive to increase profits and power at home, although the populace cannot be subjected to the same promiscuous slaughter that is visited on the foreign "enemy."

But Bush's agenda is hardly a done deal. There is considerable resistance to many of his current proposals as well as accruing discontents among those who have witnessed the slow transformation of the "American dream" into a nightmare over the past decades. In fact, his proposed budget cutbacks, although vicious, are, in financial terms, not of great scale. And should the partial privatization of Social Security be enacted, actual benefit reductions will not begin for years. But the magnitude of the degradation in the quality of life for most Americans over the past three decades cannot be denied.

In British playwright John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* (written in 1956), the protagonist, Jimmy Potter, observes, "It's pretty dreary living in the American age—unless of course you're an American." This is no longer the case. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, in 2000 American workers put in 17 percent more time on the job than their French counterparts and received two to three times fewer paid days off work than British and Swedish workers. While Americans spend the most for health care per capita in the world, increasingly out of pocket for working people, and with 45 million people having no health coverage at all, the World Health Organization ranks the U.S. 37th in the quality of health service. Not surprisingly, Americans have shorter life spans than their West European counterparts and the U.S stands 26th in infant mortality rates among industrialized nations.

Every gain won by working people and the oppressed has been a product of fierce class and social struggles, like the giant labor struggles of the 1930s, which established industrial unions in this country. The so-called welfare state—in reality right-wing code for benefits to working people and the poor—that arose from those class battles never approached the level attained in West Europe in the aftermath of World War II. That said, it is precisely the residues of these battles that are and have been under attack by the ruling class. Meaningful public welfare for the time being has been massacred. Public housing, largely a dead letter for decades, is on the chopping block under Bush's budget. Food stamps are targeted for further attenuation, as are health benefits in the form of cutting Medicaid and support for training doctors and nurses.

What remain of the gains of those struggles are Social Security and its logical sequel Medicare, programs that entail massive social expenditures. It is all too understandable that many younger people tend to prefer the partial privatization of Social Security as there is nothing in their experience that would indicate that government intervention would be on their behalf. This perspective is both true and false. True, in that such reforms are always a sop offered by the bosses to placate and mitigate class-struggle opposition. False, in that a reversal of the gains of such struggles would embolden the bosses to intensify their drive to assert that the only right of working people is to go to work and receive, sometimes, a paycheck.

Less noticed has been the attack on public education. In the aftermath of World War II, under the GI Bill public education was expanded at relatively little expense to working-class youth who wanted to go to college. Many took those advantages, and many still hope to. But this is of little concern to the ruling elite for whom education for "others" is an extravagance only to be justified by the demands of maintaining the capitalist economic system.

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Each year there is a seemingly inexorable rise in tuition and fees in both public and private colleges and universities, along with mounting budget cuts. For public, four-year colleges, the percentage of tuition costs covered by Pell Grants fell from 98 percent to 57 percent between 1986 and 1998. Under Bush's current budget proposals, Pell Grants will be increased at most by a scant $500 over the next five years while Perkins Loans, which provide as much as $4,000 a year for undergraduate students in financial need, will be abolished. Educated and idle minds provide little of service to the continuation of capitalist rule.

For a Workers Party!

The social and economic oppression of black people, at first in the form of chattel slavery and, since the defeat of Reconstruction in the aftermath of the Civil War, in the form of race-color caste oppression, is a cornerstone of American capitalism. It reinforces backward consciousness within the working class, providing a wedge against concerted class action in opposition to capitalist rule, while establishing a minimum base for wages and social benefits. As Karl Marx expressed it almost 150 years ago, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It is no accident that the three main periods of social struggle in America—the Civil War, the working-class battles in the 1930s and civil-rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles of the 1950s and '60s—have all necessarily challenged black racial oppression. It is for this reason that the American socialist revolution will come to fruition only if the struggle against all exploitation and oppression is linked to the cause of black freedom.

In the Cold War against the USSR following World War II, anti-Communist national chauvinism was whipped up by the American ruling class, enabling them to re-ensconce a pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy by purging the reds who were key in building the mass industrial unions in the '30s, from the trade-union movement. Perhaps the most eloquent and dialectical explanation for both the quiescence and the defeats of the working class, as well as for its victories, was given by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in his 1940 piece, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership":

> "There is an ancient epigram from the evolutionist and liberal conception of history: Every people gets the government it deserves. History, however, shows that one and the same people may in the course of a comparatively brief epoch get very different governments...and furthermore that the order of these governments doesn't at all proceed in one and the same direction: from despotism to freedom as was imagined by the liberal evolutionists. The secret is that a people is comprised of hostile classes, and the classes themselves are comprised of different and in part antagonistic layers that fall under different leadership; furthermore every people falls under the influence of other peoples who are likewise comprised of classes. Governments do not express the systematically growing 'maturity' of a 'people' but are the product of the struggle between different classes and the different layers within one and the same class, and finally, the action of external forces—alliances, conflicts, wars, and so on....
>
> "The very same dialectical approach is necessary in dealing with the question of the leadership of a class. Imitating the liberals, our sages tacitly accept the axiom that every class gets the leadership it deserves. In reality leadership is not at all a mere 'reflection' of a class or the product of its own free creativeness. A leadership is shaped in the process of clashes between the different classes or the friction between the different layers within a given class."

WV Photo

October 2004: Spartacists at "Million Worker March" in Washington, D.C. call to break with the Democrats, build workers party.

The contradictions of capitalism inevitably produce class struggle. The question is, what leadership will the proletariat have. It is necessary to forge a class-struggle leadership in the unions that fights not only for immediate economic demands, but on broader social issues. Defense of immigrant rights against the government's "war on terror," defense of abortion and gay rights, freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolishing the racist death penalty—these are some of the causes that a class-struggle leadership would take up, mobilizing the massive power of the working class on the side of all the oppressed. It is in the crucible of such struggles that the cadres will be assembled to forge the internationalist revolutionary party that can lead the overturn of America's bloodsoaked capitalist imperialist system and form a workers government. This would provide the crucial beginning to the creation of a world socialist order that will end for all time the exploitation and oppression of man by man. The central purpose of the International Communist League at this juncture is to assemble and educate, in the school of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, the cadres who will build such a party. ■

Black History...

(continued from page 3)

54th themselves, that the success or failure of the initially highly controversial policy of allowing armed blacks to play an official combat role would be measured by the conduct of these soldiers.

In May and June 1863, black and white Union regiments fought together for the first time in major battles at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi River. These battles were publicized in the North, and many white officers expressed surprise at how fiercely the black troops fought. But popular racist stereotypes of happy passive slaves, incapable of discipline and heavy combat, weren't significantly challenged until the heroic attack by the black troops of the Massachusetts 54th on Fort Wagner, which hit the North like a lightning bolt. This was certainly the first military action of the Civil War where the magnificent comportment of black soldiers in combat became popularly known, and it opened the way for the acceptance of black troops in heavy combat.

As Brian notes, in our review of the movie *Glory* in *Black History* No. 7 we used a quote from Cornish's *The Sable Arm* that characterized Higginson as a "romantic," thus reducing the differences over the conduct of the war to those of New England romantics vs. Western realists. Although Higginson and Shaw did not much like slash-and-burn tactics at this point in the war, they had no principled opposition. Shaw wrote in his letter to his wife about Darien: "If it were the order of our government to overrun the South with fire and sword, I might look at it in a different light; for then we should be carrying out what had been decided upon as a necessary policy."

"Total war" had become official policy in the crucial Virginia theater in September 1864, when General Ulysses S. Grant instructed General Philip H. Sheridan to lay waste to the Shenandoah Valley so thoroughly that "crows flying over it for the balance of the season will have to carry their own provender." The policy was best exemplified by General Tecumseh Sherman's campaign. Colonel Higginson in his book *Army Life in a Black Regiment* wrote: "All now admit that the fate of the Confederacy was decided by Sherman's march to the sea." This march to the sea was designed to divide the Confederacy in two. It devastated the South economically and demoralized it by demonstrating the Union's military might. Notwithstanding the distortions of Confederate-eulogizing movies like *Gone With the Wind*, "total war" did not entail terrorizing or killing civilians. The Civil War was fought mainly between armies.

Conservatives and Democrats found the idea of black ex-slaves bearing arms unthinkable, to say nothing of their prejudice against the notion of black officers. Discrimination against black troops even in official Union Army regiments was rife. Black troops were paid only the wage of laborers. General Sherman himself was a racist who refused to have black troops in his army until forced to by pressure from above in 1865. This fact points to the need to understand the Civil War as a battle of *opposing class forces* in which the power of events overtook individual subjective intentions, proclivities and limitations, and compelled a frontal assault on the whole system of slavery.

Finish the Civil War!

The Civil War and its aftermath continue to shape this country to this day. The smashing of the slavocracy ushered in the period of Radical Reconstruction in the South, when, with the ex-Confederate states under Union Army occupation, black people got access to education and black men got voting rights, and many black soldiers who fought against slavery played leading roles in Reconstruction governments. But with the "Compromise of 1877" and the withdrawal of Union troops, black people were left defenseless against nightriding Klan terrorists, their white hoods symbolizing the ghost of the Confederacy.

To complete the unfulfilled promise of black freedom requires a fight to *finish the Civil War* with a third American revolution—a socialist revolution against the capitalist system of institutionalized racial oppression that divides the working class and forcibly segregates black people at the bottom of society. The heroic role played by the black troops of the First South Carolina Volunteers, the Massachusetts 54th, and the radical abolitionists stands as an inspiration for the struggle ahead. ■

Japan...

(continued from page 5)

controlled banking and industrial combines] are furious. Following the visit to China by German chancellor Schröder and large economic delegations in November, the head of Keizai Doyukai (Association of Corporate Executives) called on Koizumi to refrain from visiting Yasukuni shrine. The growing two-way trade with China, set at ¥8 trillion ($79 billion) for the first six months of 2004, is fueling the Japanese jobless "economic recovery," and the bourgeoisie does not want anything to get in the way of its increased profits.

While there may be tactical differences within the bourgeoisie, in the lead-up to the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII, the Japanese ruling class is united in throwing off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome. To accomplish this, domestically the ruling class needs to impose a policy of economic austerity, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the oppressive apparatus needed for the maintenance of capitalist law and order. While targeting the workers states overseas, the new defense guidelines strengthen the state's arsenal of repression against the workers movement at home. To augment the emergency war legislation which targets unions in the transport industry, these new guidelines call for the establishment of special anti-guerrilla units, intelligence gathering operations are to be strengthened, and cooperation among the military, the police and coast guard is to be heightened.

"Peace in Northeast Asia" will never be realized as long as Japanese imperialism exists. There is much anger among the working people of this country and a real desire to fight against economic recession, discrimination, increased state repression and war. An important example is the refusal of the Sasebo longshoremen to load war matériel onto a Self-Defense Force warship bound for the Indian Ocean in 2001. As we wrote at the time, "This type of class-struggle action by members of Zenkowan (All Japan Dockworkers Union) has more potential to thwart Japanese imperialism's military ambitions and plans for increased domestic repression than all of the dozens of 'antiwar' demonstrations held recently across the country" ("Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships," 7 December 2001).

This anger and militancy must be directed toward building a real workers party which will coordinate the struggles against war, against racism and chauvinism, against sexism and against unemployment. A Trotskyist party would link the fight for workers revolution in Japan with the Chinese and North Korean workers struggle against their corrupt Stalinist bureaucracies and with the class struggles of the militant Philippine and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers. Only through a socialist revolution in imperialist Japan will the basis be laid for the development of a socialist Asia. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus

Young Spartacus

You read them in major newspapers. You see them on cable news. Their essays span a thousand Internet blogs. Always, the complaint is the same: they are persecuted, hounded by remorseless "elites" bent on world domination. Are these the complaints of an oppressed minority group? Embattled workers? The unemployed? Leftist protesters? No, these bleats come from the mouths of smug think tankers and hacks with intimate ties to some of the most influential policymakers in government today. In this Orwellian campaign, the expression of views in the university that run contrary to those ruling the country equals a lack of "academic freedom." Under the spurious banner of "academic freedom," student groups are harassed, professors threatened with being purged, whole departments "investigated" for the current version of "un-American activities" reminiscent of the McCarthyite anti-red witchhunting of the 1950s, when Communists, leftists and even liberals were driven off campus and black students were largely excluded.

The current campaign to purge the campuses is not simply a vicious ideological assault. It supports and is supported by the power of the American capitalist government. Intelligence agencies have long had a sufficient presence on American campuses for CIA spokesman Sharon Foster to boast in 1988 that the agency had enough professors secretly on its payroll "to staff a large university" (*CounterPunch*, 26 January). Since September 2001, this has clearly accelerated. A case in point is the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program (PRISP), named after its Senatorial sponsor. Designed for graduate students interested in working in intelligence, the PRISP program keeps its recipients secret. Professor David Price of St. Martins College, who publicized the case, has stated that, "These PRISP students are also secretly compiling dossiers on their professors and fellow students" (*CounterPunch*, 26 January).

Snooping, harassment, purges: these attacks are part of an overall assault on and qualitative diminution of democratic rights that has intensified with the U.S. capitalists' bipartisan "war on terror." Arab students, black students, women students, gays, leftists and all those opposed to imperialist slaughter and domestic repression have a stake in fighting back. And the campaign being waged by the likes of David Horowitz, Ann Coulter and the bourgeois media, including its under-crust tabloid variety, should also be opposed by the organized working class, which has the objective interest and social power to do so.

The attempted castration of intellectual dissent is an attack on *all* opposition to the ruling-class agenda. Today it is particularly aimed at those who oppose the bloody occupation of Iraq and voice outrage at the genocidal "collective punishment" of the Palestinian people by Israel's Zionist rulers. Middle East studies departments, including distinguished scholars, are among the prime targets of campus witchhunts. But the same forces that would like to see campuses inhabited solely by white frat boys in khakis also want to see a union-free workforce that they can more brutally exploit. They seek a docile, regimented society, all the better to send the sons and daughters of the working people to serve as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars abroad while ripping up even the most minimal gains of previous class and social struggles at home. And, in this country where the bedrock of the capitalist system is the racist oppression of black people, the would-be McCarthys are racist to the core.

Right-wing rogues' gallery. Clockwise from upper left: Donald Rumsfeld, Joseph McCarthy (center), David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes and Paul Wolfowitz. McCarthyite witchhunters like Horowitz and Pipes are linked to Bush regime.

Horowitz: Racist Apologist for Slavery

Unsurprisingly, former leftist-turned-right-wing ideologue and self-appointed Grand Inquisitor David Horowitz is up to his eyeballs in all of this. Horowitz is high in the councils of the Republican Party. His diatribes run in major newspapers. His neoconservative think tank, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, rakes in millions of dollars, his daily online *FrontPage Magazine* is a standard-bearer for the very right-wingers running the country at present.

In 2001, Horowitz ran an ad in around 50 campus newspapers across the country that contained nauseating apologies for slavery and spat on the gains of black struggle (see "Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," *WV* No. 756, 13 April 2001). Now, he is touting a grossly misnamed "Academic Bill of Rights." The bill, among other things, empowers "duly constituted authorities" to snoop into hiring and tenure decisions on college campuses, attempting to provide a basis for a purge of the left from campuses. The Georgia State Senate passed the measure, and it is up for consideration in several other states.

As Horowitz pushes his agenda in the halls of state legislatures and on the Internet, he and his ilk are pursuing a sustained and vicious campaign on the campuses. Thus, some 150 chapters of the Horowitz-inspired Students for Academic Freedom have joined with various conservative clubs, College Republican groups and the like in harassing left-wing professors and staging racist provocations. Marxists understand that it is necessary to *refute* the lies of right-wing propagandists and combat the corrosive effect of their retrograde ideas. Seeking to shut down right-wing ideologues when they speak on campus will only play into their hands by making it appear that the left has no answer to their demagoguery.

The campus right-wingers showed their fangs against political opponents at San Francisco State University (SFSU) in the fall of 2004. When heated arguments between four female students from predominantly Muslim countries and the College Republicans degenerated into the Republicans screaming that the women were "terrorists" amid vile racist epithets, various campus groups held an impromptu demonstration in defense of the women. Horowitz's *FrontPage Magazine* pilloried the women in scurrilous articles while the College Republicans concocted phony tales of the women's "terrorist" activities, leading to government surveillance. Meanwhile, SFSU president Robert Corrigan has demanded that *both* groups apologize or face academic penalties under "hate speech" regulations championed by liberals. Our comrades at SFSU issued a January 21 leaflet, printed in the last issue of *WV*, which explained: "These are McCarthyite strategists; both their campaigns and their racist lies must be exposed" and demanded: *No administration reprisals! Down with the right-wing witchhunt!*

Our position is in marked contrast to ostensibly socialist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO). At SFSU, where the four students were threatened with campus discipline, Students Against War (which includes ISO members) issued a petition with the demand that "there be no punitive action against these four women or any organization they belong to." But the core of the petition is a call on Corrigan to act as a regulator of political speech on campus. Such regulations would be used as they always are—in the first instance, to go after the left and minority students. Quoting a line from a 2002 letter by Corrigan that read "hate speech is not free speech," the petition stated that "signatories of this petition would agree with the president's sentiment." Such language renders the petition unsupportable. And this came *after* he threatened reprisals against the immigrant students for expressing their political views.

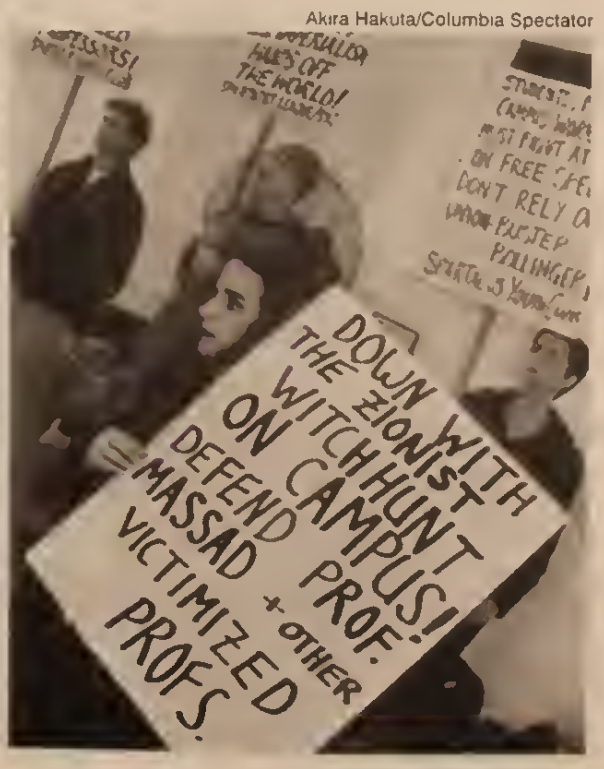
Lest there be any doubt about the supposed "neutrality" of the campus administration, when a comrade of the SFSU SYC tried to make a comment during the Q&A period at Horowitz's recent forum at SFSU, grotesquely billed as a talk on "academic freedom," campus security was called in to silence any dissenting views, removing four SYC supporters. As we noted in a letter to the *Golden Gate [X]press* (see page 7): "How far the right-wing witchhunt will go depends on how much labor, leftists and minorities are willing to stand up and voice their opinions. We will not be intimidated." *Down with the police and administration attack on the right to free speech on campus!*

Apologists for Israeli State Terror on the Warpath

The Zionists act as extra-governmental auxiliaries for the imperialists on campus and are an integral part of the racist, witchhunting cabal. The principal instigators of these assaults on campus dissent are closely linked to the Bush administration. Campus Watch, which snoops on

continued on page 7

Columbia University



Akira Hakuta/Columbia Spectator

Right: SYC defends victims of Zionist witchhunt at Columbia press conference, December 2004. Above: Prof. Joseph Massad.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 843 GCU C-701 4 March 2005

Defend China, North Korea! U.S. Hands Off the World!

China, North Korea, Syria, Iran...this is the short list of countries overtly threatened in the last few weeks by the nuclear-armed maniacs in Washington, while they continue their devastating occupation of Iraq. Although the U.S. can't come up with any proof that Syria is responsible for the bomb that killed former Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri, it vows Syria must be made to pay. Then there's Iran, rumored to be developing the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. Unmanned spy drones have been flying over Iran for a year, and, thumbing his nose at anxiety in "old Europe," Bush vows that all options, including military, are possible. This saber rattling against Syria and Iran—neocolonial capitalist states—is part of redrawing the map of the Near East in Israeli and U.S. interests.

U.S. imperialism picks its targets carefully, and throws its overwhelming military might against states that can't defend themselves—such as Iraq. North Korea, which claims to have developed limited nuclear capacity, has not been attacked. We defend the right of the North Korean deformed workers state to have nuclear weapons. China is foolishly trying to get North Korea back to the six-nation talks which aim to disarm North Korea...thereby opening a flank for U.S. imperialism against the Chinese deformed workers state itself. China's heroic sacrifices stopped General MacArthur from grabbing the entire Korean peninsula and turning it into a neocolony of U.S. imperialism. Illusions of the Beijing Stalinists, that there can be "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, can only undermine defense of China.

Pursuit of capitalist counterrevolution in China, whether through military pressure (as was used to economically bleed the Soviet Union in the arms race) or through economic penetration or both, is a prime goal of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Neocon Cold Warrior Irving Kristol speaks for his protégés in the White

continued on page 7

AIDS in America: Racism, Poverty, Bigotry

We reprint below a slightly edited and abridged presentation by comrade Karen Cole at a Spartacist League forum in New York City on 17 February.

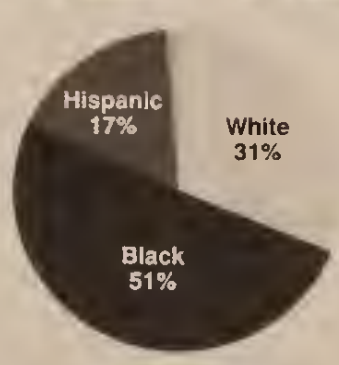
You can't begin to talk about any aspect of AIDS in any country or area of the world without placing it in an international context. For over two decades, this disease has brought massive misery and death to broad sections of the world, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, but also in Asia and Latin America. Over the last 22 years, over 65 million people have been infected worldwide. The desperate fight to obtain anti-retroviral drugs has become a vehicle for social struggle and has mobilized thousands of youth in South Africa. Nevertheless, at the end of 2003, only about 1 percent of the four million people who need anti-retroviral drugs in Southern Africa get them. No country on any continent has been untouched, and with the continuing spread of AIDS in Russia, China, South Asia and many other countries, much is still unknown, and there is no end in sight.

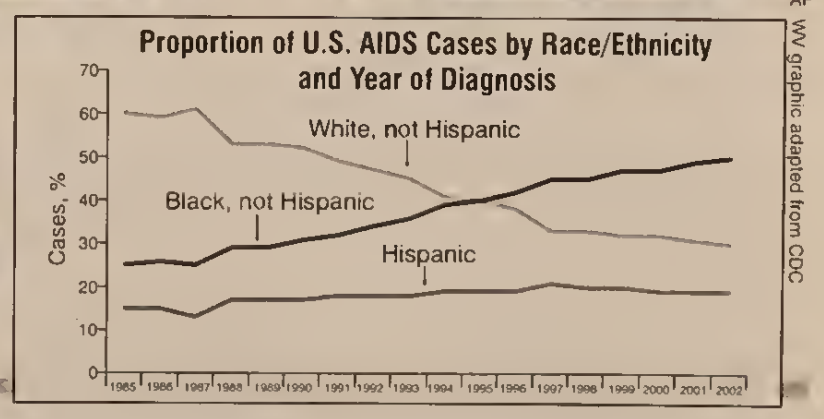
The possibility of bringing this source of so much misery and death under control, to extend the treatments that are currently available to all those who need it—this essential task is undermined every step of the way by the reactionary capitalist system. In its epoch of imperialist decay, capitalism is a hideous, profit-driven system, propped up by brutal racial and sexual oppression. This is an economic system where those few who own the means of production exploit the masses that produce all the wealth. The only counterweight to the unrestrained greed of the ruling class is the working class fighting in its own interests and the interests of the oppressed. It is our task to build an internationalist, vanguard working-class party that will seize the means of production and make a revolution that will lay the basis for building a society based on human needs and not on private profit—a party like the Bolshevik Party that led the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Reininger/Contact

AP

Above: AIDS patient. Protesters at Global Day of Action AIDS rally in New York, June 2001. AIDS is ravaging black America as shown by chart showing racial breakdown of new HIV infections in 2002 and accompanying graph.





WV graphic adapted from CDC

It's not that elements of the capitalist class are incapable of making decisions that provide benefits for more than themselves, but *their actions must always be ultimately consistent with their self-preservation as an exploiting class*. So, every step forward is paid for with persistent world poverty and bloody wars. The scientific problems of eliminating HIV are quite staggering. The HIV virus mutates and develops strains that are resistant to every anti-retroviral drug developed. New strategies must be continually coordinated and systematically researched and developed. The most rational and thoroughgoing weapon would be a vaccine, as has been used effectively against smallpox, polio, hepatitis B and other devastating viruses. But as late as 1994, the U.S. government was spending less than $100 million per year on development of a vaccine, and the funding is tightening this year.

Vaccines are long-term, high-risk, low-profit projects. So, much remains unknown about AIDS for reasons that have nothing to do with the complex biological facts of the virus. The advancement of medical science in general is thwarted by the chaos of capitalism and its drive for immediate profits. Compounding these obstacles are the prejudices and bigotry fomented by an irrational, rotting capitalist economic system. For example, the oppression of women that underpins every class society means that women are increasingly bearing the brunt of the pandemic. For instance: an anti-HIV microbicide, an ointment that a woman could apply to herself, with or without the knowledge of her sexual partner, has not

continued on page 8

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Sinister Conviction of Boston Priest

"Recovered Memory" Witchhunt

"Recovered memory" prosecutions—which put hundreds behind bars in the daycare and "satanic abuse" witchhunts of the 1980s and early 1990s—are back. In Boston on February 15, 74-year-old defrocked priest, Paul Shanley, was sentenced to 12 to 15 years in prison based solely on uncorrohorated "recovered memories" of a man who claimed Shanley abused him 20 years earlier. Alexander Cockburn wrote in *CounterPunch* (19/20 February): "In the state that gave us Salem in the seventeenth century and the Amiraults (all wrongly sent to prison on charges brought hy Middlesex county District Attorney Martha Coakley) in the twentieth, Shanley's case has reintroduced recovered memory to the courtrooms of the twenty-first."

Shanley has been one of the prime whipping boys in the explosive sex scandals that have rocked the Catholic church beginning in 2002, when the *Boston Globe* began a series on priests and sexual abuse of youth. Roderick MacLeish Jr., the personal injury lawyer representing Shanley's accuser, retailed scandalous tales to the press about Shanley, which have been refuted by JoAnn Wypijewski in *CounterPunch*. She actually read the 1,600-page official church file on Shanley, which apparently no other reporters bothered to do. As Cockburn pointed out, "Had they done so, they would have found nothing to buttress the claims that Shanley founded NAMBLA [North American Man/Boy Love Association], or was ever a member, or had ever advocated sex between men and little boys, or had a 30-year record of child abuse complaints made against him or a history of being moved from parish to parish. Yet all these allegations have become the common currency of Shanley's biography, and if guards usher a murderer into his cell, the killer will probably have the NAMBLA charge at the top of his mind."

In fact, Paul Shanley did openly advocate recognizing homosexuality as a normal sexual variation (based partly on the pioneering work of Alfred Kinsey), and did have homosexual liaisons. He was a long-haired "street priest" in the 1960s, mentioned in the book *Common Ground*, who tried to help runaways and kids hooked on drugs. Shanley's "association" with NAMBLA is that he attended a conference of people fighting a Boston anti-gay witchhunt at the end of which some people, not including Shanley, founded a group that later became NAMBLA.

NAMBLA's name is perennially dragged through the plentiful Boston mud, having been pounded for over 20 years by media smears and witchhunting prosecutions. We in the Spartacist League have repeatedly defended this tiny beleaguered group as an elementary act of proletarian decency. We oppose criminalizing their advocacy of the eminently reasonable proposition that youth who have sexual feelings be allowed to express them. NAMBLA simply advocates the decriminalization of consensual sex between men and boys.

Reuters

Paul Shanley

It is telling, in this deeply puritanical society, that the pitch of modern inquisitions increases according to the proximity of youth and sex. It is no accident that the church sex scandals have focused overwhelmingly on gay sex (did no priest ever touch a girl?), as this is guaranteed to set reactionary alarm bells ringing a lot louder. Since the daycare witchhunts, the code word for anti-sex crusaders, from the Christian right to the straightlaced morality feminists, has been "protect the children" from so-called pedophiles. This campaign reflects anti-gay bigotry, increased powers of repression for the capitalist state and a shoring up of reactionary "family values" like the domestic slavery of women and stultifying "abstinence only" for young people.

Gerald Amirault, a married man with children of his own, was released from prison in 2004 after being unjustly imprisoned for 18 years, framed up with incredible tales of evil robots, knives and dead pets at the Fells Acres Day School he ran with his sister and mother (who were also imprisoned). This was based solely on the coerced testimony of children whose only real abuse came at the hands of the prosecutors who, in their zeal for convictions and publicity, fed so much crap into them that they still reel from the trauma. Just as Amirault was up for a commutation, the church sex story exploded and he lost another two years to prison, as the cowardly politicians of Massachusetts refused, in the midst of the scandal, to set him free, despite the Board of Pardons' unanimous recommendation. We defended the Amiraults, and many other daycare workers, against the witchhunts of their time.

Now former priest Paul Shanley has been thrown to the wolves of "recovered memory" prosecution. This is a very dangerous thing. No evidence was presented that he committed any crime. This may be a difficult case for some of our readers to grasp, given the passionate—and legitimate—disgust so many feel for the real miseries inflicted by organized religion in this socially backward country, from the Christian fundamentalist right to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Catholic church upholds subservience to authority, from children's submission to parents, a wife's submission to her husband, the flock's submission to the priest and

continued on page 10

TROTSKY

LENIN

Fortieth Anniversary of the Assassination of Malcolm X

On 21 February 1965, Malcolm X was gunned down while speaking at Harlem's Audubon Ballroom. To the racist American ruling class, Malcolm was the most hated and feared black leader of his generation. But, though he gave voice to the anger and anguish of the oppressed black masses in this racist society, he died an unfinished, politically contradictory figure. We reprint below an obituary, written by the Bay Area Spartacist Committee on 2 March 1965.

Of all the national Negro leaders in this country, the one who was known uniquely for his militancy, intransigence, and refusal to be the liberals' frontman has been shot down. This new political assassination is another indicator of the rising current of irrationality and individual terrorism which the decay of our society begets. Liberal reaction is predictable, and predictably disgusting. They are, of course, opposed to assassination, and some may even contribute to the fund for the education of Malcolm's children, but their mourning at the death of the head of world imperialism had a considerably greater ring of sincerity than their regret at the murder of a black militant who wouldn't play their game.

Black Muslims?

The official story is that Black Muslims killed Malcolm. But we should not hasten to accept this to date unproved hypothesis. The New York police, for example, had good cause to be afraid of Malcolm, and with the vast resources of blackmail and coercion which are at their disposal, they also had ample opportunity, and of course would have little reason to fear exposure were they involved. At the same time, the Muslim theory cannot be discounted out of hand because the Muslims are not a political group, and in substituting religion for science, and color mysticism for rational analysis, they have a world view which could encompass the efficacy and morality of assassination. A man who has a direct pipeline to God can justify anything.

No Program

The main point, however, is not who killed Malcolm, but why could he be killed? In the literal sense, of course, any man can be killed, but why was Malcolm particularly vulnerable? The answer to this question makes of Malcolm's death tragedy of the sharpest kind, and in the literal Greek sense. Liberals and Elijah have tried to make Malcolm a victim of his own (non-existent) doctrines of violence. This is totally wrong and totally hypocritical. Malcolm was the most dynamic national leader to have appeared in America in the last decade. Compared with him the famous Kennedy personality was a flimsy cardboard creation of money, publicity, makeup, and the media. Malcolm had none of these, but a righteous cause and iron character forged by white America in the fire of discrimination, addiction, prison, and incredible calumny. He had a difficult to define but almost tangible attribute called charisma. When you heard Malcolm speak, even when you heard him say things that were wrong and confusing, you wanted to believe. Malcolm could move men deeply. He was the stuff of which mass leaders are made. Commencing his public life in the context of the apolitical, irrational religiosity and racial mysticism of the Muslim movement, his break toward politicalness and rationality was slow, painful, and terribly incomplete. It is useless to speculate on how far it would have gone had he lived. He had entered prison a burglar, an addict, and a victim. He emerged a Muslim and a free man forever. Elijah Muhammed and the Lost-Found Nation of Islam were thus inextricably bound up with his personal emancipation. In any event, at the time of his death he had not yet developed a clear, explicit, and rational social program. Nor had he led his followers in the kind of transitional struggle necessary to the creation of a successful mass movement. Lacking such a program, he could not develop cadres based on program. What cadre he had was based on Malcolm X instead. Hated and feared by the power structure, and the focus of the paranoid feelings of his former colleagues, his charisma made him dangerous, and his lack of developed program and cadre made him vulnerable. His death by violence had a high order of probability, as he himself clearly felt.

Heroic and Tragic Figure

The murder of Malcolm, and the disastrous consequences flowing from that murder for Malcolm's organization and black militancy in general, does not mean that the militant black movement can always be decapitated with a shotgun. True, there is an agonizing gap in black leadership today. On the one hand there are the respectable servants of the liberal establishment; men like James Farmer whose contemptible effort to blame Malcolm's murder on "Chinese Communists" will only hasten his eclipse as a leader, and on the other hand the ranks of the militants have yet to produce a man with the leadership potential of Malcolm. But such leadership will eventually be forthcoming. This is a statistical as well as a social certainty. This leadership, building on the experience of others such as Malcolm, and emancipated from his religiosity, will build a movement in which the black masses and their allies can lead the third great American revolution. Then Malcolm X will be remembered by black and white alike as a heroic and tragic figure in a dark period of our common history.

—*Spartacist* No. 4 (English-language edition), May-June 1965

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 1 March

No. 843 **4 March 2005**

In Memory of Gregg Best

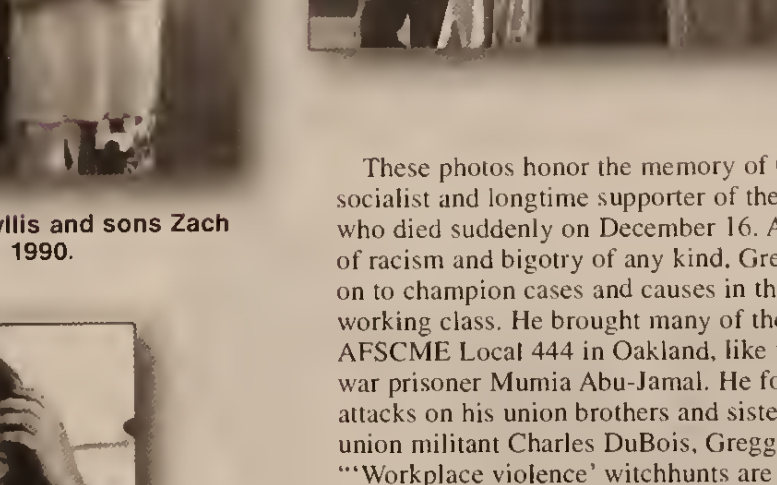
1953-2004

Gregg with wife Phyllis and sons Zach and Alex, Cleveland 1990.

Gregg at San Francisco demonstration against U.S. war on Iraq, February 2003.

Gregg in his twenties.

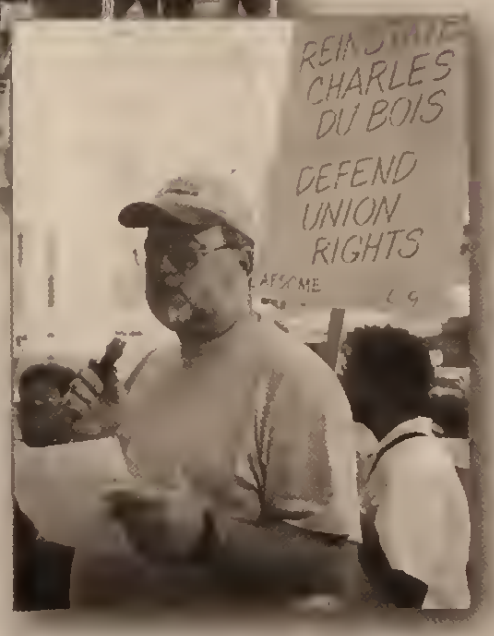
Above: Gregg with his long-time friend Steve.



Right: Gregg was one of many supporters who helped renovate the *Workers Vanguard* office in New York.

These photos honor the memory of Gregg Best, an ardent socialist and longtime supporter of the Spartacist League, who died suddenly on December 16. An outspoken opponent of racism and bigotry of any kind, Gregg could be counted on to champion cases and causes in the interests of the working class. He brought many of these to his union, AFSCME Local 444 in Oakland, like the defense of class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. He fought against company attacks on his union brothers and sisters. At a rally for fired union militant Charles DuBois, Gregg told the crowd: "'Workplace violence' witchhunts are also being used as part of the so-called 'war on terror' which in fact targets labor, blacks and immigrants—a ***bipartisan*** war backed by both Democrats and Republicans" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 810, 26 September 2003).

Gregg also fought for labor to oppose the invasion and occupation of Iraq and marched in antiwar demonstrations with Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents organized by the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense. He took part in labor-centered mobilizations against the KKK and Nazis from Detroit and Washington, D.C. to Gary, Indiana. We continue to mourn the loss of this workers' leader. A fuller appreciation can be found in *Workers Vanguard* No. 839 (7 January).



Gregg speaking at rally in defense of union militant Charles DuBois, September 2003.

Top: Gregg with union banner at 9 February 2002 rally protesting "war on terror" attacks against immigrants, blacks and labor. Above: Press conference for February 9 rally.

In Defense of Science and Technology

An Exchange on Eco-Radicals and HIV Denialists

25 August 2004

To the Editor, Workers Vanguard,

I'd like to take issue with a few of the points in the headline article in the 9 July 2004 issue of your paper [*WV* No. 829], entitled "We Need a Fighting Workers Party! Break with the Democrats! No Vote to Nader!" First of all, I must say that I completely agree with the sentiment expressed in the title of the article. We certainly do; and we certainly should. One problem I have is that you propose no solutions, on the electoral field. Why not advise your readers to vote for some socialist candidate—perhaps the SWP. Isn't it important that socialism gets at least a few supporters during this sordid upcoming election (if it takes place at all)?

The major problem I have with the article, however, begins with the sentence, "Many of the proposals of the Greens and Nader go against the interests not only of the industrial working class, but against human progress." I would like first to fault the author(s) for not discussing exactly *which* of the Green's/Nader's proposals are anti-working class, and why and how they are. I think the subject merits special attention, if we are to win over the hearts and minds, especially of working class people now mistakenly supportive of the Greens. The *WV* has called attention to the fact that, in terms of foreign policy, Nader agrees with Kerry that the U.N. should do the job in Iraq—after ten years of U.N. sanctions already killed millions.

Economically, however, your critique has fallen short. Here is something I wrote recently on the subject. In fact, while they talk a big game about "another world is possible," the Greens have never offered more than ineffectual schemes, such as

- "stakeholder's democracy." Here, corporate stockholders consult with the representatives of communities affected by their decisions—while leaving the present board of directors still in charge,
- "Jeffersonian community based economics." This ecumenical approach to economics assumes that the lamb can lie down with the lion. A vital small business sector can become prevalent, all the while operating in peaceful coexistence with corporations as well as workers cooperatives—provided it is all "decentralized." What happens when the corporations start centralizing again?
- corporate regulation and taxation—asking the government of, for, and by the corporate gangsters, controlled by the corporate gangsters from the Civil War to the present, will now regulate and tax the corporate gangsters in the interest of the public and the environment.
- fanciful small business loan/expanded currency/"democratic investment" programs, by which everyone will somehow gain equal opportunity for prosperity and advancement without challenging the fundamental tendencies toward inequality and misery when the means of production are held in private hands in order to profit from exploiting others' labor.

It is somewhat incredible and disturbing that so many "socialist" groups this year—Solidarity, the International Socialist Organization, the Socialist Alliance and the NY Socialist Project—support voting for the Greens/Nader. They ignore the not-so-trivial fact that such populist schemes have nothing to do with socialism. They may understand the problems with these schemes. They will still argue, however, that a resurgent populist movement will "open the discourse" for further movements toward the left, and "buy us time" to build a genuine opposition. However, as Tim Wohlforth wrote in his book *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States*, populism has always represented a trap, not a blessing, for the working class socialist movement in the United States. Populism legitimates and props up the order it ostensibly opposes, by accepting its basic principles, by proffering delusions about how this order might be painlessly reformed.

You go on to ask, rhetorically, "And what about the Green Party's 'key value,' that people must 'live within the ecological and resource limits of our communities' and 'move to an energy efficient economy'? What does this mean for the already desperately poor in inner-city ghettos? For the fight against the horrible worldwide AIDS pandemic, which requires sophisticated medicines, refrigeration—i.e., electrification and a modern industrial infrastructure? We need an international *expansion* of advanced technology, science and production to solve these world problems, not a retreat to some utopian sentimental pre-industrial Hobbiton of happy farmers, honest tradesmen and small craftsmen, which is impossible in any case. Technology and large-scale industry, which is extremely efficient and saves huge amounts of human labor, can be used to solve human problems."

This polemic is positively embarrassing! It is utterly outdated and completely out of touch with current realities. It seems deliberately designed to alienate any ecologically minded person from Marxism, which you seem to confuse, in the ecological field, at least, with Stalinism.

Are you honestly trying to assert that there are *no* "ecological and resource limits" upon our use of industrial technology? It seems that way, although you never actually state this ridiculous claim. It would indeed be difficult to do so, after the Pentagon itself, in a secret memo leaked recently, has predicted massive unrest all over the world in just a few decades, as a result of global warming, which even the Pentagon admits is occurring as a result of our tremendous over-use of "technology and large-scale industry"!

Where have you been?! Haven't you been reading the forecasts of the Club of Rome, which indicate that we need to lower our worldwide industrial use by *90%*? Haven't you looked at the *Ecologist* recently, or the works of Mike Davis (*Ecology of Fear, Dead Cities*), James [sic] Bellamy Foster (*Marx's Ecology*), Joel Kovel (*The Enemy of Nature*) and Saral Sarkar (*Eco-Socialism or Eco-Capitalism?*)? All these authors are *socialists*, attempted either to synthesize Marxism with ecologism (Sarkar, Kovel) or show that Marx was *already* an ecologist, very much cognizant of "ecological and resource limits" (Foster). Or has the mere fact that such authors and reports remind you Spartacists ever so superficially of Thomas Malthus' work (Foster devotes much of his book to the problems that ecologist Marx himself had with Malthus), dictate that they may safely be placed on the dustbin of "human progress"?!

Liss/Time

Ulutunçok/Iaif

Irrationality and gross inefficiencies of capitalist production underscore need for worldwide planned, collectivized economy. Overflowing silos of grain in Iowa (top), famine in Angola (above).

Instead of seriously disputing or even grappling with these ecologists' assertions, you simply and crudely assert that we need to "fight against the horrible worldwide AIDS pandemic!" This is silly "emergency-ism": No time for serious thought right now about our opponents' claims: the sky is falling! As if the mere mention of "AIDS!" should lead us all to forget completely that the world is heading toward ecological disaster! Here again, however, you reveal yourself to be remarkably out of touch with the current debate. There is much debate about whether AIDS is all it has been cracked up to be: or whether, in fact, HIV even exists! See Dr. Peter Duesberg's massive tome on the subject, *Inventing the AIDS Virus*. According to Duesberg and other dissenters, AIDS may instead be the product of the overuse of drugs as well as a code word for old fashioned diseases no one would spend any money on otherwise—like malaria, dysentery, and starvation—in the Third World.

Whether or not HIV actually exists, there is also considerable contention about whether the so-called "anti-AIDS cocktails," these "sophisticated medicines" whose "refrigeration" requires the destruction of the planet, in your addled view, actually *stop* AIDS, or rather, in fact, ***weaken and kill*** the patients! Many of them were, after all, at one time drugs offered by the pharmaceutical industry for chemotherapy. At that time, they were judged too dangerous, even for chemotherapy. So along comes the "AIDS crisis," and, lo and behold, and what do you know—suddenly they become cure-alls for AIDS, and are judged benign! Now, isn't that *spec-ial?*

There are alternative means of treating the conditions called AIDS—they are holistic, however. They involve supporting and boosting our immune systems rather than destroying our bodies. They do not require expensive, toxic drugs, nor massive "refrigeration" nor "electrification"—impossible in a few centuries anyway, according to ecosocialists like Sarkar, since we are running out of fossil fuels, nuclear is too dangerous, and "solar electricity" simply will not work.

Finally, I wish to critique your satire of the "pre-industrial Hobbiton" of the Greens' vision, their "community economics" utopia. Yes, it is a bit silly and unrefined. There is the assumption that some of us can be merchants, others artisans, others farmers, etc. and still all miraculously get along and treat each other like in that REM song, "smiling happy people holding hands" (a leading "Community Economics" theorist, Steve Welzer, former SWP'er, even argues that feudalism was OK and a damn sight better than capitalism!). It's too petit-bourgeois for my tastes, too. But that should not dissuade us from understanding that *Marx and Engels themselves* put forward a socialist version of *decentralism*. Theirs was not a vision of a "Metro-Marxist" future, in which we all would and should live in big cities, in the modern "Megalopolei." Foster is very clear on this point, in *Marx's Ecology*; as is Engels himself, in *The Housing Question*, as is Marx and Engels, in such works as *The Communist Manifesto*. Look at it; there it is; right under your very noses, Spartacists! The "decentralization of population; the unity of industry and agriculture": what do you think that means, right there in the *Manifesto*?! It doesn't mean a "pre-industrial Hobbiton." It does mean that the working class, once in power, builds garden cities, with their own industry, in the countryside, and greens existing cities, a la the visionary plans of Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, Henry Wright, and Lewis Mumford, and the contemporary "new urbanists." Each worker will work and farm/garden, collectively. Industry must be made ecologically safe: non-polluting, as much as possible. As against the deadly stultification of our suburbs and dying small towns, the fruits of cosmopolitan urban culture and society will be spread throughout the land.

Instead of sticking your heads in the anti-ecological Stalinist sands, why not think about what these supremely ecological demands from Marx and Engels

mean for us today? How about, as part of our transitional program, the demand to "turn prison towns into garden cities for current prisoners, slum dwellers and workers!"?

Tom S.
Brooklyn, NY

***WV* replies:**

Tom S. claims that we did not back up our statement that many positions of the Greens and Ralph Nader are reactionary and anti-working-class. But, in the very next sentence, the *WV* article stated: "In Germany, the Social Democratic/Green government attacked the living standards of the workers to increase Germany's competitiveness, while Green foreign minister Joschka Fischer deployed German jets, tanks and troops, for the first time since the Third Reich, to participate in the wars against Serbia and Afghanistan." The article went on to note that Nader panders to the racists in his attacks on immigrants and wallows in anti-Communist China-bashing.

Citing *WV*'s criticism of the Greens' aversion to advanced technology, Tom S. asks, "Are you honestly trying to assert that there are *no* 'ecological and resource limits' upon our use of industrial technology?" His reference to "our" use of technology implicitly identifies humanity as a whole with the capitalist class, which in the current world system directs the development and utilization of industrial technology for its own interests. What ecological and resources limits exist to the future expansion of material production, and the concrete nature of such limits, cannot be accurately judged within the framework of the capitalist system.

To look at the capitalists' unbounded squandering of natural resources and degradation of the environment in the interests of profit, one could easily conclude—as most ecologists do—that advanced industrial technology is inherently destructive of nature. This reflects a static, ahistorical view of both human society and scientific progress. Developing and using industrial technology to deal with pollution or the recycling of raw materials in limited supply is not necessarily an insurmountable problem.

Science and technology are not the same thing. Science is based on a process of experimentation and the gathering of empirical knowledge in the service of deepening our understanding of how nature works; technology is the application and fulfillment of what science makes known. But technological considerations do not exist apart from class society. The organization of industrial production under capitalism necessarily leads to the degradation of the environment because capitalist firms are motivated solely by maximizing profits.

W. Hall

Herrn Eugen Dühring's
Umwälzung der Wissenschaft.
Von
Friedrich Engels.

Friedrich Engels motivated need for materialist understanding of the world in his 1878 work *Anti-Dühring*.

The basic goal of Marxist socialism is to liberate the creative powers of humanity, which have been shackled by the capitalist system and earlier forms of class-divided society. Marxists regard the development of the productivity of human labor power as the prime mover of social evolution and the underpinning of historical progress. We look to a qualitative *increase* in the application of known science and the development of new technology. Ultimately this will liberate the productive capacities of mankind, eliminating economic scarcity—while laying the basis for the disappearance of classes and for the withering away of the state. Such a qualitative development of the world's productive forces for the benefit of all can hardly be envisaged under capitalism, whose every step forward is paid for with giant steps back in the form of world poverty, recurring economic crises and wars. It can only be achieved in the context of an internationally planned, socialist economy.

The qualitative superiority of a collectivized, planned economy over capitalist anarchy was demonstrated in practice by the historical experience of the Soviet Union. To deny the historic gains of the Russian Revolution, social democrats (and anarchists) point to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which—we Marxists understand—grew out of the isolation of the Russian Revolution in a single, economically backward country. Even given the tremendous bureaucratic distortions due to the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, the USSR was able to construct an advanced industrial economy almost from the ground up. And the Soviets did it twice, first in overcoming the ravages of the 1918-20 Civil War and then, again, a scant generation later, in recovering from the Nazi invaders' scorched-earth policies and the loss of 27 million lives in World War II. The precondition for that historic gain for working people was the 1917 Russian Revolution, which took the factories and other means of production out of the hands of the capitalist class.

Ricardo López Hevia/Granma

Superiority of planned, collectivized economy demonstrated by Cuban deformed workers state's advances in field of medicine, export of doctors to many countries. One of thousands of Cuban doctors providing free medical care to impoverished Venezuelans.

The Russian Revolution demonstrated in practice the ability of the proletariat to seize the reins of state power and construct a modern industrial society in which workers have access to medicine, science, education and culture. It is this question, workers revolution, that at bottom separates us from the ecologists. As Marxists, we oppose the environmentalist movement *not* because we are indifferent to the degradation of the environment caused by the existing capitalist organization of industry. As Marx wrote in *Capital* Vol. 3 (1894):

> "Even a whole society, a nation, or even all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not the owners of the globe. They are only its possessors, its usufructuaries, and, like *boni patres familias* [good heads of the household], they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition."

What we oppose is the ecologists' illusion that this question can be adequately addressed without the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

Marxism and the Environment

John Bellamy Foster, one of the authors recommended by Tom S., goes to great pains in *Marx's Ecology* (2000) to depict Marxism as "deeply, and indeed systematically, ecological," while simultaneously trying to airbrush out the revolutionary underpinnings of Marx and Engels' worldview. Foster quotes (and repeatedly refers to) Engels' projection in *Anti-Dühring* (1878) that:

> "Abolition of the antithesis between town and country is not merely possible. It has become a direct necessity of industrial production itself, just as it has become a necessity of agricultural production and, besides, of public health. The present poisoning of the air, water and land can be put an end to only by the fusion of town and country; and only such fusion will change the situation of the masses now languishing in the towns, and enable their excrement to be used for the production of plants instead of for the production of disease."

Yet Marx and Engels' view of socialist society is fundamentally ***counterposed*** to the universe of small, decentralized communities advocated by ecologists (and anarchists). Saral Sarkar, another of the authors touted by Tom S., writes that "in eco-socialism, to a large extent, economic activities would be decentralised, economic units small, and regions and local communities self-provisioning and autonomous" (*Eco-Socialism or Eco-Capitalism?* [1999]). This harks back to the pre-industrial village, essentially glorifying the "mental torpidity" of rural life decried by Marx and Engels. It is also profoundly inegalitarian: Would you rather live in a self-provisioning commune in the fertile U.S. Midwest or in devastated Haiti?

Marxists understand that the qualitatively higher level of industrial productivity of socialist society compared to capitalism will lay the basis for overcoming the division between manual and intellectual labor, agricultural and industrial labor. As Engels put it, "productive labour, instead of being a means of subjugating men, will become a means of their emancipation, by offering each individual the opportunity to develop all his faculties, physical and mental, in all directions and exercise them to the full—in which, therefore, productive labour will become a pleasure instead of being a burden."

The precondition is the revolutionary seizure of state power by the proletariat. Immediately preceding the above passage from *Anti-Dühring*, quoted by Foster, Engels states that "only the abolition of the capitalist character of modern industry" and the creation of society in which the productive forces are organized "on the basis of one single vast plan can allow industry to be distributed over the whole country in the way best adapted to its own development."

In contrast, "eco-socialist" Sarkar dismisses "all illusions as to the revolutionary or leading role of the proletariat" because workers are "addicted to consumerism." He advocates a reversion to pre-industrial, "labour-intensive technologies" which "would be preferred, not only to provide jobs, but also because such technologies reduce resource consumption and, consequently, have less negative environmental impact." This is a reactionary utopia in which the mass of humanity would work longer and harder while consuming less. Sarkar himself describes it as "similar to an ever-worsening recession" and "a great crisis without end."

Most Green activists do not subscribe to Sarkar's uncompromising primitivism, preferring to focus on eco-reformism within the framework of the existing capitalist order. The policies they advocate to "protect" the environment and "conserve" energy usually would result in lowering the living standards of the working class and poor. Tom S. cites the Club of Rome, a think tank founded by a Fiat executive, whose 1972 best seller, *The Limits to Growth*, claimed that limited oil and other natural resources imposed a ceiling on economic expansion. That thesis dovetailed neatly with the austerity plans pushed by bourgeois politicians, who argued that working people were living beyond their means by consuming cheap but irreplaceable energy. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter called for "painful" sacrifices as he asserted: "Our energy problems have the same cause as our environmental problems—wasteful use of resources."

In a two-part series, "Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics" (*WV* No. 695 and 696, 28 August and 11 September 1998), we wrote:

> "In their denigration of the proletariat and their promotion of schemes to 'save the environment' under the existing capitalist system, the eco-radicals help perpetuate this system in which science and technology are often used in ways destructive to humanity. The vast nuclear arsenal in the hands of U.S. imperialism poses a far greater danger to humanity than does leakage from nuclear power plants. Under capitalist rule, the fundamental irrationality of profit and market relations can render unsafe even the best understood technology. But in opposition to eco-radicals, we are defenders of technological development and promoters of it. Even the present technology is more than adequate to provide food and shelter for everyone. Yet, as famine plagues many countries, the U.S. government is still paying farmers here *not* to grow food."

The revolutionary Marxist solution to the problem of degradation of the environment has as its necessary precondition proletarian socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. In the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, we wrote an article on the world oil market, which concluded:

> "The ecology activists are right in one important respect: the massive burning of hydrocarbons—whether oil or coal—is in the long term bad for the earth's atmosphere. The answer, however, is not to save oil by cutting the living standards of North American and European working people. A planned socialist economy would carry out the scientific research required to develop safer, more efficient sources of energy (including nuclear and solar energy)."
>
> —"The World Oil Racket," *WV* No. 535, 27 September 1991

Communism and Human Liberation

At bottom, eco-radicalism is ***bourgeois*** ideology. It shares the same basic premise as other expressions of bourgeois ideology: that the capitalist system has developed the highest level of scientific knowledge and technical application possible in the present period and in the foreseeable future. Sarkar's book contains a lengthy section implying that even under socialism solar power would not be a viable technology for generating electricity. Why not? He cites a 1978

continued on page 11

Mumia Denied Day in Court, Again

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Last month, Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas judge Pamela Dembe canceled a scheduled court hearing for America's foremost political prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia had been prepared to present in court on February 11 evidence of his innocence that further undercuts the foundations of the prosecution's entire racist frame-up. Dembe squelched the hearing suggesting she lacked "jurisdiction of the Court to proceed in defendant's third PCRA [Post Conviction Relief] petition."

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Convicted in 1982 on frame-up charges of killing police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981, Jamal was sentenced to die explicitly for his political views and past membership in the Black Panther Party. For nearly four years, both federal and state courts have refused to even consider the sworn testimony of Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot and killed Faulkner.

Dembe's cancelation is just the latest in a long series of legal machinations by the courts to bar additional mountains of Mumia's evidence. Dembe ordered Mumia's attorneys to submit papers explaining why evidence of Mumia's innocence should not be barred by rules allowing only evidence that is "newly discovered." In papers submitted to the court, Robert Bryan, Jamal's lead counsel, explained that the evidence was previously unknown, adding, "Had the prosecution not engaged in fraudulent conduct and a cover-up of its misdeeds, the new evidence would be unnecessary."

The prosecution's case against Mumia has long been exposed as a lie from top to bottom (see Partisan Defense Committee pamphlets, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal* [July 1995], and *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* [September 2001]). At the now canceled hearing, Mumia had hoped to bring forward two pieces of evidence that have come out since Dembe's 2001 decision denying Mumia's earlier PCRA petition. These two pieces of evidence further blow to bits key parts of the government frame-up: the coerced testimony of prostitute Cynthia White that she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner and the patently false claim that Mumia confessed to the shooting. In early 2002, a new witness, Yvette Williams, courageously came forward and testified in a sworn affidavit submitted in federal courts that White herself admitted the cops coerced her to testify against Jamal: "I was in jail with Cynthia White in December of 1981 after Police Officer Daniel Faulkner was shot and killed. Cynthia White told me the police were making her lie and say she saw Mr. Jamal

Reuters

Mumia Abu-Jamal during his PCRA hearings in Philadelphia, 1995.

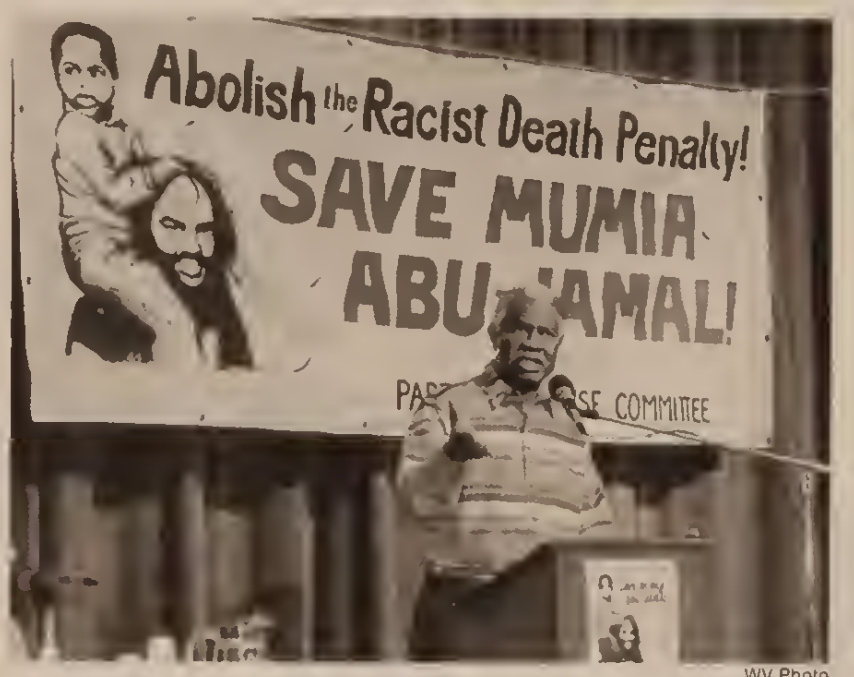
shoot Officer Faulkner when she really did not see who did it." It has long been known that White had been coerced and was under police control when she gave her lying testimony, and other witnesses have testified that White was far from the scene.

Mumia had also hoped to bring out the testimony of Kenneth Pate, stepbrother of Priscilla Durham, the Jefferson Hospital security guard who joined in the cops' manifest lie that Mumia "confessed." In fact, the cop assigned to guard Jamal while he lay bleeding in the hospital reported at the time, "during this time the negro male made no comments." The bogus "confession" was cooked up two months later at a round-table meeting called by the D.A.'s office to orchestrate the cops' trial testimony. In an April 2003 declaration, Pate described how Durham told him that when Mumia was brought to the hospital he was "all bloody and the police were interfering with his treatment, saying 'let him die'." Cops pressured her that, as a security guard, she "had to stick with them" as part of the "'brotherhood' of police," and to "say that she heard Mumia say that he killed the police officer, when they brought Mumia in on a stretcher." Durham told her brother, "All I heard him say was: 'Get off me, get off me, they're trying to kill me'."

Still pending in the federal courts is Jamal's application for *habeas corpus* relief. While affirming Jamal's frame-up conviction, in December 2001, federal district court judge William Yohn overturned Jamal's death sentence on the grounds that the jury failed to consider mitigating circumstances (reasons prescribed by law why Jamal should not be executed) as set forth by the Supreme Court in the 1988 *Mills* case. Mumia appealed, seeking to overturn the conviction, while the prosecution appealed, seeking to reinstate the sentence of death. In an ominous development, last summer the Third Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Jamal's counsel to file a brief to explain how Jamal's case was not adversely affected by a pro-death penalty ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court which held that the *Mills* case could not be applied to convictions prior to 1988. Jamal's attorneys pointed out that Mumia's case should be immune from the ruling as his conviction didn't become final until 1990. But the entire history of Jamal's case shows that a fighter for black freedom like Jamal has no rights the capitalist courts are bound to respect.

Mobilize Now to Free Mumia!

On February 4, Mumia lost one of his most prominent supporters when renowned actor and civil rights activist Ossie Davis died at the age of 87. Serving as co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, Davis joined others in reading from Mumia's writings in a 1994 united-front speakout sponsored by the Committee and the Partisan Defense Committee to protest the National Public Radio cancelation of its plans to air Mumia's commentaries, and again spoke at a Committee/PDC rally in February 1995.



WV Photo

Ossie Davis hosted February 1995 rally for Mumia sponsored by Partisan Defense Committee and Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia's case is a textbook example of what the capitalist state is all about. As Marx and Engels explained, the state is an armed body of men for the suppression of one class by the other. Mumia's plight shows how that state, from its brutal cops to its robed "justices," will dispense with the niceties and formalities of its sham "democracy" in the interest of silencing an eloquent voice for black freedom. Mumia is not just another black man ensnared in this racist system. He is an outspoken advocate for the oppressed, a MOVE supporter, an eloquent journalist and fighter who was in the cross hairs of the Philly cops and the FBI since he was a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party.

Last month, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors approved a resolution affirming "its support for justice and a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal." Despite Dembe's cancelation of Jamal's hearing, hundreds of his supporters, including an international delegation from Paris, turned out on February 11 for a "Day of Action" calling for his freedom. The Philadelphia protest was called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

While such protests are welcome, what is needed are mass protests centered on the social power of the multiracial working class. For years, and in spite of the evidence of his innocence, what has driven Jamal's supporters from the streets are illusions in the capitalist courts, promoted by reformist protest organizers like Workers World Party and Socialist Action. These illusions have been embodied in the subordination of the call to free Mumia to the demand for a "new trial," a conscious appeal to liberals who were agnostic on Mumia's innocence and thus would not rally around a call to free him. Why mobilize in the unions and streets if the courts can be relied on to ultimately do the right thing?

The PDC, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has sought to bring Jamal's case to unions in the U.S. and around the world and raise funds for Mumia's defense. As part of its annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, the PDC coordinated the raising of over $1,600 for Mumia's legal defense from labor unions across the country.

Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and the potential to become battalions in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and racial oppression, to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system and ultimately topple it. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement at the forefront, the fight to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty would be a first, giant step in that direction and would strike a significant blow against the draconian new repressive measures being implemented by the Bush administration with bipartisan support. To that end, labor must break the chains with which the trade-union misleaders have shackled the unions to the political parties—centrally the Democrats—and the state agencies of the enemy class. No illusions in the capitalist courts! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

Published September 2001

$.50 (32 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Targeting Lynne Stewart

The conviction of civil rights attorney Lynne Stewart and her co-defendants translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Sattar is a triumph of fear over reason. The three legal workers were charged and convicted of aiding and abetting terrorism in connection with their representation of the blind Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman. When the former attorney general Ashcroft announced the arrest of Stewart he did so on the late night David Letterman talk show. Certainly an unprecedented venue for such an announcement. And as it began on TV so it was often prosecuted with a fearsome visage of Osama Bin Laden beamed to jurors via video tape threatening to attack America on the Sheik's behalf.

Even though the judge dutifully instructed the jury that Osama Bin Laden had nothing to do with the case. How do you wash something like that from the mind after it has been admitted into evidence? Lynne's husband activist Ralph Poynter put the hammer to the nail when he said of the trial "this prosecution doesn't have a damn thing to do with terrorism. It has to do with politics and putting Lynne Stewart away." Stewart was really targeted because she ignored unconstitutional rules put in place by the government.

In an interview with Stewart she spoke about what the case was really about. "The justice department decided that things that I did as a lawyer are now to be outlawed, are now to be made into crimes, in order to deter other lawyers from vigorously defending people. What I basically did was, I issued a press release on behalf of my client. They said that this press release was materially aiding a terrorist organization, thus making it impossible for any first amendment right to be protected. And to me that is the real essence of this work, is that we be permitted to defend people such as yourself in these cases as political people, not just as defendant 10872."

Recently black political prisoner Albert Woodfox of the Angola Three talked about the importance of lawyers in destroying isolation. "I think that this was a pretty strong shot across the bow as they say, you know if you dare put forth an honest attempt to uphold the standards of law in this country we will get you. You know we will destroy you, cause in most cases they are [the] only voice to the outside world."

And now the state has prevailed sending shock waves through the defense bar that already shies away from the kind of cases that has been Stewart's staple for a generation. She has taken on cases involving members of the Black Panther Party, the Attica Brothers, Puerto Rican Independence fighters and since at least 1995 the blind Sheik. In order to put into operation the draconian special measures of the government the state needs to seed fear into those who are sworn to protect and provide a full and vigorous defense—lawyers. But the battle isn't over. Perhaps what has happened has awakened many people in this country who would have preferred to slumber? Lynne Stewart, paralegal Ahmed Sattar and professional translator Mohamed Yousry plan to stage a vigorous appeal of this outrageous verdict. They will need your support, now more than ever, it will take work of many to undo John Ashcroft's revenge. From Death Row this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

12 February 2005

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Send urgently needed contributions for Jamal's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia" to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

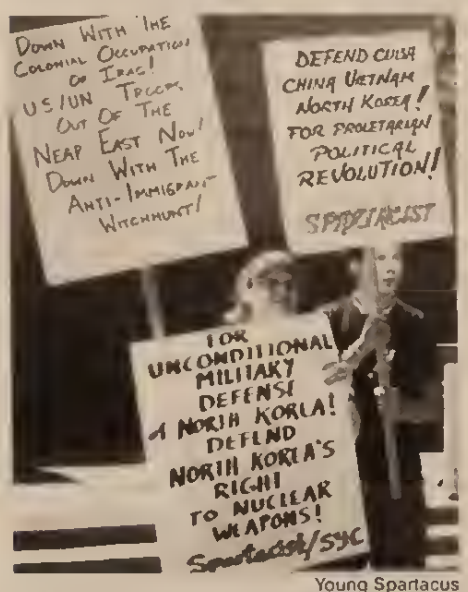
If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Hands Off...

(continued from page 1)

House and Pentagon, by saying, "Work for the fall of the Communist Party oligarchy." This is not a new Bush policy, but the resumption of a goal that was temporarily deflected by the September 11 attacks. That China signed on to the U.S. unlimited "war on terror" has only emboldened Washington. As a result of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as a renewed U.S. military presence in the Philippines and expanded nuclear presence in Guam, China is now squeezed in a dangerous military vise.

The United States and Japan issued a significant joint policy statement on 19 February avowing that Taiwan is "a mutual security concern." This comes fast on the heels of the U.S. enlisting Japan and Australia to deploy its overhyped antiballistic missile (ABM) shield against China (see "Japanese Trotskyists Say: Down With Japanese Provocations Against China, North Korea!" *WV* No. 842, 18 February). Although arrayed against North Korea, the main ABM target is China's missile force. Ever since the victory of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the Chinese bourgeoisie on the island. During the Korean War, MacArthur described Taiwan as the U.S.'s "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Western Pacific.



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club speakout against U.S. war on Iraq at University of Illinois-Chicago, September 2003.

We fight for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, as we do for the other remaining workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Taiwan is part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with U.S. imperialism over Taiwan. We do not minimize the danger posed to the Chinese deformed workers state by the growing social weight of the Taiwan and Hong Kong capitalists, some of whom have family ties to top Chinese government officials. Nor do we deny the danger of the newly fledged entrepreneurs on the mainland. Nonetheless, the core of China's economy remains the collectivized state industry, and the economic policies of the ruling bureaucracy are constrained by fear of popular and working-class unrest that could topple it. We advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which would require a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan, the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists, and a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing.

Sooner or later, the explosive social tensions within Chinese society will shatter the bureaucracy. Then the fate of the most populous country on earth will be starkly posed: proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation. Working people all over the world have a stake in this struggle. Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and across East Europe created a "unipolar" world of unbridled military aggression by U.S. imperialism abroad, coupled with more savage attacks on workers, women, minorities and immigrants. So too would destruction of the Chinese deformed workers state be a terrible global defeat. The fate of China and the fate of workers the world over are inextricably linked, economically and politically.

The unchallenged global military hegemony of the U.S. stands in sharp contradiction to its declining economic base. The tendency of the Bush administration and correspondingly wide sections of the American ruling class to view the world through the apocalyptic theological lens of Armageddon has its roots in this objective contradiction. Having presided over the deindustrialization of the country and driven by the pursuit of greater profit margins exacted from the labor of workers abroad, the American capitalist class cannot now easily reverse its industrial decline. This is the material basis for the rabid behavior of the Bush administration. Its outlook brings to mind the siege mentality of the Afrikaners in South Africa, the Ulster Protestants in Northern Ireland and the Zionists in the Near East.

After World War II, when the U.S. emerged on top among capitalist imperialist powers, it took the lion's share of the plunder and placed the world on dollar rations. Particularly after 1971, when President Nixon announced the U.S. would go off the gold standard, the rest of the world was pressured to hold reserves in U.S. paper currency, worth nothing except for belief in the almighty U.S.A. But now the U.S. is the biggest debtor nation, and with its huge balance of trade deficit, foreign competitors are compelled to hold U.S. reserves, for fear that a collapse of the American economy would seal off imports and thus plunge their own economies into collapse.

"The Dollar's Crisis & Ours," a perceptive article by Loren Goldner (*Against the Current*, January/February 2005), keenly draws the connection between the decay of American capitalism and the nuclear brinksmanship of the faith-based Bush administration:

> "The American capitalists understand that their decline requires keeping not only all potential rivals, but American working people themselves, permanently off balance. Everything will be done to make the consequences of decades of American decline appear instead as the work of terrorists, or China, or (as in the unbelievable French-bashing in the run-up to the Iraq war) even of Europe."

That capitalism has outlived its usefulness is a terrible understatement. Fulfilling basic human needs such as health care, education, jobs, requires ripping power out of the hands of the capitalist rulers and rebuilding society on the basis of a global collectivized planned economy, socialist egalitarianism and working-class rule. The terrible impact of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union has hurled the consciousness of workers back, such that few now identify their struggles with the ideals of socialism. This is the reality we confront, and, though our task to build a party of the Bolshevik type to lead struggles ahead is surely harder, it is no less urgent. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Wednesday, March 9, 6 p.m.
Religion, Reaction and Capitalist Society
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center
Room T-143 (Terrace Level)
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sfsyc@sfsu.edu

TORONTO

Wednesday, March 9, 6:30 p.m.
China: The Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution
York University
Student Centre, Room 315C
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Tuesday, March 22, 5:30 p.m.
Break with the Pro-imperialist NDP! For a Binational Revolutionary Workers Party!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Bldg., Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, March 5, 2 p.m.
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)

Wednesday, March 9, 7 p.m.
Marxism vs. Feminism: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
UCLA, Ackerman Union, Room 2410
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

BOSTON

Wednesday, March 9, 6:30 p.m.
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
For Free Abortion on Demand!
Harvard University, Loker Common
Basement of Memorial Hall
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

AIDS...

(continued from page 1)

yet heen developed, and is still years away. Around the world, even treatment with AZT or nevirapine (which have been around for many years) to prevent mother-to-child transmission, is still not readily available. Why? Because in most of the world today, women continue to he the slave of the slave, economically dependent on her spouse, isolated in the home, with lives considered of lesser value.

The U.S., which is among the most advanced, industrialized capitalist countries, with some of the most technologically sophisticated medical research, has not been able to eliminate HIV infections. Every country has its peculiar characteristics shaped by the history of its class society. Effective control of HIV requires great medical resources, not to mention clean running water, which poverty-stricken countries in Asia and Africa lack. But in the vastly wealthy U.S., access to quality health care for the masses of people has been deliberately neglected by the ruling class.

The counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, a historic defeat for the world working class, has emboldened the U.S. capitalist rulers to pursue their goal of worldwide domination through mass murder and torture, from Afghanistan to Iraq. No matter how much they hypocritically yell about "freedom," the U.S. ruling class is the bloodiest ruling class in history and is the main enemy of the workers and oppressed worldwide. The U.S. has the widest gap in the entire world in the standard of living between rich and poor. It's virtually the only developed country that has no universal medical coverage. Its rulers want to throw old people on the garbage heap, with the slashing of Social Security.

You may have read new statistics on the high infant mortality rate in the U.S. By the way, although high infant mortality is largely attributable to the lack of health care available to poor women, it is also partly due to the difficulty of getting an abortion in the U.S., as compared with other industrialized countries. Today, there is one abortion clinic left in the state of Mississippi, and it is under attack.

The United States has a hugely profitable pharmaceutical industry whose commercial interests conflict with the lives of millions of people around the world. In fact, the U.S. government continues to hold hostage funds for AIDS, and keeps a stranglehold on the pittance it divvies out in order to force its reactionary, religious agenda on the world. Funds for AIDS are tied to anti-abortion policies, and condoms are put way down the list after the "A" and "B" in the much-lauded Ugandan campaign against AIDS called "ABC." "A" is for "abstinence," "B" is for "be faithful," and the "C" is for condoms.

In this country, millions of adolescents and children get federally funded abstinence-only sex-miseducation programs. These are not just repressive and totally useless for young people, but they are deadly. Youth are given ignorant, lying, religious propaganda instead of the science-based contraceptive information they need to protect themselves from sexually transmitted diseases and from getting pregnant. For example, federally funded programs give youth false information, such as that tears and sweat can transmit HIV. Most dangerously, they overstate the failure rate of condoms and discourage their use. Recently, Texas A&M University surveyed 29 high schools regarding Bush's much-vaunted abstinence-only education in his home state and found that these programs had no impact on teen behavior. These teens are left in ignorance when they do have sex, and they *do have sex*, as teenagers *naturally* do. It was reported in November that new federal guidelines for treating rape victims omit mentioning the option of the emergency contraceptive pill.

Anti-science, anti-evolution, faith-based programs mean death as well. National Institutes of Health (NIH) officials warn HIV/AIDS researchers to eliminate certain "key words" from funding proposals—including "sex workers," "anal sex," "needle exchange," "abortion," "condom effectiveness," "gay," "homosexual," and "transgender"—to improve their chances of being funded.

James Schnepf

Promoting potentially deadly ignorance about sex in youth: Federally funded programs push "abstinence before marriage" in schools, government pamphlets.

Painting by Robert Thom

CDC

Horrific "scientific" experimentation on blacks. Left: Dr. Sims, considered "Father of Gynecology," preparing to operate on slave woman. Infamous Tuskegee study withheld treatment for black men with syphilis.

Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Working People, Blacks

The fate of specially oppressed sectors of society—black people, immigrants and women—is in large part determined by the course of class and social struggle. Coming out of the struggles of the civil rights movement was a brief moment of the broadening out of public health care, most notably the passage of the Medicaid and Medicare programs, however inferior and substandard. Today, massive cutbacks in Medicaid keep coming down the pike every year. Some 55 percent of people living with AIDS rely on Medicaid. Because of federal cutbacks, nearly every state is cutting back on Medicaid coverage. This will impact HIV-positive people, not to mention poor people in general.

The deindustrialization of the major Northern cities over the last several decades meant that the black population, which had migrated in waves to the North for jobs in the first half of the 20th century, was now left with little in the '80s. Over a million manufacturing jobs were lost during this period and over 2.6 million more have been lost since Bush took office. The capitalist class—which must accumulate profit through the exploitation of working people's labor—ultimately had little use for those at the bottom when they finished looting what they could from them. As the "last hired and first fired," the black population supplied, in the words of Karl Marx, a "reserve army" of unemployed labor for the American capitalists.

The color bar is the fundamental dividing line in American society, a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable divide between the working class and the capitalist class. White workers and immigrant workers are told that black people are their enemy, not the bosses who exploit them all. Up until the last few decades, although black workers often held the most arduous industrial jobs, such as the coke ovens in steel, at least a layer had jobs with health benefits and a pension. These benefits were won because of decades of union struggle and many of these battles were integrated actions, where black and white workers fought side by side on the picket lines. Such integrated class struggle is the only way forward today.

The mass actions of the civil rights movement broke down Jim Crow in the South, but, when the protests came up against the hard economic reality and dehumanized ghetto conditions in the Northern cities, the movement hit the limit of what could be achieved without overthrowing the entire capitalist system. The pro-capitalist leadership of the civil rights movement channeled the struggles into the dead end of the racist Democratic Party.

We seek to build a multiracial, working-class party that will replace the current pro-capitalist labor leadership that only knows how to organize givebacks today. It will take a proletarian, international socialist revolution to complete the tasks of the Civil War, to extend to all oppressed sectors the fruits of their labor. That means seizing the means of production and taking state power from the capitalist class.

The capitalist class has sought to exploit workers at an ever higher rate by union busting and by moving production to the non-unionized South and out of the country. Today in the U.S., a mere 8 percent of private industry remains unionized. Black workers still play a strategic role in the American economy and are disproportionately in union jobs. However, more and more, the black population has become an excess, surplus population for the ruling class. Just as HIV was beginning to infect the U.S. population, the "war on drugs" was being launched against black people with a brutal vengeance—a war of police repression and imprisonment aimed at the black and minority population. And now, over 20 years later, this has sent much of a generation of black men to prison.

The rate of HIV infection is actually increasing in the most recent period among certain sectors of the population in the U.S. In New York City, the financial center of the world, half of black men are unemployed and HIV infection rates are comparable to the Third World. The rate of HIV infection among women is rising dramatically in the U.S.—as it is everywhere in the world. When AIDS was first identified in the early 1980s in the U.S., religious and social bigotry contributed to AIDS being branded as a "white, gay disease." Now it is branded as a "poor black disease."

Last Tuesday, I heard Jacob Levenson, author of *The Secret Epidemic: The Story of AIDS and Black America*, speak at the Brooklyn Library. First of all, there are virtually no other books that focus exclusively on the history of AIDS among black people in the U.S. Levenson is a young, white journalist who took an interest in why AIDS in the U.S. had become a disease of black poverty. Also speaking was Mindy Fullilove from Columbia University. She was one of the first black health professionals in the mid '80s to try to address the rampant HIV infection which was sweeping the ghettos of the Bay Area, along with crack cocaine. AIDS in this black ghetto was totally ignored, although it is right next door to the gay, white ghetto of the Castro District. Fullilove jumped into the fray because there were virtually no trained black scientists to consult at the time in the U.S. The researchers and community organizers were told patronizingly they were the "Third World component"—the intention was to relegate care for black people to a ghettoized back burner.

Black people's disproportionately high HIV infection rate in the U.S. was not unknown before then. Before the mid '80s, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) had published statistics that 74 percent of all female cases were black and Latino and 57 percent of pediatric AIDS cases were black. I looked back at Randy Shilts' excellent 1987 book, *And the Band Played On*, which recounts the vicious bigotry and government neglect that contributed to the deaths of thousands of gay men in the 1980s. He makes clear that key to dispelling the myth that AIDS was an exclusively "gay plague" was the evidence that intravenous drug users, who were often black and heterosexual, their spouses and children, as well as hemophiliacs, contracted AIDS. While the profit-driven blood bank businesses were trying to suppress the information, people were getting infected

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through transfusions. In other words, HIV is borne by blood, semen, vaginal secretions and breast milk, not the wrath of God against Sodom and Gomorrah, or, the more "polite," bigoted way to put it, a disease caused by a so-called "lifestyle."

But Shilts never addressed the impact of AIDS on the black inner-city populations. In our review of Shilts' book, we said: "AIDS, which was first recognized as a disease in gays, is being transformed into a disease of the ghetto, among the desperately impoverished and oppressed: the chronically unemployed, sometimes already homeless, often illiterate, already without any insurance for health care" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988). The fight for black rights and freedom is central to the American workers revolution, and it's the task of a revolutionary party to be a tribune of the people, as Lenin said, and instill this consciousness into all the struggles of the multiracial working class.

AIDS and Special Oppression

We communists fight against all manifestations of social oppression. Defense of democratic rights for homosexuals is part of the historic tradition of Marxism. Murderous bigotry against homosexuals stems from the oppression of women and the straitjacket of the bourgeois family. The reactionary, religious bourgeoisie says that the only legitimate sexual activity for workers is for reproduction of the next generation of workers. The family as an economic unit arose with the rise of class society, and the capitalist class uses the family to instill obedience to the bourgeoisie from generation to generation. More and more, the mythical icon of the monogamous family, enshrined with something called "family values," is used to club poor people over the head and to remind them that they are inadequate. This model has nothing to do with family life actually experienced by workers.

Let me say a word about the current media coverage of a new resistant HIV strain that rapidly leads to full-blown AIDS. While gay activists have expressed genuine concern about the decreasing use of condoms, the hysterical, not-so-thinly-veiled, anti-gay rhetoric escalated every day in the *New York Times* to a crescendo of statements by community leaders and commentators who called for vigilantism and criminalizing gay men as "murderers." One psychologist did at least note: first they don't let gays get married, and then they condemn them for having sex outside traditional marriage relationships.

We are for appropriate public health measures being taken that may override personal liberty when necessary, but legitimate fears of victimizing the victims looms, especially in this post-September 11 period, when civil liberties on every front are under attack. What has also been glaringly revealed is that 25 years after having repeatedly predicted that a resistant HIV strain that develops quickly into full-blown AIDS could occur, and was in fact inevitable, the public health agencies don't even have the centralized databases that they need to proceed. Partly this is because of the chaotic patchwork of private doctors, laboratories and hospitals that may hold critical information, and partly because of rampant prejudice and discrimination that has not abated, and has forced gay people to fight for confidentiality.

As vilified as gay white men were and are for being "deviant" from the precious norms of bourgeois society, their relatively greater resources allowed them to fight for attention to the AIDS epidemic, especially when the spectre of infection in the larger population was posed. But black gay and bisexual men, IV drug users and their partners, enmeshed in hopelessly impoverished lives in disintegrating neighborhoods, were beneath vilification and faced death on the streets or death in prison.

The Secret Epidemic contrasts the gay, white San Francisco Castro District to the black areas of the San Francisco Bay Area in the early '80s. Black men were dying silently in the ghettos of San Francisco, Oakland and Richmond. Black and Latino community activists were isolated and had fewer connections to get money. There were few statistics on sexual behavior or drug use in the Latino Mission, black Western Addition or Bayview/Hunters Point that could inform an epidemiologically coordinated plan of attack. There had been virtually no serious scientific studies of black male/female sexuality in the U.S.—ever—because American medical "science" is often a reflection of the racist belief that black people are inferior, and "natural rapists" to be castrated and lynched. Such views reflect the origins of American capitalism, built on the backs of black chattel slaves.

Black women have been stereotyped as either asexual, selfless "mammies" of white children or sexually insatiable Jezebels, fair game for white men. In fact, as the revelation of Strom Thurmond's secret black daughter showed, from slavery until today, it has been a rite of passage for white men to treat black women as sexual property. When the pioneering Indiana University sex researcher Alfred Kinsey carried out his extensive field interviews back in the late 1940s, he told his co-researchers that he had to withhold his findings about black men because he recognized that publishing anything about their sexuality was too explosive; there was no way to address this issue without stoking a violent, racist reaction in America. Slaveowners penned the American Constitution, which lauded liberty and the equal rights of all mankind, and the only way to reconcile such a contradiction was to deem black people less than human. Racism is the bedrock of American capitalism, along with the anti-poor, Puritan work ethic and fundamentalist, anti-sex religious reaction.

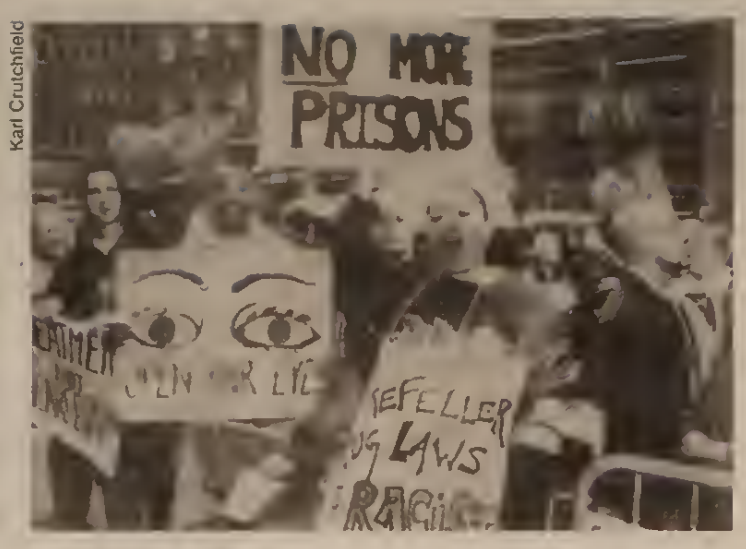
In the early '80s as the breadth of the AIDS epidemic began to be known, the black population was so beneath interest to the medical establishment, which was also so blinded by anti-homosexual prejudice, that, in 1981, when Dr. Arye Rubinstein wrote a paper for the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine* documenting cases of AIDS in black children in the Bronx, his paper was rejected because the editors deemed it impossible that children could have a "homosexual disease." And they certainly weren't concerned that black children had any new, mysterious illness.

According to the CDC, the overall rate of HIV infection has slowed from 150,000 new cases a year in the mid '80s to the current estimate of 40,000 annually. Anti-retroviral drugs, if you can afford them, have changed HIV infection into a chronic condition, rather than death, for many. The absolute number of new infections has stubbornly stayed the same for the last decade, but what has been changing is the percentage of black people infected. HIV infection has been decreasing overall in the white population in the U.S., but it is increasing among black people.

As of 2002, black people were half of the new HIV diagnoses reported. Blacks are over half of those tested late and diagnosed HIV-positive and thus will have a shorter life span, even if treated. The leading cause of HIV infection among black men is sexual contact with other men, followed by injection drug use. The leading cause for black women is heterosexual contact, followed by injection drug use. Black and Hispanic women represent less than 25 percent of U.S. women, but account for 82 percent of female AIDS cases. The majority of black women with AIDS live in the Northeast and the South.

AIDS and the Incarceration of Black America

We had an article in *Workers Vanguard* almost exactly ten years ago called "Lockdown U.S.A." (*WV* No. 618, 10 March 1995). In that article we said that 1.5 million were behind bars. Currently it's nearly 2.1 million. Today, nearly seven million people in the U.S. are in jail or are on probation or parole, and that's more than the population of the eight least populated states in the U.S. combined. There has been an explosive growth of prisons over the last three decades in the name of the "war on drugs." Escalating cop terror against the black masses is a social necessity when decent, livable jobs are removed.



Karl Crutchfield

Rally against draconian New York State Rockefeller Drug Laws.

These prisons, with their high-tech, security units, are the torture training grounds for the likes of Army Specialist Charles A. Graner, who used his years as a prison guard in the U.S. to train for Abu Ghraib in Baghdad. Graner is being sued by an inmate of the State Correctional Institution-Greene in Pennsylvania for putting a razor in his mashed potatoes, and, with other guards, beating him up and yelling "Shut up, n----r, before we kill you." This is the prison that holds today's foremost class-war prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal, on death row, because he is the voice of the voiceless, a fighter for black freedom.

It's important to state here that we consider drug use, prostitution, gambling and age of consent laws (as a few examples, there are others), all as "crimes without victims." In other words, the capitalist state's criminalization of these activities has nothing to do with the welfare of society and everything to do with regimentation and repression. The government should stay out of the bedroom. And drug use or addiction, depending on the circumstances, may be a health concern, but not a crime. Drug addiction, especially among ghetto youth, is fundamentally a reflection of hopelessness and a response to brutal oppression. As Marxists we know that this will not change until social reality changes. The road to a truly egalitarian society is through a socialist revolution.

To this day in the U.S., federal funds are banned for needle exchange programs, which are used all over the world to save lives. And of course, both needle exchange and condoms are banned or unavailable in almost all prisons, although the use of drugs and sexual activity are well known by all.

The state of Ohio, with its miles of empty shells of former steel mills and auto plants, announced they were opening their *fourth* women's prison in January because of rising drug convictions, reduced probation options and longer sentences. Nationally, women are imprisoned mainly for drugs, prostitution, burglary, fraud and larceny. In 1970 there were 5,600 women in prison; now there are some 100,000 and almost half are black. About one million women are under the control of the criminal justice system. Besides inadequate education, health care and drug treatment, probably the meanest aspect is the seizure of these women's children and restrictions against visitation. Most women in prison are mothers. In 2003, the Supreme Court ruled that prisoners with certain drug infractions could be denied *any* family visits. And for the sizable number of inmates who are functionally illiterate, this means they cannot even correspond with their family.

There is a growing ex-felon population and drug felons are banned for life from receiving welfare, that is, any cash assistance, and food stamps. Among other states, California, Illinois and Georgia enforce these lifetime bans. Forty-eight percent of women affected are black or Latina. Anyone with a drug conviction cannot get financial aid for any post-secondary education and is barred from public housing. Ex-felons, many of whom went to prison homeless, cannot even stay with relatives in public housing for fear of causing them to lose their homes, are barred from all sorts of job licensing—such as nursing attendant and childcare—are tracked by authorities, virtually unemployable, stigmatized, and the family traumatized and destroyed.

Read the compelling book, *Life on the Outside: The Prison Odyssey of Elaine Bartlett*, by Jennifer Gonnerman. Elaine Bartlett is on a speaking tour around the city right now. She spent 16 years in prison in upstate New York, on a 20-to-life sentence, for delivering four ounces of cocaine in a sting operation—her first offense—and became an activist protesting the Rockefeller drug laws while still in prison. The book recounts the impossible barriers she faced when she finally managed to get out of prison. The fabric of her entire family had been irremediably ripped apart by her prison years. The New York State laws are still the harshest in the country, and the recent reforms that shorten the longest sentences only affect the smallest percentage of the incarcerated.

Regarding the rate of HIV infection in black women, I want to mention the "down low" media frenzy which has been hyped everywhere, from a titillating *New York Times* magazine cover story to the Oprah Winfrey show. The "down low" frenzy was provoked by J. L. King's book, *On the Down Low: A Journey into the Lives of "Straight" Black Men Who Sleep with Men*. The book purports to expose the phenomenon of HIV-positive, black, bisexual men who "cheat" on their wives. In fact, it is a backward religious piece, which reinforces bigoted

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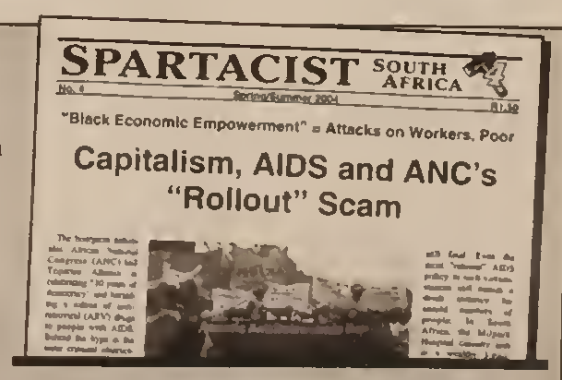
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AIDS...

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stereotypes of so-called amoral gay men. For example, it purports to give women advice on how to detect if your partner is secretly on the "down low." Such a book, and the publicity around it, reflects the racist and anti-gay hysteria which portrays sinister, predatory and deceitful black men whose alleged uncontrollable sexuality leads them to prey on innocent women and their children.

Certainly, every variety of so-called "infidelity" in marriage is as old as marriage itself. Certainly, black gay and bisexual men face many reasons not to come out, and, on the other hand, nobody is going to oppose honesty in personal relationships. This sensationalized racist stereotype only serves to divert attention from the deep-rooted bigotry that prevents desperately needed AIDS funding for research, health care and education from being available. There is absolutely no evidence that the rate of homosexuality is any higher or lower in the black population than the white. Phill Wilson, of the Black AIDS Institute, points out that the *single biggest driver of the heterosexual spread of HIV to black women is the massive incarceration of black men*. He perceptively compares the U.S. prison system to the migrant worker mining industry in South Africa in the role it has played in fueling the AIDS epidemic, "where you take large groups of men and move them from their families for an extended period of time."

In America, as in South Africa, as everywhere, men who are forced to leave their homes for an extended period of time have new sexual partners, as do the women they leave behind. This serves to spread HIV among both the migrants in South Africa and men cycling in and out of American prisons, along with their partners. Particularly characteristic of *American* racism is the fact that the rigid racial segregation of black people magnifies the opportunities for infection within this besieged minority population.

Indymedia

Struggle for health care is key issue for American labor. Striking L.A. grocery workers, January 2004.

Democrats Paved the Way for Bush Reaction

Bush recently motivated the wholesale elimination of Social Security, in favor of a Wall Street crap shoot, by remarking that the current Social Security system is "unfair" to black people because they die before they can get the benefits. Wretched health care, in contrast to the privileged commodity set aside for the rich, along with early deaths by homicide and coyly named "police interventions" (this is what government statisticians call cops gunning down black people in the streets), has produced a system that condemns poor and black people across the income spectrum to shorter life spans. This life and death statistic is one of the most devastating indictments of the racial oppression of black people as a race-color caste in American society.

But two major attacks on poor women that marked the reactionary, post-civil rights movement period were overseen by the Democrats and showed the cruelest contempt for black and poor women and children. The first was Jimmy Carter's overseeing of the 1977 denial of Medicaid to poor women for abortions, proclaimed to all with his cruel "life is not fair" speech. And, on the other end, it was Clinton in 1996 who led the charge, along with the Republicans, to ax, as he put it, "welfare as we know it."

Improvements in water quality and hygiene, from the early to late 20th century, narrowed the gap between black and white people's health status. But, beginning in the 1980s, the health gap has been widening, and black life expectancy went down between 1984 and 1990. Black people get less care, inferior care and at a later point in illness across the board.

In an extensive history of racism and health care in the U.S., *An American Health Dilemma: Race, Medicine, and Health Care in the United States*, the authors, two black physicians, W. Michael Byrd and Linda A. Clayton, refer to the "slave health deficit" which has characterized the class nature of the medicine-for-profit health system in the U.S. I want to also refer you to "Wealth Care USA" in the Spartacist League's journal *Women and Revolution* (No. 39, Summer 1991). The Slave Codes declared that slaves were subhuman, they were chattel, property like a mule. Women in particular were treated like breeding animals and marriages were arranged and torn apart to fit the needs of the white owners. Since pseudoscientific rationalizations had to prop up slavery by "proving" that blacks in general were inferior, the health status of free blacks was as bad as that of slaves.

Mistrust of mainstream medicine among the black population is not a small factor in treatment. Conspiracy theories for AIDS abound. The Rand Corporation and Oregon State University just released a survey that found that 16 percent of black Americans think that government scientists created the disease, and slightly more than half say they believe a cure is being withheld from the poor.

For 40 years, the U.S. Public Health Service withheld treatment from black men with syphilis in Macon County, Alabama, who were told they were being treated for "bad blood" in the infamous "Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male." This so-called study continued until 1972. But it's not just Tuskegee; the "Father of Gynecology," J. Marion Sims, portrayed as an icon in every medical school, performed gynecological experiments on slave women between 1845 and 1852. He bought a slave woman for the purpose of experimenting on her, and he used no anesthesia with the racist justification that black people feel pain less. But the special oppression of the black masses is not a conspiracy; in fact, conspiracy theories tend to disarm one from taking any action at all. Racism is necessary to the American capitalist economic system, which must be replaced by socialism.

For a Socialist Future to Combat Poverty, Ignorance and Disease!

I mentioned early on in the talk that the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union was a historic defeat for the world working class. The planned economy, albeit degenerated, was overthrown, after having been undermined for generations by the Stalinist bureaucracy. However, the Bolshevik Revolution was the only successful workers revolution, and the vision and program of the Bolsheviks who made that revolution are models for anyone who wants to end this miserable capitalist system. You really need an international, planned economy to deal with poverty and disease, as well as all the myriad problems of this society. Then, for the first time, the modern gains of science can be put fully at the service of humanity.

Microbes are living organisms, and despite the creationists' babbling, they will continue to evolve, and we will have to continue to live with them. Access to quality health care should be a simple democratic right. It is a basic necessity like education, housing and a job. A planned, socialist economy, under the rule of the working class, would have one purpose—to provide for all in the best way possible. This degenerate, capitalist ruling class kills. It kills masses of people internationally through wars and starvation, and all in the service of maintaining its ruthless profit-driven economic system. It killed over a million and a half people in Iraq through a starvation blockade, and its neocolonial occupation force continues to kill thousands of people. Here in New York, its cops gun down black youth in the streets and on the housetops of New York like Timothy Stansbury Jr., and in their own apartments like Alberta Spruill, and while they are struggling to make a living like Ousmane Zongo. It kills because this is a desperate ruling class which has become a bar to human progress for over a century now.

Union struggle in this country in the recent period has centered around fighting for decent health care, as the behemoth "wealth care" industry attempts to shake more money out of the pockets of sick people. Free, quality health care for all is within the bounds of material possibility, but not under capitalism where profit rules. If there are no jobs, why educate people, why even keep people alive? We aim to build a revolutionary vanguard party that will sweep away capitalist rule and open the road for a decent world for all. Join us.■

AFP

South African AIDS activists at 2,000-strong march on Parliament in Cape Town to demand free anti-retroviral drugs, February 16.

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Witchhunt...

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submission of all humanity to God. The worst thing, ultimately, about religion is that it preaches blind faith in false, mystical forces ruling our fate, crippling humanity's fight for freedom from oppression and for control over nature.

We care about the suffering of those victimized by corrupt, violent institutions and adults—whether priests or bullying state prosecutors. The terror and helplessness felt by children coerced into submission by frightening authority figures like priests, especially when combined with enforced guilt about sex, does scar them for life. Obviously the church has a lot to cover up—look at the millions in hush money it's been dishing out (including to some of Shanley's accusers). Forced out over the scandal was Boston's arrogant Cardinal Bernard Law, the Catholic version of Harvard's all-purpose bigot Larry Summers (who recently speculated that women, Jews, Catholics and white basketball players are perhaps innately incapable of certain activities). Surely there are many abusive priests. But we'll never know what happened in many cases, as the actual guilt or innocence of those singled out to be demonized is irrelevant to both prosecutors and the church hierarchy, who would rather throw money at accusers than uncover the truth. This too is a terrible injustice to those abused.

The falsity and reactionary political uses of "recovered memory" prosecutions were thoroughly exposed a decade ago. In a major review of research and books debunking "recovered memory" prosecutions, we wrote: "Much of this persecution aims to strengthen the bourgeois state in its regulation of the population and to spread panic, as a diversion from the real brutality of life in this twisted, mean, bigoted, racist society" (*Women and Revolution*, No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996). What we wrote then is equally true today: It is in the interests of *all* in the workers movement to protest and oppose this new, deadly "recovered memory" witchhunt. Free Paul Shanley!■

Letter...

(continued from page 5)

study purporting to prove that, given the existing technology, the total energy indirectly consumed in manufacturing a solar power plant is greater than what the plant would produce during its lifetime. (There are a number of studies contradicting that conclusion; Sarkar dismisses a few out of hand while simply ignoring the rest.) Yet even if Sarkar's contention were justified with regard to current solar energy technology, its generalization to socialist society is invalid. It assumes that it is impossible to significantly increase the efficiency of solar cells or lower their production costs—hardly the most intractable technical problem facing mankind.

A socialist system is, by its very nature, not limited to the known technologies developed and utilized by the capitalist mode of production. Under a socialized system of international planning, an international workers soviet would no doubt choose to invest considerable resources in developing renewable energy sources and in reorienting the world economy away from a reliance on fossil fuels. In contrast, investment decisions under capitalism, including those regarding research and development, are primarily determined by how individual capitalist companies feel they can make a profit. If burning fossil fuels results in pollution, environmental degradation and disease, that is not a concern to the individual capitalist; those costs don't appear on his balance sheet.

Moreover, the development of communism will be accompanied by a corollary downward drift in the present population hypertrophy. Evidence of this can already be seen under capitalism in the industrially advanced countries of the world—e.g., Japan, North America and Western Europe—where economic and technological advancement has effected, not through fiat, a substantial reduction in the birthrate. Under communism, both the division between town and country and economic dependence on the family will virtually disappear. No longer will poor peasants or agricultural workers be compelled to have more children in order to ensure enough manpower to work the land. Human beings will have far greater mastery over both their natural and social environments.

Additionally, communist society will be based on a thoroughly different set of social values from those that exist today. The liberation of women from patriarchal domination will mean complete and unhindered access to birth control and contraception. Communism will elevate the standard of life for everyone to the highest possible level. By eliminating scarcity, poverty and want, communism will also eliminate the greatest driving force for the prevalence of religion and superstition—and the attendant backwardness, which defines the role of women as the producers of the next generation of working masses to be exploited. A prolonged, mild population shrinkage based on increasing material abundance and progressive social ideals will go a long way toward ensuring that there are enough resources to guarantee the well-being of all.

Tom S. misidentifies our views on modern industrial technology with those of J. V. Stalin. Environmentalists commonly point to the former Soviet Union to argue that socialist planning is just as destructive of the environment as capitalism. However, the ecological disasters which occurred in the USSR, as well as those being created in China today, resulted from the *mis*management of the collectivized economy by the Stalinist bureaucracy. A Soviet government based on workers democracy, representing the interests of the working people, would have sought to prevent the pollution of the Caspian Sea and the destruction of the Aral Sea, as it would resist the mounting pollution today of China's rivers and urban atmosphere.

But we approach such questions from the standpoint of strengthening, developing and extending the planned, collectivized economy and technological progress. The capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92 has certainly "improved" the environment, and some Green radicals may welcome the closing of Russia's steel smelters and other factories, since they no longer poison the atmosphere. But the final reversal of the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, above all the destruction of the Soviet planned economy, was a historic defeat for the proletariat that has brought with it an enormous rise in the death rate due to rampant malnutrition and disease.

The Reactionary Agenda of HIV-Denialists

Over the past couple of decades, accelerated in good part by "death of communism" reaction in the imperialist centers following capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, there has been a growing assault on science, from the teaching of evolution in public schools to stem-cell research. A manifestation of this trend is the crusade, which Tom S. champions, promoting the lie that the HIV virus does not cause AIDS. This is not a scientific debate. It is a reactionary campaign which aims to provide pseudo-scientific legitimacy for a right-wing social agenda that would condemn millions of people to death.

The scientific godfather for this crusade is Peter Duesberg, a professor of molecular and cell biology at UC Berkeley, who claims that HIV is harmless and that AIDS is caused by "life-style" factors such as illicit drug use by gay men and others, as well as by AZT, a drug used to combat HIV. His book, *Inventing the AIDS Virus*, was published by Regnery Publishing, a right-wing outfit that also publishes such reactionary, anti-gay bigots as Patrick Buchanan, G. Gordon Liddy and Ann Coulter. Duesberg served as an adviser to South African president Thabo Mbeki, whose ignorant diatribes denying that HIV causes AIDS were largely aimed at deflecting criticism over his government's criminal refusal to allocate medical resources to combat the epidemic. Despite overwhelming evidence that a course of anti-retroviral medication for HIV-positive pregnant women can largely prevent transmission of the virus to the fetus, the Mbeki government fought for years to block distribution of these medicines; today it does little to implement even those limited government programs that were finally set up.

The fact that the main victims of AIDS, when it was first recognized in 1981, were homosexual men and, later, intravenous drug users, brought to the fore a powerful undercurrent of anti-gay bigotry and racism in the response to the disease. Randy Shilts, in his book *And The Band Played On*, documented how difficult it was for doctors trying to deal with the beginnings of the epidemic to get any recognition or response from U.S. government health officials. Right-wing religious bigots and reactionary politicians seized on the idea that AIDS is a "behavioral" rather than an infectious disease to present it as God's punishment for people they would just as soon see dead. Suicidally, a number of gay activists and even some leftists have bought into this myth.

That HIV causes AIDS is a scientific fact, no less than Darwinian evolution. The mechanisms by which the virus breaks down the immune system are the subject of considerable research and debate. But that HIV causes AIDS is not a matter of scientific dispute. An article by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) titled "The Evidence That HIV Causes AIDS," posted on their Web site, notes: "AIDS and HIV infection are invariably linked in time, place and population group." And: "Many studies agree that only a single factor, HIV, predicts whether a person will develop AIDS." Another NIH article, "How HIV Causes AIDS," declares that "the level of HIV in an untreated individual's plasma 6 months to a year after infection...is highly predictive of the rate of disease progression; that is, patients with high levels of virus are much more likely to get sicker, faster, than those with low levels of virus."

Given the racism inherent in American capitalism, and especially the legacy of the infamous Tuskegee syphilis experiments where black men were criminally allowed to go untreated for decades by researchers who wanted to study the effects of the disease, many black people are justifiably suspicious of the government and the medical establishment. Tragically, many blacks buy into conspiracy theories, promoted by the likes of nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, claiming that AIDS is a government conspiracy to kill blacks. Obviously, anyone believing this myth—or the myth that HIV does not cause AIDS—would be less likely to use condoms, get tested for HIV infection or seek medical treatment.

Tom S. tells us that there are "holistic" treatments for AIDS that do not require "expensive, toxic drugs." Obviously, anyone who believes this would see no need to demand the vast increase in funding that is needed across the board for health care and medical research on AIDS. Why denounce those like the U.S. and South African governments, who refuse to make vital medications readily available, or the pharmaceutical giants, which demand exorbitant prices for life-prolonging medicines? At bottom, the myth about combating AIDS through "alternative" or "holistic" remedies boils down to an argument against fighting the pharmaceutical giants, the racist governments and the whole capitalist system.

In a recent study, touted on Web sites devoted to "holistic" therapies as well as in the *New York Times*, the onset of AIDS was delayed in HIV-infected pregnant women in Tanzania when they were given vitamin supplements—hardly a surprising result in a country beset by widespread malnutrition. An author of the study hailed this as "a low-cost intervention that could result in major savings." Not widely reported was the study's conclusion that the "benefits" of vitamins were "small relative to the effects of triple antiretroviral therapy" ("A Randomized Trial of Multivitamin Supplements and HIV Disease Progression and Mortality," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 1 July 2004). This study exemplifies the racism inherent in capitalism/imperialism, not least in how it provides—or fails to provide—health care. As in numerous other AIDS studies carried out in Africa, the doctors watched as scores of black women grew sick and died of AIDS without administering anti-retroviral drugs known to be effective in prolonging their lives—and 267 of the women were given a placebo, that is, no treatment at all. As in the Tuskegee experiment, the rationale given for such studies is that these impoverished black women would not have had access to advanced medications in any case.

The bourgeoisie's racist disdain for the lives of its colonial underlings partakes of a mindset that sees everything from human life to the natural environment as nothing but raw materials to be ravaged in the drive for profit. That the leaders of the most powerful industrial country in the world have minds filled with the worst superstitions, ignorance and bigotry of the Dark Ages is dramatic evidence of the decay of capitalist society. That backwardness and irrationality is mirrored in petty-bourgeois fads like faith healing, astrology and hostility to science and technology. Socialist revolution will make modern technique, science, culture and education available to all, with a corresponding explosion in creative human energy. As Friedrich Engels wrote in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880):

> "Man's own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."■

DPA photos

German foreign minister, Green Party leader Joschka Fischer, deployed German troops for first time since Third Reich to participate in wars against Serbia and Afghanistan. Fischer visits German troops in Balkans.

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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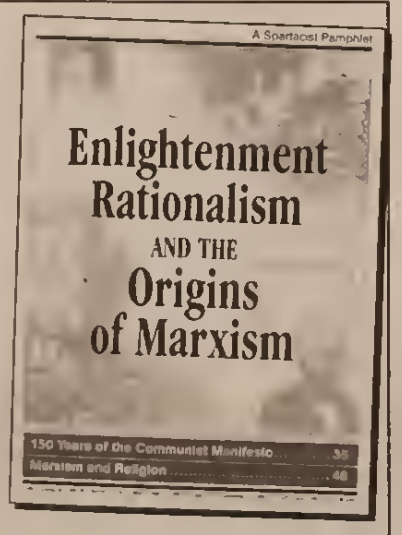


WORKERS VANGUARD

13-Year-Old Devin Brown Gunned Down by LAPD

Black L.A. Seethes Over Racist Cop Terror

WV Photo

no credit

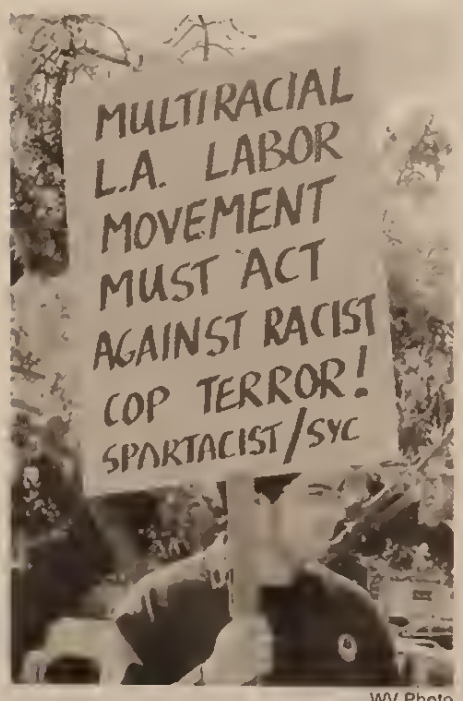
February 26: L.A. protest against cop killing of Devin Brown.

LOS ANGELES—The cop killing of black, 13-year-old Devin Brown on February 6 was the outrageous, but predictable outcome of the "open season" for intensified racist cop terror given by the capitalist rulers of Los Angeles. Brown's killing is the latest in a string of police attacks on black people in L.A., with one atrocity quickly following another. Devin Brown was killed just three days after L.A. County District Attorney Steve Cooley announced that there would be no criminal charges filed against the cops that hospitalized another black man, Stanley Miller, by beating him repeatedly with a metal flashlight on live television last June. And less than three weeks earlier, a jury with no black members awarded $2.4 million for "wrongful termination" to two of the Inglewood cops who were disciplined after being caught on videotape battering black teenager Donovan Jackson-Chavis!

In this context, two Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) cops on shift in South-Central L.A. radioed in to say they were pursuing a possible drunk driver in a Toyota shortly before 4 a.m. on February 6. The ensuing 3-minute "chase" came to an end after the pursued car ran into a curb. The 14-year-old in the passenger seat managed to get away. In the meantime, LAPD cop Steve Garcia was out of his car and shooting, as the Toyota moved back from the curb. A few seconds and 10 bullets later, Devin Brown was dead.

Devin was a talented 8th-grader at Audubon magnet school whose short life was annihilated by the racist cops without a moment's hesitation. His family and the people who met him cherished the life of Devin Brown. "There was a sweetness about him...I saw an innocence and a sweetheart," one of his teachers said. Devin was close to his parents. When Devin's father died suddenly of heart failure last year, Devin was devastated. As his cousin put it, "He took it the way any young child might."

But as a young, black male in racist, capitalist America, Devin Brown was seen as "Enemy No. 1" to the L.A. bosses' ruthless thugs—the LAPD. When L.A. police chief Bratton arrived in L.A., he launched a racist war on black youth, referring to gang members as "terrorists," "tribal" and "thugs." One speaker at a recent L.A. City Council meeting hit the nail on the head: "Black people fear the police as much as they fear the gangs. In fact, the LAPD is considered the biggest gang in the city." The LAPD acts like an occupying force in the ghettos and barrios. Like the U.S. imperialist military in Iraq, both think they can kill with impunity. In a profit-driven system that cannot provide jobs, health care or a decent education, cop terror serves to force the oppressed black and Latino masses into submission. Down with racist cop terror! We will not forget the brutal slaying of Devin Brown!



WV Photo

Spartacist supporter at February 26 rally in L.A.

That cop beatings and killings are a domestic corollary of the "war on terror" was driven home by the racist shooting of Bassim Chmait, a 20-year-old Arab American youth killed in Orange County on February 5 by an off-duty U.S. Customs and Border Patrol agent. Bassim and his three friends were on their way to a college house party in Mission Viejo when the Homeland Security officer, supposedly angry about neighborhood noise, pistol-whipped Bassim's friend and shot Bassim in the head at pointblank range when he tried to protect his friend. Down with the anti-Arab, anti-immigrant "war on terror"!

The police exist to defend capitalist rule, which in the U.S. is based on the racial oppression of black people as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society. They are part of the capitalist state, which is a machine of organized violence used to enforce the class rule of a minority of exploiters against the majority of toilers. The state cannot be reformed, but must be smashed through workers revolution. As revolutionary fighters for the emancipation of the proletariat, we seek to advance the consciousness that the American working class cannot liberate itself from the misery and exploitation of the profit system without fighting against every manifestation of racism and championing the cause of black freedom. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

But this is exactly the truth that is covered up, suppressed and distorted by all the preachers, liberals, nationalists, trade-union bureaucrats and social-democratic reformists. The reformist "socialists" of Workers World Party's International Action Center (IAC) ludicrously announced in a 17 February *Workers World* article on Devin Brown: "IAC: Disarm LAPD"! While saying not a word about the perspective of mobilizing labor struggle against racist cop terror, the IAC proclaims that "it is absolutely irresponsible to allow the LAPD to arm its officers with guns. Allowing the LAPD to carry any weapons provides a dangerous risk to the general public and especially Black and Latino youth." Meanwhile, the International Socialist Organization demands that "if city officials want to reduce gun violence, they should start with their police department." Let's be clear: the only force that can abolish racist cop terror is the revolutionary proletariat in power!

A February 26 protest at Leimert Park was called by a coalition including millionaire *LA Sentinel* publisher and head of the Brotherhood Crusade, Danny Bakewell, by the Nation of Islam (NOI) and by various black preachers. What all these types have in common is their usefulness to L.A.'s rulers in diverting outrage over cop killings into religiosity, dead-end Democratic Party politics or poisonous anti-immigrant racism (the specialty of the Nation of Islam). Among the speakers was L.A. city councilman (and former LAPD chief!) Bernard Parks, now running for mayor. Parks praised the NOI and the preachers for their "constructive" work—i.e., for chilling out the population and concealing the nature of the cops.

At Devin's funeral, Tony Muhammad, the local leader of the black-nationalist NOI, pronounced, "We'll police ourselves!" This is reminiscent of when the NOI Security Agency was given contracts in the early 1990s to police the federally subsidized housing projects in cities from Baltimore to Los Angeles, acting as black front men to carry out the bourgeoisie's racist "war on drugs/crime" against the mainly black residents. The NOI has a long history of letting the racist, capitalist rulers off the book by misdirecting black anger toward Koreans, Latinos, Jews and immigrants. We fight for ***multiracial*** labor struggle to unite all of the oppressed against our common oppressors—the capitalist ruling class. The struggle for black, immigrant, and labor rights can only go forward together!

A Latina from the Justice for Janitors union (SEIU 1877) spoke movingly at the February 26 protest. Devin Brown's mother is herself a member of UNITE HERE, and several members of her union were present at the protest. The multiracial proletariat of Los Angeles—from the heavily black and Latino workers on the docks and in transit, to the overwhelmingly immigrant janitors and hotel workers—is a powerful latent force in this city that has every interest in mobilizing against racist cop terror.

Exactly one year ago, there was a big and popular grocery workers strike, centered in Southern California. If won, that strike could have galvanized union struggle nationwide. Instead, it was misled into defeat and sold out by the pro-capitalist union tops. The recent labor battles in Southern California have shown there is will to fight on the part of the working class. Responsibility for the defeat of recent labor struggles must be laid at the door of the labor misleaders, whose job it is to inundate the workers with false, bourgeois consciousness and politically subordinate the unions to the bourgeois state via the ***capitalist*** Democratic Party. This is the main obstacle to a fighting, class-struggle labor movement. Instead of tapping into the outrage against police violence among workers and mobilizing labor unions against it, the L.A. County Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) has been throwing union money and political support behind the reelection of "tough on crime/more cops" Democratic L.A. mayor Jim Hahn. There must be a political fight within the unions to oust the sellout bureaucrats and forge a militant ***class-struggle*** leadership. Break with the Democrats! For a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government!■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 844 C-701 18 March 2005

Down With U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance!

Defend the Chinese and North Korean Deformed Workers States!

Japan and the United States issued a significant joint policy statement on 19 February avowing that Taiwan is "a mutual security concern." This is another ominous move by Tokyo and Washington to strengthen their security agreements and reposition their military forces, including placing antiballistic missile systems (ABM) in the region. These are dangerous provocations against the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states.

Joint Statement of the Spartacist Group Japan and Spartacist League/U.S.

The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist Group Japan, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution. This includes the right of China and North Korea to possess and test their nuclear arsenals as part of maintaining a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail. China has been criminally trying to get North Korea back to the six-party talks that aim to disarm North Korea. The illusion of the Beijing Stalinists that there can be "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism only undermines China's own defense.

The U.S. and Japan will not hesitate to crush any challenge in their drive to exploit the working masses of the region. Both Korea and Taiwan (Formosa) were

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Democrats Pander to "Family Values" Bigots

Free Abortion on Demand!

March 8 is International Women's Day, celebrated by Marxists for decades as a time to honor the struggles of working women throughout the world. As we observed it this year, U.S. troops are continuing the imperialist occupation of Iraq, invading Iraqi families' homes at will and slaughtering Iraqis. At the same time, U.S. imperialist rulers are ever more shrilly shrieking about the "sanctity of human life" at home, oozing concern over the "rights of the unborn" in order to attack women's rights. We therefore observed International Women's Day this year with renewed determination to continue the struggle for women's liberation.

Today, the legal right to abortion dangles by a thread. Simple access to abortion has long been nearly impossible for poor, particularly black and Latino, women. Some 87 percent of U.S. counties have no abortion clinics, which are now outnumbered by "crisis pregnancy centers"—fake clinics set up by anti-abortion groups whose purpose is to subject pregnant women to anti-abortion propaganda and otherwise pressure them to carry the fetus to term.

WV Photo

Spartacists raise defense of abortion rights at 20 March 2004 demonstration in San Francisco against U.S. occupation of Iraq.

Abortion is a politically explosive issue because it raises the question of women's equality. This simple and safe medical procedure provides women with some control over whether or not to have children. For this reason, it is viewed as a threat to the institution of the family, a crucial prop for the system of capitalist exploitation.

The attacks on abortion rights are part of a campaign of social reaction aimed at regimenting and intimidating the entire population—not only women, but black people, immigrants, gays and the working class as a whole. While the bigots in the Justice Department confer "civil rights" to fetuses and call themselves "pro-life," they relish the legal lynching of black men—the racist death penalty. The ruling class takes little notice of the AIDS epidemic as it ravages black ghettos, preaches abstinence to teenagers deprived of condoms and sex education, and keeps the safe and effective RU 486 "abortion pill" (as well as "emergency contraception" and, increasingly, birth control) out of reach.

Abortion and contraception should be available on demand as part of free, universal, quality health care. In order to effectively fight to defend and extend abortion rights, activists must not look to Democratic politicians. The Democratic Party is the *other* party of American capitalism, which occasionally quibbles with, but more generally reinforces, the Republicans in carrying out capitalist rule. The role of both parties—as well as the courts—is to serve the interests of the wealthy, exploiting class. This will be achieved at the expense of those who are exploited and oppressed—working people, blacks, immigrants, women and gays. The reason there has been little to no protest against the increasing assaults on abortion rights is that throughout the 1990s, bourgeois feminist organizations *demobilized* protest, preaching reliance on the "pro-choice" Clinton administration, while looking to the courts and appealing to Congress.

What is needed is to fight to defend and extend women's rights, including the right to abortion, through the independent mass mobilization of the oppressed backed by the social power of labor. The struggle for women's liberation is integral to the fight for socialist revolution.

It is essential to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the working class in a socialist revolution that sweeps away this system of capitalist exploitation and racial and sexual oppression. ***For free abortion on demand! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!***

Democrats' and Republicans' "Family Values" Target Women

Ever since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling struck down anti-abortion laws, anti-abortion forces have sought to eliminate the right to this essential medical procedure. With the re-election of George W. Bush the anti-abortion forces have gone from chipping away to a full-scale assault. Fifteen states have laws that would outlaw abortion throughout pregnancy (with two making no exceptions for health or rape); twenty-seven states outlaw abortion as early as 12 weeks with no exceptions for health; other states have been repeatedly considering such measures. While all these state laws are currently deemed by the federal courts to be unconstitutional and are therefore symbolic, they offer an ominous glimpse at the possible future and are a barometer of the times.

Other laws go far beyond symbolism and are genuinely eroding the legal right to abortion. Thirty-one states have passed laws against a seldom used but occasionally medically necessary second- or third-term abortion procedure known to doctors as intact dilation and extraction, disgustingly dubbed "partial-birth abortion" by

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British Imperialism and Diego Garcia

Removing a People from History

We reprint below an article published in Workers Hammer *No. 189 (Winter 2004-2005), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.*

WORKERS HAMMER

Reuters

A group of islanders from Diego Garcia arrive at the High Court in London.

In one of the least known crimes of British imperialism, between 1968 and 1973 the people of the Chagos islands in the Indian Ocean were expelled from their homes, forced into ships' holds and dumped thousands of miles away in the Seychelles and Mauritius, where they were left to die in poverty. This racist atrocity against the 1,500-strong black population of the Chagos islands was prepared by the Harold Wilson Labour government in the service of the anti-Communist Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. Diego Garcia, the largest island, was leased as a military base to U.S. imperialism. Recently a group of Diego Garcian campaigners, fighting against the British authorities' refusal to grant them accommodation in Britain, protested in Downing Street, chanting "Tony Blair is a thief. Give us our islands back." *U.S./British imperialism out of Diego Garcia now! For the right of return and compensation to the islanders!*

Diego Garcia is located halfway between Africa and Indonesia, and encloses one of the largest deep-water harbours in the Indian Ocean. At the height of the Vietnam War, the establishment of a military base there was considered to be of strategic importance by the imperialists. In 1965, the British rulers created the "British Indian Ocean Territory," with Diego Garcia as the main island, including by annexing the Chagos islands from Mauritius before that country was granted independence in 1968. This annexation resulted from a secret deal to lease Diego Garcia to U.S. imperialism as a military base for the next 50 years.

Mark Curtis in his book *Web of Deceit* (2003) quotes recently declassified Foreign Office documents, suffused with racist imperialist contempt for the people of the Chagos islands, demonstrating that the depopulation was calculated to suit the aims of British and U.S. imperialism. One official wrote that the removal of the islanders "was made virtually a condition of the agreement when we negotiated it in 1965." In return, Britain would receive cut-price Polaris missiles.

The expulsions were brutal. Lizette Tallatte, who was one of those expelled, told journalist John Pilger that by way of a chilling threat as to what would happen if the islanders did not acquiesce, over a thousand of their pets were rounded up and gassed using the exhaust fumes from U.S. military vehicles. "They put the dogs in a furnace where the people worked...when their dogs were taken away in front of them, our children screamed and cried." One islander, Lindsey Collen, describes the anguish of forced exile in her article "The Island of Diego Garcia, B52's and You and Me" (focusweb.org). Families who had lived on the islands for generations were "shoved into ships' holds against their will and transported to Port Louis and dumped on the quayside. Homeless and lost, mothers and fathers and grannies and children and grandfathers wandered into the slums of the Mauritian capital. By the thousand. The poor of Port Louis took them in. But many people from Diego Garcia died. Others ended up in prison. Children ate green mangoes and salt. That is rock-bottom poverty in Mauritius. Emptiness in their hearts."

The Wilson Labour government went to extraordinary lengths to fabricate the lie that there were no local inhabitants on Diego Garcia. Curtis writes, "British policy was: after removing the islanders from their home, to remove them from history." However, for over thirty years the Chagossians have fought desperately for justice through the courts only to be denied time after time. Responding to a High Court ruling in 2000 that the expulsions were illegal and that the Chagossians could return to the outlying islands, the Foreign Office announced it would be impossible to abide by this ruling because of treaty obligations with Washington. Last June the Blair government invoked the archaic royal prerogative to crush the 2000 judgment, and a decree was issued that banned the islanders from ever returning to their homes.

The savage expulsion of the Chagossians from Diego Garcia was integrally linked to the imperialists' anti-Soviet Cold War drive, aimed at overthrowing the gains of the world's first workers state that remained despite its Stalinist degeneration. The establishment of a military base on the island was critical to U.S. imperialism's aim of securing hegemony over the Indian Ocean as a staging ground for control of the Indian subcontinent and Persian Gulf and as part of its military encirclement of the Soviet workers state. Similarly, their ambition to gain control of the strategically important deep-water harbour of Trincomalee in Sri Lanka was prepared through the removal of Tamil peoples from the area which in turn paved the road for the genocidal anti-Tamil pogroms in the mid 1980s.

Today, in the words of the U.S. State Department, Diego Garcia is an "all but indispensable platform" for the "fulfillment of defence and security responsibilities in the Arabian Gulf, the Middle East, South Asia and East Africa." It was a launching pad for the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the base from which U.S. B2 stealth bombers have flown thousands of miles and back to rain terror on the Iraqi peoples. Various sources also suggest that "terrorist" suspects are being interrogated there under conditions even more secret than those at Guantánamo, where sadistic torture and barbarism reign. And, just as they were assisted in securing Diego Garcia by an Old Labour government, U.S. imperialism continues to be served by the loyal toadies of Blair's New Labour government in the one-sided slaughter and colonial occupation of Iraq, and in the racist "war on terror" at home and abroad.

In 1983 our international tendency organised emergency protests around the globe against the terror against the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, writing in our urgent appeal for such protests: "The defense of the Tamils, now facing genocide, must be linked to a revolutionary socialist perspective, which alone can secure national justice for all the peoples of South Asia" (see "Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka," *Workers Vanguard* No. 335, 29 July 1983). So too, the defence of the right of the Chagossian people to return to their homeland or even to receive compensation for the countless lives that were shattered in advancing the interests of the imperialist rulers, is necessarily linked to a revolutionary internationalist perspective—one which fights to liberate all of humanity from the depravities of imperialist exploitation and oppression. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Bolshevik Revolution and Women's Liberation

The 1917 Russian Revolution provided a vivid example of how workers rule would fight to eliminate all forms of social oppression. Understanding that women's social inequality is rooted in class society and the institution of the family, the leaders of the young Soviet workers state sought to undermine the material foundations of women's oppression. The Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union led to a retreat on the front of women's emancipation, as Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky described. The Trotskyists recognized that complete social equality, as well as, more immediately, the survival of the revolution itself, required a world socialist society, to be achieved through the extension of proletarian revolution internationally.

The October Revolution honestly fulfilled its obligations in relation to woman. The young government not only gave her all political and legal rights in equality with man, but, what is more important, did all that it could, and in any case incomparably more than any other government ever did, actually to secure her access to all forms of economic and cultural work. However, the boldest revolution, like the "all-powerful" British Parliament, cannot convert a woman into a man—or rather, cannot divide equally between them the burden of pregnancy, birth, nursing and the rearing of children.

The revolution made a heroic effort to destroy the so-called family hearth—that archaic, stuffy and stagnant institution in which the woman of the toiling classes performs galley labor from childhood to death. The place of the family as a shut-in petty enterprise was to be occupied, according to the plans, by a finished system of social care and accommodation: maternity houses, child-care centers, kindergartens, schools, social dining rooms, social laundries, first-aid stations, hospitals, sanatoria, athletic organizations, moving-picture theaters, etc. The complete absorption of the housekeeping functions of the family by institutions of the socialist society, uniting all generations in solidarity and mutual aid, was to bring to woman, and thereby to the loving couple, a real liberation from the thousand-year-old fetters....

It proved impossible to take the old family by storm—not because the will was lacking, and not because the family was so firmly rooted in men's hearts. On the contrary, after a short period of distrust of the government and its child-care facilities, kindergartens and like institutions, the working women, and after them the more advanced peasants, appreciated the immeasurable advantages of the collective care of children as well as the socialization of the whole family economy. Unfortunately society proved too poor and little cultured. The real resources of the state did not correspond to the plans and intentions of the Communist Party. You cannot "abolish" the family; you have to replace it. The actual liberation of women is unrealizable on a basis of "generalized want." Experience soon proved this austere truth which Marx had formulated eighty years before.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 15 March

No. 844 **18 March 2005**

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Finish the Civil War!

Harriet Jacobs: A Black Woman's Fight to Smash Slavery

Speaker: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, April 16, 5 p.m.

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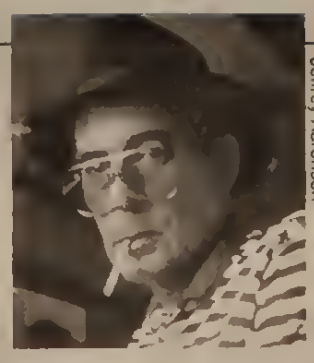
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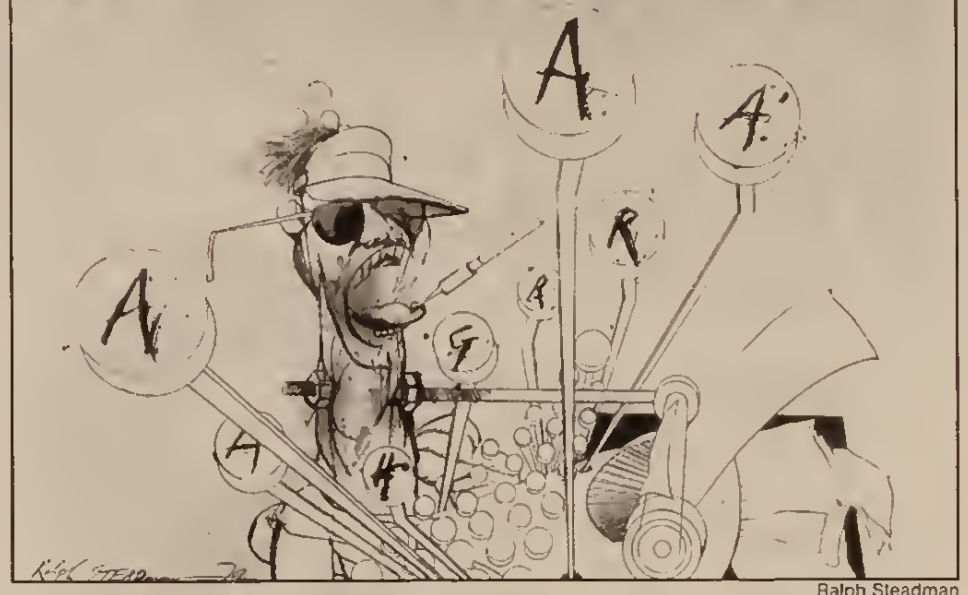
Ralph Steadman

"We were somewhere around Barstow on the edge of the desert when the drugs began to take hold" is a classic line of American literature, like "Call me Ishmael." or, "But I reckon I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me and I can't stand it. I been there before." Hunter S. Thompson's 1971 *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, subtitled *A Savage Journey to the Heart of the American Dream*, like Melville's *Moby Dick* or Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, explored the picaresque, chaotic and dark sides of the "American dream"—nightmare, more like. Thompson, who died in February at age 67 after shooting himself, had a unique and savage voice. What he dubbed "gonzo journalism," his mixture of fact and revealing half-fiction, relentlessly skewered the corrupt politicians and media whores of his generation—he once described "gonzo journalism" as "a style of 'reporting' based on William Faulkner's idea that the best fiction is far more ***true*** than any kind of journalism." He rode with both the Hell's Angels and Richard Milhous Nixon (they discussed football in 1968) and lived to tell the truth about both. He died in his own Territory, un-"sivilized" to the end, and on his own terms.

Alexander Cockburn noted, in his appreciation of "American rough-housers," that "Thompson probably spawned more bad prose than anyone since Hemingway, but they all taught me that at its most rapturous, its most outraged, its most exultant, American prose can let go and teach you to let go, to embrace the vastness, the richness, the beauty and the grotesqueries of America in all its thousand landscapes" (*CounterPunch*, 23 February). Frank Rich of the *New York Times* (6 March) wrote that "Thompson was out to break the mainstream media's rules" with his "unruly mix of fact, opinion and masturbatory self-regard," noting Thompson's "diagnosis of journalistic dysfunction hasn't aged a day: 'The most consistent and ultimately damaging failure of political journalism in America has its roots in the clubby/cocktail personal relationships that inevitably [?] develop between politicians and journalists'." Rich quoted Thompson's savage assessment of the Edmund Muskie presidential campaign, that the then-front runner "talked like a farmer with terminal cancer trying to borrow money on next year's crop."

Nixon's the one, to be sure, with whom Thompson's political journalism will be forever entwined—the great white shark Thompson tirelessly chased with both fury and hilarity. Thompson was no socialist; he liked Gary Hart in 1987, he went for John Kerry in 2004. But he harpooned his share of filthy lying Democrats, too. In a 1967 piece, Thompson attacked Lyndon Baines Johnson's "Great Society":

> "While the new wave flowered, Lenny Bruce was hounded to death by the cops. For 'obscenity.' Thirty thousand people (according to Paul Krassner) are serving time in the jails of this vast democracy on marijuana charges, and the world we have to live in is controlled by a stupid thug from Texas. A vicious liar, with the ugliest family in Christendom."

Of Hubert Humphrey, the old liberal witchhunter who made the deal with Chicago mayor Daley in 1968 as antiwar protesters were being beaten in the streets outside the Democratic Party convention, Thompson wrote:

> "Any political party that can't cough up anything better than a treacherous brain-damaged old vulture like Hubert Humphrey deserves every beating it gets. They don't hardly make 'em like Hubert any more—but just to be on the safe side, he should be castrated anyway."

When the Aspen, Colorado D.A. tried to get Thompson on drug and other lifestyle "violations" in 1990, we wrote an article in Hunter's defense: "Lifestyle Police Frame Gonzo Journalist—Defend Hunter S. Thompson!" (*WV* No. 501, 4 May 1990). "We appreciate especially Thompson's unrelenting pursuit of the truth about this corrupt American empire," we wrote. "The best of the gonzo journalist's essays are cheerfully apocalyptic and pessimistic prognoses, with an elegant and honest quality something like George Orwell on acid, or maybe Gore Vidal on speed." We appreciated the prescience of the man. When he spoke before a Columbia University audience in April 1990 about the witch-hunt against him, he said that America was entering the era of the "retroactive warrant": "They search your house without cause, and if they find anything to charge you with, the courts will uphold it as a proper search.... The bastards are out to get us." After the college crowd's applause, Thompson continued: "What do you know of these things? You come from a generation that thinks rain is poison, sex means certain death and anything that's fun will give you cancer."

Alexander Cockburn quoted a "sour and prescient paragraph written in 1972" by Thompson, which stands as a pretty good assessment of the putrid condition of American capitalist politics:

> "How many more of these goddam elections are we going to have to write off as lame but 'regrettably necessary' holding actions? And how many more of these stinking double-downer sideshows will we have to go through before we can get ourselves straight enough to put together some kind of national election that will give me and the at least 20 million people I tend to agree with a chance to vote for something, instead of always being faced with that old familiar choice between the lesser of two evils? I understand, along with a lot of other people, that the big thing, this year, is Beating Nixon. But that was also the big thing, as I recall, twelve years ago in 1960—and as far as I can tell, we've gone from bad to worse to rotten since then, and the outlook is for more of the same."

Like everyone who despises the deadly American empire, we'll miss Gonzo. ■

Editorial Note

Bankruptcy "Reform": Ripping Off the Poor

The depravity of America's rulers knows no bounds. On March 10, the U.S. Senate voted up Dickensian hankruptcy "reform" legislation, the first sweeping overhaul in over a quarter of a century. The bill, which was written for and by credit card companies, would impose more than a hundred new constraints on families who may look to bankruptcy as their last shot at escaping the vise of creditors. Up to 20 percent of those who dissolve their debts in hankruptcy each year could now be disqualified.

While Bush & Co. tour non-stop to convince you to put your final years in the hands of Wall Street parasites ("privatizing" Social Security), the bourgeois state is ratcheting up its attacks on working people's living standards. Last month the Congress made class-action suits against corporations more difficult, and three days before the bankruptcy vote, the Senate rejected raising the minimum wage by a paltry couple of dollars. The Senate wouldn't even pass a proposed exception to the new hankruptcy law for the elderly who file bankruptcy in order to allow them to keep their homes. As *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman noted in an 8 March piece, what we're seeing is "a steady erosion of the protection the government provides against personal misfortune, even as ordinary families face ever-growing economic insecurity."

The banking industry loves to conjure up the proverbial "deadbeat" debtors frivolously buying BMWs and luxury homes while they plot to go hankrupt. Reality is far and away something else. Krugman further notes: "To the extent that there is significant abuse of the system, it's concentrated among the wealthy—including corporate executives found guilty of misleading investors—who can exploit loopholes in the law to protect their wealth, no matter how ill-gotten."

According to Elizabeth Warren, a bankruptcy and commercial law expert at Harvard, parents with children at home are nearly three times more likely to file bankruptcy. A single woman raising a child is nearly four times more likely to file bankruptcy than a woman alone. About half the families who file are those who cannot pay for prescription drugs or meet other medical costs—people who have catastrophic expenses due to cancer or heart attacks, for example. And 75 percent of these people *have* health insurance. Seniors are victims of lenders trying to repossess their homes. Two-thirds of filers have lost their jobs. Divorce is another big factor. The impact of the new laws guarantees that the credit card bills of a single parent's former spouse will be paid before child support. ***More than 90 percent of all families filing for bankruptcy fall into one or more of three categories—job loss, medical problems or family breakup.***

As a spokesman for the millionaire capitalist politicians who roost in the halls of the U.S. Senate, Republican Bill Frist proclaimed, "This legislation restores personal responsibility," and Democratic Senator Joseph Biden assured all that there was a bipartisan consensus despite the need for some window-dressing. The ruling class views workers' attempts to get some relief from mountains of debt as a challenge to their prerogative of untrammeled exploitation. The working class must be disciplined and controlled. Friedrich Engels wrote in 1887 regarding mortgage debt: "Workers...become completely the slaves of their employers; ...they are compelled to put up with whatever working conditions are offered them." For example, workers are less likely to go on strike lest they miss that next payment and put their families in jeopardy.

Elizabeth Warren told PBS *Frontline* (which aired on 23 November 2004) that the credit card pushers consider people who regularly pay on time a real drag on their profits. The banks make the big bucks on the people who always live on the edge of bankruptcy, who will dutifully be paying as their late fees pile on and interest rates triple, plunging them hopelessly deeper into debt. In the 1980s and '90s, usury laws that had historically capped interest rates to protect individuals

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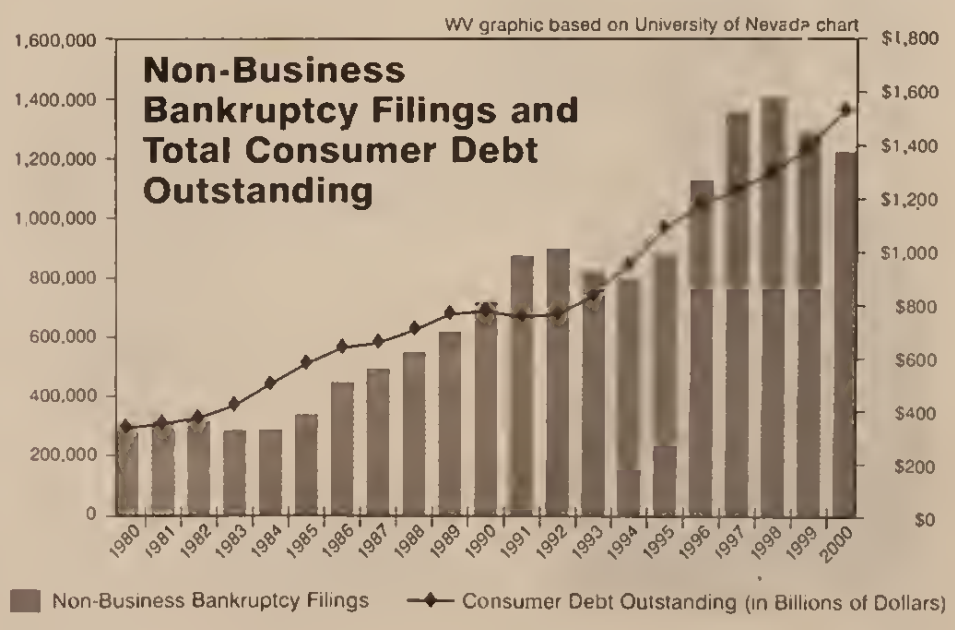
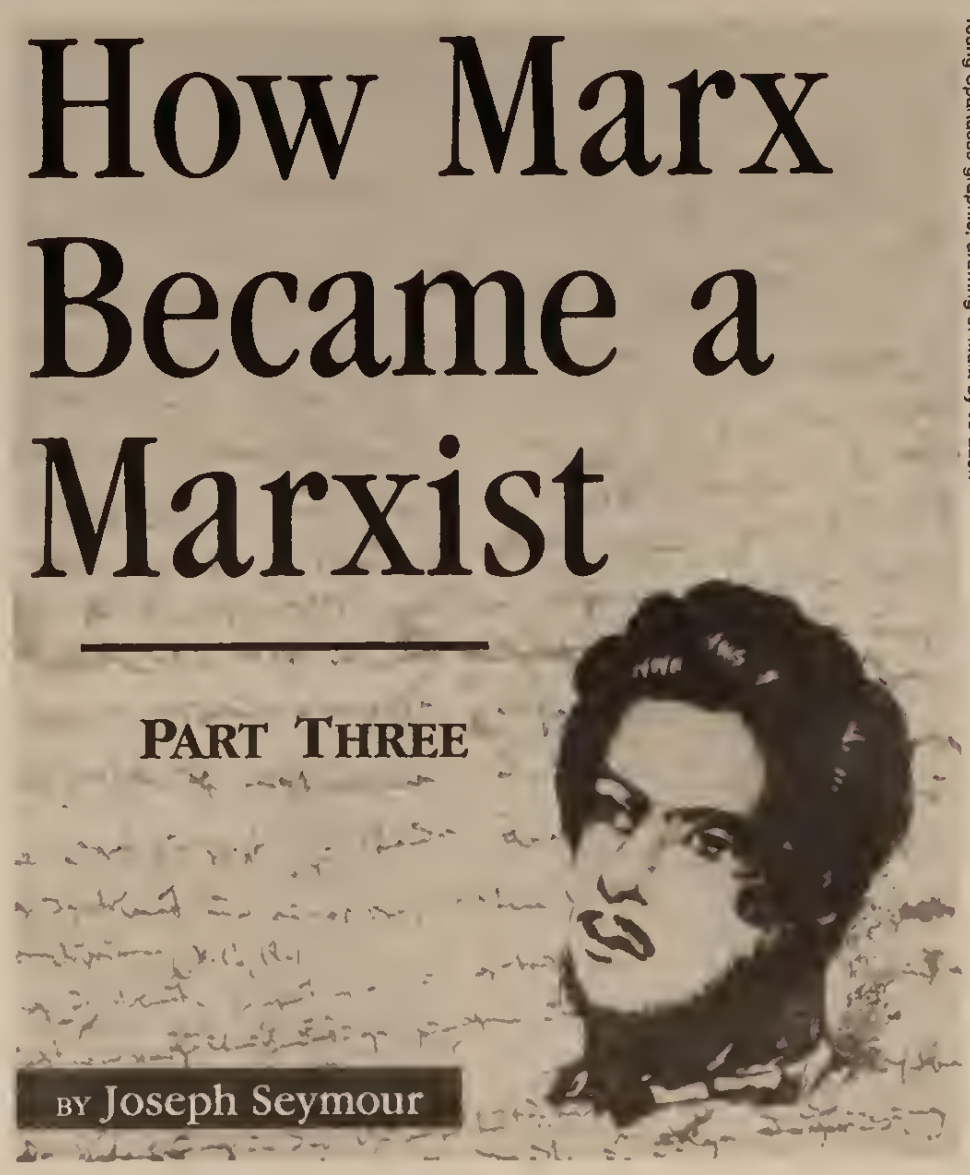


Young Spartacus

How Marx Became a Marxist

PART THREE



Young Spartacus graphic: drawing of Marx by H. Bach

BY Joseph Seymour

We print below the third part of an educational given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Twelfth National Conference of the SL/U.S. held last summer. Part One appeared in WV *No. 840 (21 January) and Part Two in* WV *No. 842 (18 February).*

Marx was born in 1818 in the city of Trier in the German Rhineland bordering on France. It was the region of Germany most directly affected by and sympathetic to the French Revolution. It was the main concentration of German radical democrats ideologically akin to the French Jacobins. The French revolutionary army occupied the Rhineland a decade before Napoleon occupied the rest of western and southern Germany. So the French Revolution was extended to this region in its more radical and democratic phase. Marx grew up in a city in which many bourgeois notables had been ardent revolutionary democrats in their youth, and some retained a sentimental attachment to their old ideals.

In the earlier session, I cited Freud's aphorism that the child is the father of the man. But the father is also the father of the child who is the father of the man. And Marx revered his father throughout his life. A boyhood friend of Marx and later his brother-in-law, Edgar von Westphalen, described Heinrich Marx as a "real eighteenth-century Frenchman, who knew his Voltaire and Rousseau inside out."

Heinrich Marx was a leading figure in the Trier liberal social club. On one occasion he and some other members had a little too much to drink, and they started singing the "Marseillaise," the anthem of the French Revolution. This was rather like singing the "Internationale" at a local Democratic Party headquarters. News of the scandal got out, and the Trier liberals involved were strongly denounced by the Prussian authorities, including the crown prince. Fortunately, nothing worse came of it for Marx's father.

So Marx was raised in the spirit of rational humanism. And this can be clearly seen in an essay he wrote titled, "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Career" (1835), upon graduating *gymnasium* at the age of 17:

> "History calls those the greatest men who ennoble themselves by working for the universal. Experience praises as the most happy the one who made the most people happy....
>
> "When we have chosen the vocation in which we can contribute most to humanity, burdens cannot bend us because they are only sacrifices for all. Then we experience no meager, limited, egotistic joy, but our happiness belongs to millions, our deeds live on quietly but eternally effective."
>
> —quoted in David McLellan, *Marx Before Marxism* (1970)

So Marx began as a liberal idealist wanting to better the condition of humanity. Broadly speaking, his outlook at 17 was similar to my own at that age and probably to most of yours at that age. It's also similar to most of the student youth we encounter in, say, the "anti-globalization" protests at least in the U.S.

Marx then went to the University of Bonn in western Germany for a year. So far as we know, there was no significant change in his intellectual outlook in this period. But an incident occurred which illuminates Marx's personal character and also the character of German society at the time.

The university had the equivalent of today's fraternities in the form of tavern clubs or drinking societies. These were organized on geographical and, to a certain extent, class lines. Marx joined a tavern club of students from Trier who were mainly of bourgeois and professional backgrounds like himself. There was also a tavern club of young Prussian aristocrats—Junkers—who despised and constantly baited Rhenish bourgeois types like Marx.

And on one occasion one of these young Junkers provoked Marx into a duel with sabers—real sabers, not with tipped points and blunted blades. Marx held his own and got a permanent scar above his left eye. For the rest of his life he was immensely proud of that scar as a wound gotten in honorable class combat. "See this—I got this in a saber duel with some young Junker creep in my university days."

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Portrait of Friedrich Engels as a young man. The title page of *The Holy Family* (1845), the first joint work by Marx and Engels, which argues that "history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims."

Origins of the Hegelian Left

The following year, Marx transferred to the University of Berlin. He arrived there at the very moment that it was becoming the main center of the main left-radical intellectual current in Germany: the left Hegelians, sometimes also called the Young Hegelians although some of them were a good deal older than some right Hegelians. This current was the product of two mutually reinforcing developments: the rightward motion in Prussian ruling circles, especially as it affected academic and intellectual life, and the internal contradictions of Hegel's philosophy.

During the so-called "wars of liberation" against the Napoleonic regime, a strong rightist tendency cohered, centrally within the Prussian nobility, which combined Christian fundamentalism—it was called Pietism—with backward-looking German nationalism conveyed by the expression "*blut und boden*"—blood and soil. A very good book on the emergence of the Hegelian left by an American academic, John Edward Toews, commented in this regard: "These young Junkers had experienced the war against Napoleon as a kind of Christian-German crusade against French rationalism and liberalism" (*Hegelianism: The Path Toward Dialectical Humanism, 1805-1841* [1980]).

In opposition to Christian fundamentalism and romantic German nationalism, Hegel sought to mediate at the intellectual level between the era of the French Revolution and the post-1815 period of reaction. He maintained that Prussia, as a result of the reforms undertaken during the Napoleonic period, had become a modern, rational state—a *rechtstaat*, a state of law. Hegel considered himself a good Christian of the Lutheran persuasion. He maintained that Protestant Christianity expressed in terms of symbols and allegories fundamental truths about God which philosophy, that is, his own philosophy, apprehended through reason.

The Christian right of the day regarded Hegel's moderate liberalism as containing the seeds of dangerous radicalism in both politics and religion. Granted, Hegel himself maintained that the laws and policies of the Kingdom of Prussia represented the highest interests of the German community. But from the same theoretical premises someone else could maintain that those interests required the overthrow of the Prussian monarchy and its replacement by a democratic republic.

The Pietists were even more virulently hostile to Hegel's views on religion than to his politics. Christianity, they insisted, must be based on faith in an unknowable God. Hegel's contention that man through reason could understand God and his works was blasphemy. One of the leading Pietists, Heinrich Leo, exclaimed that Hegel's philosophy would lure "'the children of the German nation into Satan's watchtower' where they would 'die from hunger and thirst for the word of the Lord'" (quoted in Toews, *Hegelianism*).

In the 1820s, the top level Prussian bureaucrats in charge of academia were relatively liberal and favored the Hegelians over the Christian rightists. However, in the 1830s the balance of political forces in Prussian ruling circles was reversed. The more liberal Hegelians were now regarded and treated as dangerous radicals. They were thwarted in their academic careers. As a consequence, some of them moved to the left as they intersected and influenced a new generation of young liberal idealists like Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who eventually would become truly dangerous radicals.

In their own way the Christian rightists recognized the potentially radical implications embedded in Hegel's philosophy. Hegel maintained that the broad sweep of history expressed the progressive development of the absolute spirit. But he didn't consider that this was true of everything that happened. He allowed for historical accidents. And he recognized that many institutions and cultural attitudes were dead remnants of the past devoid of spiritual vitality. As Protestants, Hegel and his followers consigned Roman Catholicism to the latter category as an outmoded superstition.

Hegel thus differentiated between existence, the German word being *dassein*, and reality, the German word being *wirklichkeit*. *Dassein* was the totality of that which existed empirically. *Wirklichkeit* represented those particular aspects of existence which corresponded to the historical development of reason. But how was one to know what was merely existent and what was really real? The answer is—one couldn't.

Thus even in Hegel's lifetime there were very significant political differences of a left-right character among his followers. His best-known protégé was Herbert Gans, a secularized Jew. Like Marx's father, Gans had to legally convert to Lutheranism in order to hold a professorship at the University of Berlin where he lectured on law and political philosophy. Perhaps because of his Jewish background, Gans was much more critical of the Prussian government from the left than was Hegel. The crown prince once complained to the minister of education that Gans was turning his students into revolutionary republicans. Incidentally, Gans was still at the University of Berlin when Marx arrived there, and he attended Gans' lectures. The old left Hegelian died a few years later. Basically, a very good guy.

The contradiction at the core of Hegel's philosophy was implicit in his most famous aphorism: what is real is rational and what is rational is real. The first implies that the world as it currently exists is perforce rational; the second that what is irrational is soon fated to disappear and he replaced by what is rational.

You may recall from the earlier session that Moses Hess listed six thinkers

who influenced the young Marx. Only one of these was an older contemporary, Heinrich Heine, who was the best-known German writer of the day of radical leftist sympathies. Heine studied under Hegel in the 1820s though he was never a Hegelian. He later settled in Paris where he met Marx in 1844-45, and the two became good friends. At this time Heine commented on the rise of the Hegelian left in his usual wise guy style:

> "We now have monks of Atheism [he's referring to the likes of Feuerbach and Marx], whom Mr. Voltaire, because he was an obstinate Deist, would have broiled alive. I must admit that this music does not appeal to me, but it does not frighten me either, for I have stood behind the Maestro [that is, Hegel] while he composed. To be sure, he composed with indistinct and elaborately adorned notes—so that not everyone could decipher them. Occasionally I observed how he anxiously looked about in fear that he might have been understood. He liked me very much because he was convinced that I would not betray him: I even thought him servile at that time. Once, when I expressed displeasure with the phrase 'Everything that is, is rational,' he smiled strangely and said, 'One could also read it as "everything which is rational must be".'"
>
> —Toews, *Hegelianism*

The Influence of Bruno Bauer and Ludwig Feuerbach

A year after arriving at the University of Berlin, Marx joined the left Hegelian circle which was organized around the Doctors' Club. Its leading figure was Bruno Bauer, and Marx became one of Bauer's main protégés over the next few years. There's some anecdotal evidence that Marx collaborated in writings which Bauer published in his own name and also in writing an anonymous pamphlet Bauer brought out. Marx himself did not publish anything in his own name until his doctoral dissertation on ancient Greek philosophy in 1841. However, since Bauer treated him as a protégé, one can reasonably assume Marx's ideas at the time were broadly similar to Bauer's.

Basically, what Bauer did was to jettison the metaphysical, semi-religious aspects of Hegel's philosophy while retaining its idealist conception of historical development. He also took the rationalist implications of Hegel's doctrines to their extreme, even absurdist, logical conclusion. Bauer maintained that what Hegel had called the absolute spirit was really the collective self-consciousness of mankind or, to use more conventional terminology, the prevailing cultural attitudes.

Many years later in a brief sketch of his own intellectual development, Marx wrote: "My inquiry led me to the conclusion that neither legal relations nor political forms could be comprehended whether by themselves or on the basis of a so-called general development of the human mind" (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* [1859]). The idea that legal and political institutions express the general development of the human mind was that of Bruno Bauer, which Marx shared for a time and then transcended.

Like Hegel, Bauer viewed the history of European civilization as a progression from lower to higher levels of thought. Applying this conception to the present, Bauer maintained that by theoretical criticism he was dealing the Prussian Christian monarchical state a decisive blow against which its empirical reality could not long resist. He wrote to Marx in 1841: "The terrorism of true theory will clear the field.... Theory is now the most effective practice and we cannot yet predict in what a great manner it can become practical" (quoted in Toews, *Hegelianism*). Once an institution was condemned in theory as historically outmoded, its fate was thereby sealed.

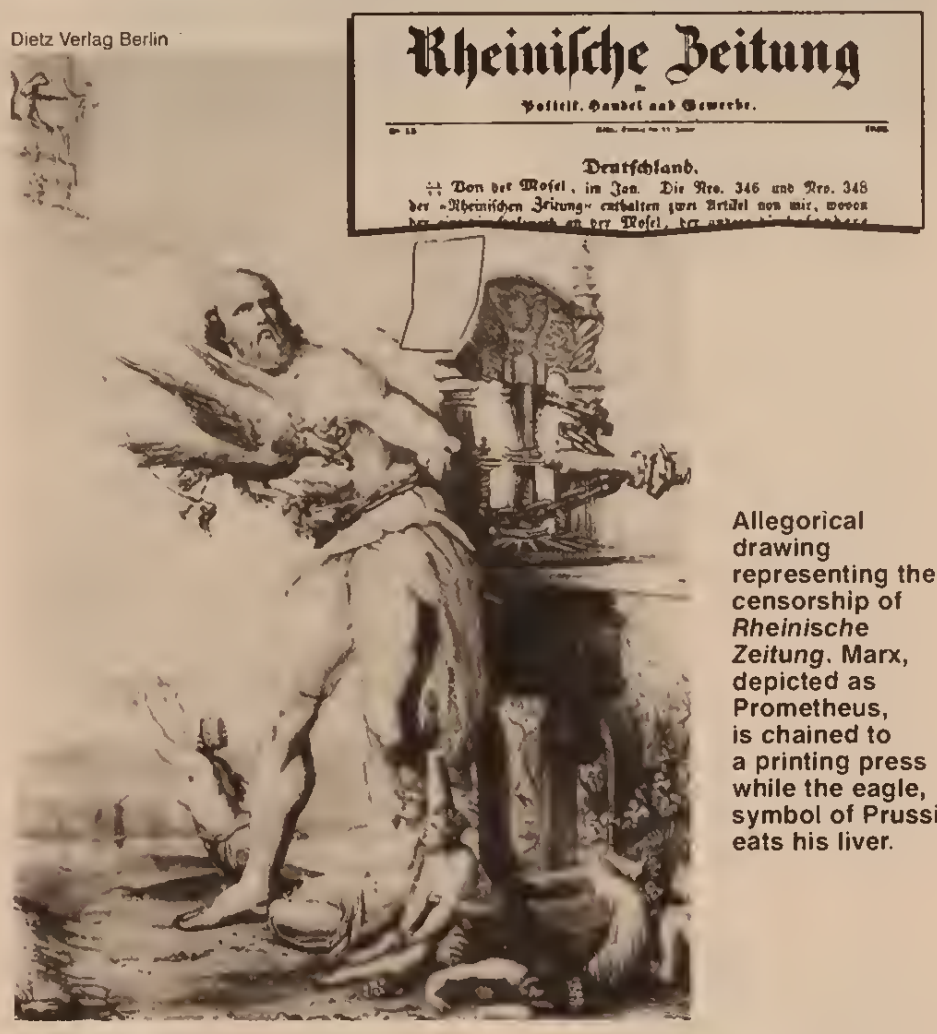
Bauer considered himself a revolutionary, indeed an extreme revolutionary. But the arena in which the revolution was to be made was that of ideas, indeed academia. In a letter to Arnold Ruge, Bauer exclaimed: "My blasphemous spirit would be satisfied only if I were given the authority of a professorship to teach publicly the system of atheism" (quoted in Toews, *Hegelianism*). If only Bauer could preach atheism from a university lecture hall, thrones would be toppled across Europe from Portugal to Russia. Christian churches would be closed down for lack of believers.

Marx and Engels' first joint work, *The Holy Family*, written in 1845, was centrally a polemic against Bauer. Here's the crux of it:

> "*History* does *nothing*, it 'possesses *no* immense wealth', it 'wages *no* battles'. It is *man*, real, living man who does all that, who possesses and fights; 'history' is not, as it were, a person apart, using man as a means to achieve *its own* aims; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims." [emphasis in original]

In the 1860s, a friend and admirer gave Marx an old copy of *The Holy Family*, and he reread it probably for the first time since it had been originally published. Marx wrote to Engels, "I was pleasantly surprised to find that we do not need to be ashamed of this work, although the cult of Feuerbach produces a very humorous effect upon one now."

Dietz Verlag Berlin



Allegorical drawing representing the censorship of *Rheinische Zeitung*. Marx, depicted as Prometheus, is chained to a printing press while the eagle, symbol of Prussia, eats his liver.

What was it about Feuerbach's ideas at this juncture that had such an immediate and powerful impact on Marx, Engels and other left Hegelians? Feuerbach argued that Hegel's concept of absolute spirit and its derivative, Bauer's idea of the general development of the human mind, shared the same basic premise as traditional Christianity and other religions. An imaginary entity created by men's minds was elevated above real, living human beings. Men came to believe that they were dominated by what was in fact the product of their own thoughts. As Engels later explained:

> "With *one* blow it [Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*] pulverised the contradiction, by plainly placing materialism on the throne again. Nature exists independently of all philosophy. It is the foundation upon which we human beings, ourselves products of nature, have grown up. Nothing exists outside nature and man, and the higher beings our religious fantasies have created are only the fantastic reflection of our own essence." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (1886)

Feuerbach himself summarized his ideas in this way: "The new philosophy deals with being as it is for us, not only as thinking, but as really existing being.... It is the being of the senses, sight, feeling and love" (quoted in David McLellan, *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx* [1969]). A few years later Feuerbach carried his view that the behavior of man in society was governed by his biological make-up a step further. He maintained that the actions of individuals and groups were strongly influenced by their diet, hy the kind of food they ate. One can understand why this idea would have a special appeal for a German intellectual. In German, the third person singular of the verb "to be" and "to eat" is a homonym: *Man ist was man isst*. One is what one eats.

Feuerbach was a materialist in terms of man and nature. But he was an idealist in terms of man and man, of man in society. Like Bauer and other left Hegelians, he helieved in the liberating power of ideas. Once men recognized that they themselves had created God as an all-powerful entity, they would reappropriate the powers which they had alienated to an imaginary deity. Thus he wrote: "To enrich God, man must become poor; that God may be all, man must become nothing." But a recognition of the illusory character of God does not imbue man with latent powers of which he was previously unaware. It does not increase the material wealth and productive forces of society. Rejection of religion removes an important ideological barrier to progressive social struggle on the part of the exploited and oppressed. But atheism does not in itself constitute such social struggles.

Furthermore, one can be an atheist and also believe in, so to speak, cynical self-interest. "There's no God. There's no heaven or hell. I'm going to get mine here and now. Screw the rest of the world. I'm looking out for number one."

Here we come to the second major aspect of Feuerbach's idealism, his concept of the "religion of humanity." Man, he argued, was a social animal. The well-being and happiness of an individual depend upon his cooperation with the fellow members of his species, on their respect and affection for him. Thus he wrote: "Only community constitutes humanity.... That the thou belongs to the perfection of the I, that men are required to constitute humanity" (quoted in Toews, *Hegelianism*). However, society not only unites individuals for their common interests; it also divides them into classes and other groups based on conflicting material self-interest.

Marx Becomes a Communist

Even in this period when Marx was most strongly influenced by Feuerbach, he was beginning to understand the primacy of material self-interest and class divisions in society. How so?

Lithograph by L. Sebbers

Georg Hegel

The rightward motion in the Prussian ruling classes not only propelled some liberal Hegelian intellectuals to the left; it also resulted in a more oppositional mood among some elements of the liheral bourgeoisie. In late 1841, Moses Hess convinced a number of wealthy liberal businessmen in the Rhineland to finance a newspaper whose contrihutors and staff would be heavily drawn from left Hegelians. One of the main hackers, Ludolf Camphausen, later became Prussian prime minister during the Revolution of 1848. The paper was called the *Rheinische Zeitung* and subtitled "For Politics, Commerce and Industry." Politics was a code word for liheral reform, which was linked to the progress of commerce and industry.

Given Marx's reputation as a left Hegelian and protégé of Bruno Bauer, he could not get an academic appointment. So Bauer suggested he contribute to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which he did. He soon became de facto and then official editor of the paper. According to Marx's own later testimony, it was as a result of his involvement with the *Rheinische Zeitung* that he began to develop a materialist understanding of society.

As an academic intellectual, Marx had been concerned almost exclusively with questions of philosophy and history. He had little if any interest in current events. He was far more knowledgeable about the different schools of ancient Greek philosophy than about the different political tendencies in the Germany of the day.

But as editor of a *news*paper, Marx had to think about and make judgments on current events. That was his job. Shortly after becoming editor, Marx wrote an article strongly critical of a proposed law imposing harsher penalties on the theft of dead wood from privately owned forests. This was an important source of heating fuel for poor people in the countryside. Along similar lines, the paper ran a series on the economic distress of farmers in the Moselle valley who grew grapes and made them into wine.

Marx came to recognize that differences over laws protecting property, differences over the causes and solutions to poverty did not express differences over abstract concepts of justice or economic doctrine. Rather they expressed conflicting material interests, ultimately conflicting class interests. As Marx later wrote:

> "In the year 1842-43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I first found myself in the embarrassing position of having to discuss what is known as material interests. The deliberations of the Rhine Province Assembly on thefts of wood and the division of landed property; the official polemic started by Herr von Schaper, then Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, against the *Rheinische Zeitung* about the condition of the Mosel peasantry, and finally the debates on free trade and protective tariffs caused me in the first instance to turn my attention to economic questions."
>
> —"A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" (1859)

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Harvard: Too Much *Veritas*!

Anti-Woman Bigot Summers Spills the Beans

Another sexist at Harvard caused a national stir in recent weeks by insinuating what the American ruling class has believed all along: When it comes to math, hard sciences or any "high-powered" academic career, a woman's place is in the kitchen or at a secretary's desk. This time, the bigot in question is Harvard president Larry Summers.

Summers rose to acclaim through his ability to take centuries-old, racist views and pass them off as "novel." As chief economist of the World Bank, an imperialist institution dedicated to looting the Third World, he advocated in a 1991 memo: "I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that." Soon after he took the job at Harvard in 2001, Summers took it upon himself to drive black intellectual Cornel West out. And now, Summers has hit the headlines after "speculating" at a January 14 economics conference that "in the special case of science and engineering, there are issues of intrinsic aptitude" (read: genetic inferiority) of women. Exposing his all-sided bigotry, he also managed to posit that genetic differences account for the varying representation of Catholics and Jews in particular fields and for white men in basketball!

Following massive public outcry, the sexist pig gave a groveling apology, vowing to leave all pseudo-scientific speculation to the real "experts." There has been no shortage of reactionary intellectuals who have in the past picked up this stinking corpse of a "hypothesis" for racial or sexual inferiority and run with it. Take Harvard's Charles Murray, co-author of *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, who peddles the racist lie of genetically determined black inferiority, or Harvard professor Steven Pinker, who denies that lack of women in the sciences is proof of discrimination—this despite documented evidence of bias in every aspect of academic life (Harvard *Crimson*, 19 January).

But Summers' cynical apologies were not enough to stop the angry protests of many Harvard faculty, staff and students alike. Members of the Boston Spartacus Youth Club participated in a February 22 student protest at Harvard calling for Summers' resignation. We discussed with students how this is not about one man with sexist ideas, but rather someone who let slip out in a rather crude way a certain aspect of what Harvard—and indeed this capitalist society as a whole—is all about.

Jim Winstel

Harvard president Larry Summers speculating on "intrinsic aptitude" of women for science?

Women's oppression, rooted in the family, is embedded in class society. The institution of the family serves to regiment the population to abide by the norms of the ruling class. Women are drawn into the workforce as needed by the bosses and face persistent discrimination there, while still bearing the burden of childcare.

Harvard is a prime purveyor of the reactionary ideology, including anti-woman chauvinism, of capitalist society. Women and black students at this protest spoke to us of the horribly oppressive atmosphere they face on campus. As the foremost think tank of the most powerful and ruthless ruling class on the planet, Harvard has always had a special mission to develop ideological justifications for capitalist tyranny, to say nothing of its plethora of links to the CIA. We say: Nationalize Harvard! For open admissions and no tuition! Throw open the gates of this "ivory tower" to the black youth of Roxbury! It's not just Summers who should get the boot; the whole administration should be abolished and replaced by worker/student/faculty control. ROTC, CIA, Harvard cops off campus!

Harvard: No Ivory Tower

The water boys of Socialist Alternative (SAlt) busied themselves handing out leaflets that treated Summers as an "embarrassment" to Hahvud's good name! A February 22 leaflet by the "Coalition for an Anti-Sexist Harvard"—of which the Harvard SAlt branch is a co-signatory—reads in part: "As the head of a university with so much international prestige, the president of Harvard should play a special role in advancing the cause of women in higher education." Are we talking about the same Harvard that brought us the Klitgaard report, Harvard's "modest proposal" for an Aryan university? The leaflet goes on to say, "We are...outraged that the Harvard Corporation unabashedly supports his continued tenure." SAlt really pushes this myth of Harvard as an ivory tower, calling to "democratize" the second richest "non-profit" institution in the world next to the Catholic church! To think that "The Corporation"—that insufferably arrogant, racist, anti-union and sexist institution that runs Harvard—would do anything *but* unabashedly support this man's politics is truly beyond naive.

The Coalition demands that "Harvard support justice and human rights campaigns by divesting from corporations like Unocal and PetroChina" because these companies invest in Burma and Sudan. The problem with calls for divestment is that they are premised on the view that there are good corporations vs. bad corporations. Presumably, Harvard should invest in corporations that do business only with "democratic" countries, companies that are in fact no less exploitative than any others. Furthermore, the campaign against the state-owned Chinese oil company, PetroChina, is a years-long anti-Communist campaign that *predates* the recent atrocities in Darfur and is aimed at mobilizing sentiment behind the imperialist goal of restoring capitalism in China. We are for the unconditional military defense of China, a deformed workers state, against capitalist counterrevolution, and for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. The supposed "Trotskyists" of SAlt have shamelessly signed on to this pro-imperialist campaign against China, joining forces that are opportunistically exploiting outrage over Sudan to push for counterrevolution.

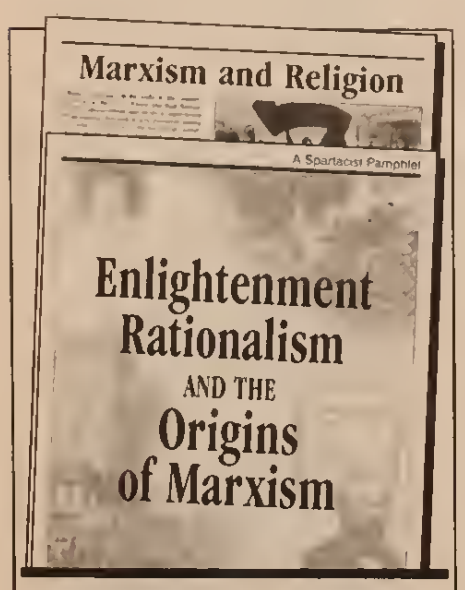
Such actions are not surprising coming from Socialist Alternative, the American section of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI). Just look at its open fraternization with the "National Bolshevik" fascists in the former USSR. In Germany, the CWI section has banned our comrades from their meetings because of our position defending the right of consensual sex and opposing the U.S. state vendetta against Michael Jackson. The hallmark of the CWI is its craven capitulation to the lowest depths of whatever national (or campus!) milieu it finds itself in.

The Coalition's call for the administration to "create gender neutral social space" is a call on the administration to regulate student life—to harass and ban minorities and leftists, from The Seneca all-women's group to communists on campus. We oppose the administration's regulation of student life *in any form*!

The Spartacist League and SYCs fight for an egalitarian society that can only be won by abolishing capitalism through socialist revolution. Women in the Soviet Union were productive, franchised, literate members of society with full equality before the law...nearly *50 years* before Harvard allowed women to set foot into its Lamont Library! Despite the degeneration of the workers state under Stalinism, Soviet women were trained to be top engineers, fighter pilots, doctors, mathematicians and physicists in *vastly* greater numbers than American women ever were or have been since. Does this speak to the "intrinsic" superiority of Russian women over American? Hardly. This was the direct product of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution that swept away capitalism in Russia. The revolution brought literacy and access to higher education to all the sons and daughters of the workers and peasants throughout the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks sought to replace the functions of the family and make childcare and household duties the collective responsibility of society. Only when women are freed from household drudgery and double oppression of work and family can their true capacities be realized. For free, quality health care and childcare, maternity and paternity leave and equal pay for equal work!

Through our fight for political revolution and against capitalist restoration in East Germany in 1989-90 and in the USSR in 1991-92, the International Communist League uniquely fought to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution and to extend those gains worldwide. Counterrevolution has had devastating effects on women and workers. Our proud record stands in stark contrast to the fake Trotskyists of the CWI who also were in Moscow, ***on the same side of the barricades*** as the Russian Pamyat fascists—in opposition to women's liberation and in support of the Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution!

The Boston SYC is looking for a few class traitors who, like American Communist John Reed (class of 1910), are fed up with this hideously repressive capitalist society and want to fight for its overthrow. For a multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution!■



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Defend CCNY Protesters! Military Recruiters, ROTC Off Campus!

We reprint below a March 14 protest letter sent by the New York Spartacus Youth Club to the president of the City College of New York and the district attorney of New York County.

We are writing to protest the outrageous arrests of Hadas Thier, Nick Bergreen and Justino Rodriguez, students at City College of New York (CCNY), and Carol Lang, a staff member at CCNY. The three students were detained and brutalized on March 9 in the course of a protest against military recruiters. They are now facing misdemeanor counts of assaulting an officer, resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. Carol Lang was arrested on Friday at her office in connection with the March 9 protest and has now been charged with second-degree assault, disorderly conduct and obstructing governmental administration. The Spartacus Youth Club demands that all charges be dropped immediately.

We protest this attempt to quash opposition to military recruiters, who don't belong on campus in the first place. Their aims are to recruit especially working-class youth and students as fodder for bloody U.S. militarism, like the brutal occupation of Iraq. The arrests of Thier, Bergreen, Rodriguez and Lang at CCNY as well as others across the country who have been victimized, represent an attack on everyone's right to protest. There must be no reprisals! Drop all the charges now!

The RCP and the Cult of Chairman Bob

Strange things have been churning out of the press of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of late. In the lead-up to the January 20 counter-inaugural protests, the RCP issued a leaflet titled, "The Battle for the Future Will Be Fought from Here Forward!" The statement—which the RCP advertised in the Chicago *Reader* and launched a special campaign to distribute—proclaims a new era in the U.S. where "Bush and his people aren't just ordinary Republicans. And they're not ordinary Christians either. They are Christian *Fascists*." And...gulp, the only solution is the "vision" of the RCP's "precious leader," Bob Avakian. The leaflet asks, "*Which vision will prevail: that of George W. Bush? Or of Bob Avakian?*" If these were really our only choices, we suppose we would have to go with Avakian. But as Marxists we understand that the real choices are between capitalist imperialism and international workers revolution. And Avakian's vision has nothing to do with workers revolution.

The RCP has always promoted the cult of Avakian. But lately in their paper, *Revolutionary Worker*, it's been Avakian galore, whether printing his speeches, articles, interviews, or reviews of his books or promoting his new, *eleven-hour* DVD. The increasing, fetishist raving over Avakian is one of the more bizarre expressions of liberal despair by the RCP, coming off the spectacular deflation of the antiwar movement and the re-election of Bush. In an absurdist attempt to revive the fervor of the Mao cult during the height of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the leaflet contains a box with its own headline, "Who Is Bob Avakian?" which declares: "There *IS* a leader, the likes of which this country has never seen before.... It may seem ironic...but the more that people wrestle with and follow his leadership, the greater will be their creative spirit, initiative, and activity." This sounds like lifestyle guru Deepak Chopra in Maoist form.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), the RCP's youth group, issued a leaflet titled, "Are You Saved?" Filled with religious imagery, the leaflet is a pathetic attempt to polemicize against religion. "Straight up," we are told, "religion does not have answers" for the questions facing the masses. The RCP's answer? Don't follow Jesus; don't follow Bush; follow Bob, the new messiah: "Bob Avakian is *the* leader who gives a vision of a radically different world, and points the way forward through all the challenges that we will face." The leaflet concludes: "We love the people and serve the people, there is no greater love than that"!

WV Photo

Mao Less Than Ever

As humorous as the RCP's adoration of their megalomaniacal leader is, it is not just some quirk, but proof of their rejection of a Marxist program and methods of organization. It flows from the RCP's rejection of the Marxist understanding that the working class, through whose labor wealth is created, is the *only* class that has the objective interest and social power to overthrow the capitalist order. Instead, they prattle endlessly about "resistance" by the "people." For them the main issue is promoting Avakian's "vision" for the people versus Bush's.

Cultist leadership is antithetical to Marxist revolutionaries, for whom the indispensable tool to successfully carry out a socialist revolution is a party that bases itself on a revolutionary program. That program can be defended and developed only through the participation of a thinking, critical membership on the basis of Leninist democratic-centralism, that is, full internal democracy in arriving at decisions and centralism in carrying out the decisions of the party majority in a disciplined manner. In contrast, the cultish leadership borrowed from Stalin and Mao by groups like the RCP requires unthinking fools for the rank and file, whose job is to simply receive "the word" from their leader and carry it out.

The RCP would have you believe that "Christian Fascism" is here. While the current right-wing fanatics in the White House are most certainly reactionary bible-thumpers, their attacks on civil liberties and democratic rights have been carried out within the framework of *bourgeois democracy*. "Democracy" under capitalism is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class and oppressed—enforced through the cops, courts and prisons that make up the capitalist state. Fascism is based on the mobilization of the crazed petty bourgeoisie, whipped into a frenzy by the capitalist rulers in times of social crisis to physically destroy the mass organizations of the working class. Today, the real face of fascism is seen in the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis and white-supremacist militias. The Spartacist League has a long history of organizing labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists from organizing for racist terror.

So, what does the RCP mean by "Christian Fascism"? In the mouths of Stalinists and Maoists like the RCP, "fascism" is a code word to promote an "anti-fascist" popular front to unite the working class and oppressed with their capitalist class enemy in the garb of a "progressive" bourgeoisie. In the name of "anti-fascism," the Stalinized Communist Party (CP), under the class-collaborationist program of the popular front, urged its members and the working class to support the Democratic Roosevelt administration. Later, the same doctrine led the CP to throw its support behind the U.S. imperialist war machine in the second interimperialist war, World War II. In the current scenario, the RCP is proclaiming the threat of "Christian Fascism" in order to corral radical youth and activists into a classless movement of the "people" against the Republicans. As with the CP, the RCP pushes illusions in the Democratic Party. Throughout the antiwar movement, the pacifist RCP-initiated Not In Our Name (NION) coalition was based on a class-collaborationist program of reforming imperialism. Thus they built platforms for Democratic Party politicians; the RCP should be held accountable for promoting the "Anybody but Bush" claptrap that helped to prevent the emergence of class and social struggle. In the lead-up to last fall's presidential elections, *Revolutionary Worker* (29 August 2004) gave its blessing to a vote for the Democrats, advising: "Go ahead and vote for Kerry if you feel you really have to, but put your *efforts* toward recasting this polarization."

You won't find any mention of the trade unions in these leaflets, and *Revolutionary Worker* rarely writes about strikes or other issues in the U.S. labor movement. In contrast, Marxists understand communism as the fight for *workers revolution*, premised on the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class and its agencies. That means fighting within the labor movement to oust the pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party trade-union bureaucracy and for a class-struggle leadership of the unions, as part of the struggle for a revolutionary workers party. Such a party would lead all the oppressed behind the social power of the working class to sweep away the capitalist order and establish a socialist society that will end all exploitation and oppression. The RCP claims to be really revolutionary, but RCP youth ought to check out that really cool book on revolution, the *Communist Manifesto*, in which Marx and Engels wrote: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class."■

Marx...

(continued from page 5)

Marx's growing recognition of the primacy of material interests and class divisions in society did not lead him immediately and directly to communism. He remained within the political mainstream of the left Hegelian movement. The extreme left wing was represented by a coterie of intellectuals in Berlin who called themselves *die Freien* (The Free). Among them were a young Russian nobleman, Mikhail Bakunin, and the son of a wealthy western German textile manufacturer, Friedrich Engels. *Die Freien* combined a bohemian lifestyle with anarcho-communist political posturing.

In a letter to Arnold Ruge, Marx joked that he had thrown out more contributions from *die Freien* than had the official government censor. He described them as "scrawls pregnant with world revolutions and empty of thought, written in a slovenly style and flavoured with some atheism and communism (which these gentlemen have never studied)." Marx did not reject and oppose communism at this time. Rather he was not convinced of its theoretical and practical validity as expounded in the mainly French communist literature of the day.

Even without contributions from *die Freien*, the *Rheinische Zeitung* was too radical for the Prussian authorities to tolerate, and the paper was suppressed in early 1843. The following autumn, Marx moved to Paris, having just married his childhood sweetheart, Jenny von Westphalen. They lived in a housing complex with other German leftist radicals, among them Georg Maurer, who was a leader of the Paris branch of the League of the Just. This was a group of German communists, mainly artisans, who were closely tied to their French counterparts. A few years earlier, the League's cadre had participated in a failed insurrection led by Auguste Blanqui, the foremost representative of Jacobin communism in that era.

For the first time in his life, Marx now socialized with communist and socialist workers—French as well as German—whose political views were as advanced as his own, if not more so. And it was then that Marx became a communist. He might well have arrived at communism in Germany through a purely intellectual path, as had Moses Hess and Engels before him. But the fact is that he didn't. In the notebooks he kept at the time, he expressed his deep admiration for the communist workers he had come to know. One gets the impression that this experience dispelled an element of intellectual elitism in Marx's outlook. He recognized that workers with little formal education, not only intellectuals like himself, could be deeply committed to the struggle for a future world free of oppression and exploitation.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Palm Island, Australia

Aboriginal Community Explodes Over Racist Cop Killing

We reprint below an article, slightly edited, from Australasian Spartacist *No. 189, Summer 2004/05, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League. The December 11 Brisbane protest march referred to in the article was up to 2,000-strong and attracted Aboriginal people from throughout Queensland. Although some organizers attempted to make this march a silent protest, it was, to the contrary, a loud and angry demonstration against police killings and for Aboriginal rights. Spartacist supporters who joined the protest in solidarity with the besieged Aboriginal community were warmly received as they distributed this article together with a leaflet in defense of the Redfern Aboriginal militants.*

Australasian **SPARTACIST**

DECEMBER 6—Early on the morning of 19 November, 36-year-old Aborigine Mulrunji Doomadgee, a happy-go-lucky guy and one of Palm Island's top hunters, was out crabbing on the island located 65 kilometres north-east of Townsville, in Queensland's north. Hours later, after having been arrested by police for singing on the street, Doomadgee lay dead in the police lockup with horrific injuries including four broken ribs and a ruptured liver, portal vein and spleen. Doomadgee's mother Doris, who is dying of cancer [she passed away on 16 December 2004], said, "I loved my son so much and now I have lost him and I can't understand how he could die while in custody. He was a quiet and gentle son" (*Koori Mail*, 1 December 2004).

Days later, in dramatic events reminiscent of the heroic defensive struggle against racist police terror by Aborigines in Redfern last February (see "Defend Redfern Aborigines—Mobilize Union Power!" *WV* No. 823, 2 April 2004), the Aboriginal people of Palm Island exploded in grief and rage after a whitewash coroner's report supported the police story that Doomadgee's death was caused by a "scuffle" at the local watchhouse. Some scuffle! In fact two other prisoners said they saw police assault Doomadgee. Islander Roy Branwell, who was in an adjoining cell, stated he saw police sitting on Doomadgee's chest, punching him and calling out, "Have you had enough now Doomadgee, have you had enough?" (*Australian*, 26-27 November 2004).

Hundreds of long-suffering Aborigines, outraged at the cover-up and speaking of Doomadgee's cold-blooded murder, decided enough was enough and torched the hated local police station, police residences and courthouse, institutions of racist state repression. For once on the receiving end, the cops fled and barricaded themselves in the nearby hospital. Others fled the island altogether.

The Peter Beattie state Labor Party (ALP) government immediately flew in 80 gun-toting Tactical Response Group cops by Chinook helicopter. They occupied the local school and set about terrorising the 4,000-strong Aboriginal community, the majority of the island's population. Armed with semiautomatic weapons and dressed in full battle armour, they stormed homes, kicking down doors, using stun guns, making summary arrests and holding children at gunpoint. Reminiscent of imperialist-occupied Iraq, vehicle loads of armed police patrolled the streets. One Aboriginal leader described how police acted like stormtroopers: "They deliberately closed off the island while they practised their terrorist drills on unarmed Palm Islanders" (*Australian*, 29 November 2004). *The Palm Island militants must not be left ta stand alone! Trade-unian pawer must be brought to bear—for a class-struggle fight for Abariginal rights! There needs ta be warking-class-centred mobilisations in the majar cities to demand: Police occupatian forces out of Palm Island! Down with racist state terrar!*

Twenty-six people have been arrested in Palm Island and shipped off to Townsville where they face charges including riot, serious assault and arson. One solicitor described how a conviction of riot that includes destruction of a building could equate to a life sentence.

A spokesman for the police has demanded that attempted murder charges be laid against those who torched the police station. With the ever-increasing number of cop killings of Aborigines, this is nothing less than a racist provocation and an incitement to further deadly racist violence. Only days later, Aboriginal youths faced Klan-style terror at the hands of white farm workers near Goondiwindi, with two youths tortured and at least one of them dragged by a rope that was tied in a noose around his neck. Meanwhile the Aboriginal populations of northern Queensland have been confronting Ku Klux Klan terror in Klan-infested rural areas around Townsville.

Stewart McLean

9 December 2004: Elizabeth Doomadgee (second from left) leads 1,200 marchers in Townsville, Australia protesting cop killing of her brother.

But Aboriginal communities in Palm Island, Townsville, Brisbane and elsewhere have not been cowed by this vicious state repression and fascistic terror. Militants are seething about this latest cop killing. The Brisbane Aboriginal community is planning a march at 10 a.m. on Saturday, 11 December, at Roma Street Forum. *Trade-union contingents, leftists and immigrant groups must be there in solidarity with Aborigines against palice terrar. Free the Palm Island Abariginal militants—drop the charges now! Drop the charges against the Redfern black militants!*

It is the same capitalist state—the cops, courts and prisons—which has systematically killed and dispossessed Aborigines for more than two hundred years, which today also targets immigrants, workers pickets and trade-union militants, such as the recently imprisoned union leader Craig Johnston. In February 1993, 350 striking workers picketed Australian Meat Holdings near Townsville and faced down scabs and strikebreaking cops for three weeks to win the reinstatement of Aboriginal stockman and unionist, Eddie Alley. This powerful strike of an integrated worksite gave a glimpse of the potential social power of the multiracial organised labour movement to champion the rights of the specially oppressed Aboriginal people suffering under racist Australian capitalism.

At a mass meeting in Brisbane on 1 December, the Murri indigenous community responded to events on Palm Island with a series of demands, subsequently supported by the reformist Socialist Alliance. These demands rightly call for the release of the Palm Island militants and the dropping of charges against them. However, the fifth and final demand places trust in the United Nations, including asking it to send an investigative team to examine the evidence. While this is seen as a way to place the horrendous oppression of Aborigines under an international spotlight, we nevertheless warn that the UN is no friend of subjugated peoples.

To the contrary, the UN is essentially a den of imperialist thieves, that is, a bunch of John Howards and Peter Beatties, and their servants in the neocolonies—like the Papua New Guinea (PNG) government which has just accepted racist Australian cops into PNG. It has served since its inception as a "legal" fig leaf for imperialist slaughter and oppression. For example, a UN intervention force into the African state of Somalia in 1993, supposedly to provide aid, resulted in U.S. helicopter gunships massacring hundreds of black residents in the capital, Mogadishu. It is now well known that more than a decade of UN sanctions on Iraq left up to one-and-a-half million people dead. Working-class militants and anti-colonial fighters around the globe rightly hate the UN. Thus the struggle to mobilise workers around the globe—the true international allies of all downtrodden peoples—in solidarity with struggles for Aboriginal rights is undercut by UN involvement. Furthermore, the truth of racist police violence in this country has been repeatedly written in blood for more than two centuries and does not need to be further verified. What is needed is mass union/black/minority mobilisations to oppose racist state terror. *Far international warking-class protests in defence af Aboriginal people!*

Palm Island: Racist Terror and Resistance

For almost a century Palm Island has epitomised the genocidal impulse of the white Australian capitalist rulers against the continent's original inhabitants. Before the white invasion of northern Queensland the island belonged to the Manbarra people. Then in 1918 the Queensland government decreed that Palm Island would become a place to confine "uncontrollable" Aborigines and Islanders. Over the next two decades, approximately 1,600 people from more than 40 different tribal and language groups across Queensland were snatched from their homes and families and imprisoned on the island.

For decades the island was run under apartheid-style laws. Blacks and whites lived in different areas. Aborigines were not allowed to speak their own languages, or drink alcohol in their homes. Those Aborigines that got work had their wages stolen. Indeed, until the 1950s, residents slaved for no pay at all! No one could leave the island without a permit from the superintendent who also censored mail. While notorious laws enshrining such conditions have been modified, the institutionalised racism very much remains. Today, the unemployment rate for the island's Aborigines is 90 percent and life expectancy is around 50 years. Islanders have had to fight for the most elementary rights. Racist government rule on Palm Island has twice been punctured by courageous strike actions; the first in 1957 against a wage cut and brutal treatment of Aboriginal women, and the second in 1974 against the sacking of the local community council.

We Marxists of the Spartacist League fight for the revolutionary mobilisation of the multiracial working class, standing at the head of all the oppressed, to confront racism and all manifestations of capitalist repression. But to unleash this force requires breaking workers away from the racist, pro-capitalist ALP, which preaches loyalty to the capitalist system, and forging a class-struggle leadership of the unions linked to an authentic communist party. The path to elementary justice, for Aboriginal people and all the oppressed and exploited, will be opened when industry and agriculture is expropriated from the profit-hungry capitalists through workers revolution.

We will not forget Mulrunji Doomadgee, who now joins the long list of Aborigines—from Eddie Murray to Daniel Yock—killed at the hands of the capitalist state, and the countless other victims of White Australian imperialism from Vietnam to Iraq. *Defend the Palm Island Abariginal militants against racist state terror! For union actions naw!* ■

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Iraq...

(continued from page 12)

the "Anybody but Bush" sentiment, serving to reinforce illusions in the capitalist Democratic Party. ***Break with the Democrats! For a revolutionary workers party! Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war!***

Near East Quagmire

Expectations that a new elected government in Iraq might quell the insurgency have been dashed. Iraq is not a nation but a patchwork of different peoples and ethnicities carved up out of the former Ottoman Empire by the British at the end of the First World War. Thus, shifting fortunes for one or another group within Iraq have an effect elsewhere in the Near East. Under U.S. auspices in Iraq today, the Shi'ites and Kurds came out on top. Both are bickering over who gets the presidency, premiership and key ministries. The Sunnis, who dominated under Hussein (and earlier), came out the big losers under "democracy" U.S.A.-style. The Kurds also want a greater share of oil revenue and the inclusion of the oil-producing area of Kirkuk—which has a substantial Turkmen population—in Iraqi Kurdistan. This agitates Turkey, not least because it does not want to see any economic basis for an independent Kurdish state, as such would encourage the Kurdish minority in Turkey that is ruthlessly repressed.

The struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination—i.e., to form their own state—is a just struggle, requiring the overthrow of four capitalist states: Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. We call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! But the Kurdish leadership in Iraq has staked its claim with the U.S. imperialists, thus subordinating themselves and the struggle for Kurdish self-determination in Iraq today to the American-led occupation forces. The struggle for Kurdish independence can only go forward through intransigent opposition to the U.S. occupiers and the Kurdish nationalists who collaborate with them.

A perceptive article by Seamus Milne (London *Guardian*, 10 March) notes:

> "What has actually taken place since 9/11 and the Iraq war is a relentless expansion of U.S. control of the Middle East, of which the threats to Syria are a part. The Americans now have a military presence in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman and Qatar—and in not one of those countries did an elected government invite them in. Of course Arabs want an end to tyrannical regimes, most of which have been supported over the years by the U.S., Britain and France: that is the source of much anti-western Muslim anger. The dictators remain in place by U.S. license, which can be revoked at any time—and managed elections are being used as another mechanism for maintaining pro-western regimes rather than spreading democracy."

In fact, democratic rights for all the peoples of Iraq and the Near East more broadly cannot be achieved under capitalism, but require the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, combining the struggle against imperialism with a struggle against all manner of bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism. Our perspective is revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist. It is essential that the struggles on behalf of the working people of the Near East link up with struggles in the wealthy centers of world imperialism.

AFP

Giuliana Sgrena, freed Italian hostage who was wounded by U.S. fire as she was driven to Baghdad airport.

In so far as the opposition forces in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers—and not in criminal sectarian violence against other sectors of the population in Iraq—we stand for their military defense. The defeat of U.S. forces in Iraq would be an important win for working people of the world. At the same time, we are intransigent political opponents of the bourgeois-nationalist and reactionary woman-hating clerical forces that are behind much of the so-called Iraqi resistance.

The overwhelming military might of the American imperialist behemoth underscores the importance of the struggle here at home to defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution. By this we do not mean promoting Democratic Party politicians who seek to cut U.S. losses and position themselves out in front of potential social struggle. What we need is *class struggle* at home to fight against U.S. imperialism, and to defeat the war on civil liberties and minorities that the "war on terror" has wrought on the home front.

In the present period of fear and reaction, this is an uphill struggle, but no less essential. The miserable labor misleaders who tie the working people to the capitalist Democratic Party are a major obstacle to social struggle in this country. The Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary multiracial workers party to fight for socialist revolution. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win students and youth to a lifetime of partisanship with the workers in this struggle. ***Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!*** ■

Joint Statement...

(continued from page 1)

colonized by Japan around the turn of the 20th century through the end of World War II. In 1937, Japanese imperialism was responsible for the Rape of Nanjing and during the war it enslaved the *ianfu* (comfort women). In 1945, the U.S. became the only power ever to use atomic weaponry, causing the death of several hundred thousand civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These bombings served as a warning to the Soviet degenerated workers state. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, U.S. imperialism was responsible for the death of some three million Koreans. China's heroic sacrifices defended the North Korean deformed workers state, stopping "United Nations" forces led by General Douglas MacArthur from grabbing the entire Korean peninsula and turning it into a neocolony of the U.S. During the Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, more than three million Vietnamese were murdered by U.S. imperialism's losing attempt to smash the social revolution there. We fight to build revolutionary workers parties and a Leninist-Trotskyist international to lead the proletariat and oppressed in the overthrow of both rapacious imperialist powers. Reforge the Fourth International!

Ommanney/Contact

President Bush with Japanese prime minister Koizumi.

Following a war of conquest against China in 1895, Japan colonized Taiwan and later used it as a staging area for assaults on southern China, the Philippines and Southeast Asia during World War II. After the defeat of Japan, the Chinese nationalists were given Taiwan. The counterrevolutionary Nationalist Army and the Chinese bourgeoisie fled there after the victory of the People's Liberation Army in the Chinese civil war. Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, from which the Chinese deformed workers state emerged, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the puppet Chinese bourgeoisie. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with imperialism over Taiwan.

The overturn of capitalist property relations freed China from imperialist subjugation and resulted in the construction of a collectivized economy. Though deformed by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucratic caste, this victory meant enormous social progress for workers, women and peasants, such as the right to a job, housing, education, childcare, social insurance and medical care. We do not minimize the danger posed to the Chinese deformed workers state by the capitalist economic penetration to which the Stalinist bureaucrats have opened the Chinese economy. However, the core of China's economy remains the collectivized state industries. We are opposed to the Stalinists' plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in "one country, two systems." Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy on the mainland, a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists.

The anti-Communist military alliance between Japan and the United States was, during the Cold War, directed primarily against the former Soviet Union. China's criminal alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, begun under Mao Zedong in the early 1970s and continued under Deng Xiaoping, contributed to the eventual counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92. Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and across East Europe created a "unipolar" world of unbridled military aggression by U.S. imperialism abroad, as seen today in the bloody occupation of Iraq. This has been coupled with more savage attacks on workers, women, minorities and immigrants in the imperialist centers and greater plundering of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries. As in the Soviet Union, the destruction of the Chinese deformed workers state would lead to widespread impoverishment of the population as the imperialists scramble for the spoils. The fate of China and the fate of workers the world over are inextricably linked, economically and politically.

Sixty years ago, Japan and the U.S. fought a bitter interimperialist war. At this juncture, their imperialist rivalry is subordinate to their anti-China/North Korea alliance. Over the past decade, the Pentagon has strengthened its military deployment in the Pacific Rim region and, with its incursion into Afghanistan and Central Asia, has thus significantly strengthened its military vise around China. In signing on to the U.S.-led "war on terror," Beijing has only encouraged U.S. imperialism in its counterrevolutionary drive.

Japanese imperialism is determined to throw off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome with which it emerged from World War II and to boost its military might. To accomplish this, the ruling class needs to impose a domestic policy of economic austerity, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the oppressive apparatus needed for the maintenance of capitalist law and order. In the U.S., under the guise of the "war on terror," the rulers have further reinforced their arsenal of repression, union-busting and immiseration of the working class and oppressed. Revolutionary workers parties, leading the struggle against Japanese and U.S. imperialism, must necessarily have an internationalist program and perspective. Smash the counterrevolutionary U.S./Japan alliance through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific!

13 March 2005

Spartacist (English edition)
No. 58, Spring 2004
$1.50 (60 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
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Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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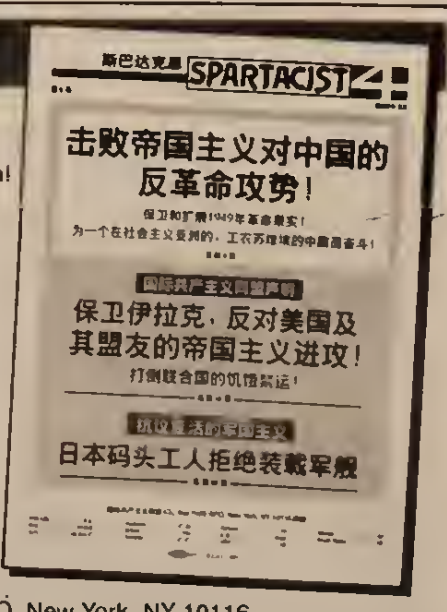

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Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

anti-abortion demagogues. The banning of this rare procedure has been used to go after abortion rights more generally. In the state of Kansas, anti-abortion attorney general Phill Kline has issued subpoenas demanding the complete medical records of scores of women and teenage girls who have had abortions after 22 weeks, at which point Kansas law restricts abortion access.

This breathtaking assault on privacy is being justified with the transparently lying claim that it is necessary to "fight child abuse": since the age of consent for a girl in Kansas to have sex is 16, a girl under that age who has an abortion is deemed to have been "raped." In fact, teenagers have consensual sex, whether the anti-sex police like it or not, and largely due to the ignorance about birth control that anti-abortion bigots deliberately foster, teenage girls often get pregnant and are in need of an abortion.

For decades, anti-abortion forces have utilized the puritanical hysteria in this country around issues of young people's sexuality to pass deadly "squeal laws" mandating that girls get their parents' consent before getting an abortion. That "child abuse" is a lying pretext to gun for abortion is revealed by the fact that the attorney general's subpoenas encompass late-term abortion patients of all ages. Criminal reprisals are posed against doctors who provide late-term abortions. Two clinics are the focus of the Kansas subpoenas—serving also to intimidate women from getting abortions. Already, fewer doctors every year agree to be trained in and perform abortions, and such anti-abortion witchhunts can only accelerate that trend.

The sinister events in Kansas have a national precedent. In November 2003, Bush became the first president since *Roe* to criminalize an abortion procedure by signing the Federal Abortion Ban, which restricts late-term abortions. The ban, which passed Congress with bipartisan support the previous month, is a federal version similar to the one in Kansas. Although three federal courts ruled the federal ban unconstitutional, then Attorney General John Ashcroft took advantage of the opportunity to issue subpoenas—also stopped by a federal court—of the medical records of hundreds of women who had obtained late-term abortions. In pursuing this witchhunt, Ashcroft relied on a clause in the ban inserted by "pro-choice" Democratic lawmakers that the procedure can be performed if deemed "medically necessary" to safeguard the health of the mother. Thanks to the "medically necessary" provision, Ashcroft had a pretext to launch his anti-woman snooping expedition in order to determine whether the procedure was actually "medically necessary."

Break with the Democrats!

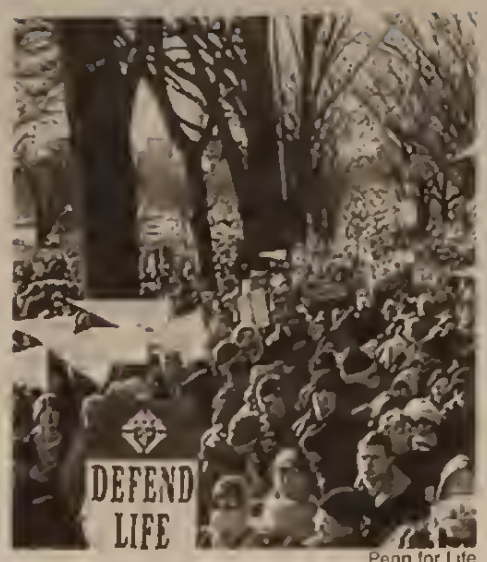
Ever since Bush won the November election in large part on the basis of his appeal to religious "moral values," the Democrats have been falling over themselves to prove they're the party Jesus would join. In January, House minority leader Nancy Pelosi created a "Faith Working Group," appointing representative James Clyburn, a preacher's son from South Carolina, to help the Democrats recast their issues in "faith-based terms" with appropriate allusions to the Bible.

Howard Dean, the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), in a desperate attempt to shed his image as a patron of supposedly irreligious, latte-drinking, gay-marrying liberal Vermonters, is on a "red, white and blue" tour designed to win over the "red states." In Jackson, Mississippi, Dean prayed for American troops and invoked the Bible, braying to the residents of the former Confederacy, "The South will rise again, and when it does, it will have a D after its name" (*Sun Herald*, 2 March). Dean is appealing to a particular American heritage here: the Democrats in the South, the Dixiecrats, were the historic party of slavery, the Jim Crow South and the Ku Klux Klan. In his own way, Dean is demonstrating the fact that anti-woman religious reaction and racist bigotry go hand in hand, while women's rights and black rights are entwined.

The Democrats find themselves in a bind. On the one hand, they've historically enjoyed support from black people, as well as women, as the party that, at least for the past few decades, has ostensibly defended civil rights for black people and abortion rights. On the other hand, appealing to religious sentiment necessitates that they rid themselves of unwelcome associations like civil rights and abortion rights. One result is that virtually all the leading Democrats are now ostentatiously welcoming anti-abortion bigots into the party.

Presidential loser John Kerry has called to bring "right-to-life Democrats back to the Democratic Party." Hillary Clinton, in a speech to abortion rights supporters, intoned, "I for one respect those who believe with all their heart and conscience that there are no circumstances under which abortion should be available" and called for opponents and defenders of abortion rights to come together on "common ground" like promoting abstinence. Howard Dean emphasized, "I don't have any objection to someone who is pro-life, if they [are] really dedicated to the welfare of children." Among other Democrats, Dean's former opponent for DNC chair, Timothy Roemer—who ran with the support of "pro-choice" Democrat Nancy Pelosi—has always been against abortion rights. So is Senator Harry Reid of Nevada, a Mormon former police officer who is now the Senate minority leader.

Scull/Newsweek



Penn for Life

"Born-again" president Bush sent message of solidarity to January 24 anti-abortion demonstration in Washington, D.C.

History shows that the advancement in the 1960s and early 1970s of women's rights, including the right to abortion, took place not because it was spontaneously and generously granted by either capitalist party, but due to tremendous social upheavals. The civil rights movement that began in the mid 1950s with the fight against racial inequality, as well as later protests against the Vietnam War, together ushered in a period of extra-parliamentary struggle and social reform that benefited the working class and oppressed in general. It is useful to remember that it was no less a reactionary than Richard Nixon who was compelled in 1970 to sign into law Title X, which funds family planning assistance to poor women. The reform was a product not of the politicians, but of the social struggles of the time. *Roe v. Wade* three years later similarly reflected these struggles.

WV Photo

Spartacist League joined 2,000 others in defending local abortion clinics in Washington, D.C. against anti-abortion terrorists of Operation Rescue, January 1992.

With the end of the civil rights movement, and as protests against the Vietnam War disappeared with the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the end of the draft, the pendulum began to swing to the right, and the reforms that had just been won were subject to attack. The first significant assault on abortion took place under the administration of Democrat Jimmy Carter, the country's first "born-again Christian" president, who in 1977 sneered, "There are many things in life that are not fair" as he signed into law the Hyde Amendment which eliminated abortion coverage from the Medicaid health plans of 23 million poor women. The Hyde Amendment emboldened the anti-abortion zealots to attack birth control, slashing Title X funds for family planning, and gave renewed steam to the movement to roll back abortion.

The Reagan years and those of Bush Senior were dark ones for defenders of abortion rights, but the subsequent Clinton years offered little respite. Clinton carried out a war on poor and black women which went virtually unopposed by the feminists as long as abortion remained legal and accessible to more privileged, particularly white, women. In 1996 Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), which authorized additional state control over the personal and sexual lives of welfare recipients. In language that echoes today's "moral values" climate, the act proclaimed that "marriage is the foundation of a successful society" and enabled states to use their Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) funds to promote marriage and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies. The House version of the act had explicitly racist overtones, citing crime and rising "illegitimacy" rates among blacks. The passage of PRWORA was one episode in Clinton's carrying out his vicious pledge to "end welfare as we know it."

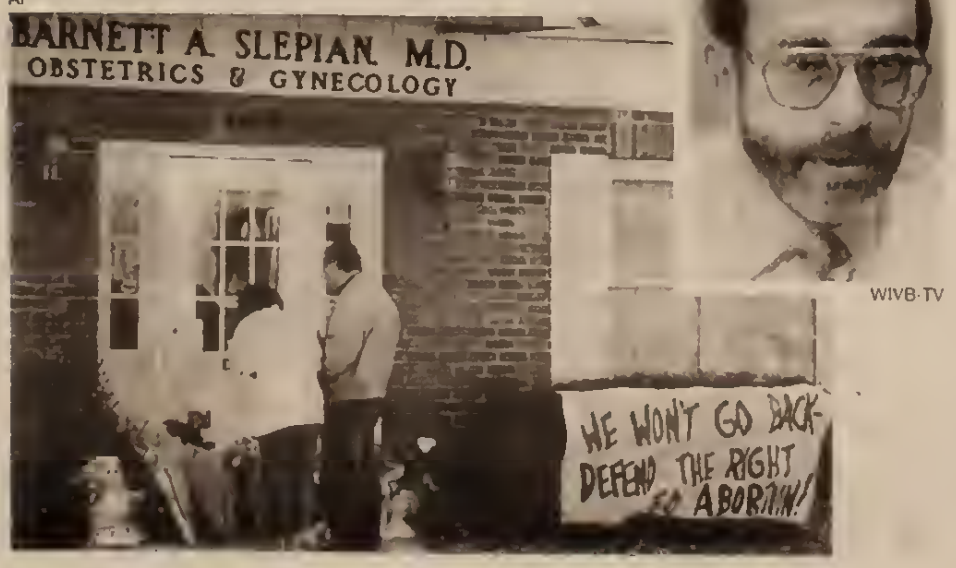
The Democrats and Republicans demonstrate their common interests as parties of capitalist rule through, among other things, upholding the sanctity of the family. The deep-seated oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family which arose with the advent of private property as a mechanism for passing property from one generation to the next—the monogamous wife ensures the paternity of the heirs. The role of the family is to instill respect for authority and act as a conservatizing force. Together with religion, the family serves to instill a morality that proscribes anything that deviates from the family ideal—from premarital to gay sex. The institution of the family reinforces, as Friedrich Engels put it, "the supremacy of the man over the woman, and the individual family as the economic unit of society" (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, 1884). Thus, the burden of raising the next generation of workers rests on the family. Women's liberation mandates a socialist revolution to end capitalist rule and lay the material basis for the replacement of the family through socializing domestic responsibilities, opening the door not only to legal equality but to social equality.

The War on Abortion Rights

With the ascendancy of "moral values," reactionary ideologues have been gunning for abortion as fast as they can. On 20 November 2004, Congress passed the Federal Refusal Clause, as part of a spending bill, that permits any health provider—health insurers, HMOs, public or private hospitals, clinics, and pharmacists as well as doctors and nurses—to refuse to be involved in abortion, up to and including refusing to inform a woman where to get one. Similar measures exist in nearly all states, allowing individuals like pharmacists to refuse to dispense not only emergency contraception—which prevents pregnancy if taken within 72 hours of having unprotected sex—but even standard birth control pills. Two new anti-abortion bills being considered in Congress are the Child Custody Protection Act, which would make it a federal crime for anyone other than a parent or guardian to take a minor across state lines for an abortion, and the Post-Abortion Depression Research and Care Act. The cynicism of the capitalist class never ceases to amaze: they expect us to believe that in this country, where poor women and their children are thrown off welfare and onto the streets, the rulers are concerned about "protecting children" and women's "depression research and care"!

Mourners place flowers before Amherst, N.Y. clinic of Dr. Barnett Slepian (inset), murdered in 1998 for his courageous commitment to women's right to abortion.

AP



WIVB-TV

Among those who will be considering the bills are new Senators John Thune of South Dakota, who made opposition to abortion a central theme of his campaign, and Tom Coburn of Oklahoma, who has called for the death penalty for abortion doctors—in the name of being "pro-life"!

Coburn's call is no idle threat. Seven abortion doctors and their staff have been murdered by "right-to-life" terrorists in the past 12 years, while clinics and doctors who courageously continue to provide their services have been firebombed, stalked, and threatened. One of the most prominent of these is Dr. George Tiller of Kansas, who has defied repeated mobilizations of the anti-abortion movement by providing late-term abortions to women who would otherwise have nowhere to go, and whose clinic is undoubtedly the main target of the Kansas attorney general's subpoena of abortion records. He has adamantly defended his patients' right to confidential medical care against not only the anti-abortion bigots, but now the state as well.

We honor the doctors and staff who continue to provide abortions despite real physical danger. The courage and basic human decency of such individuals was recently movingly depicted in the movie *Vera Drake*, which tells the story of a woman in 1950s Britain who defied the ban on abortion to carry out what she saw as her elementary duty to help women in need. The anti-abortion bigots want to bring back the days when abortion was illegal and untold numbers of women were butchered or mutilated by back-alley or self-induced abortions. Nearly 1,700 women died in 1940, and, though the number of deaths declined afterward due to the introduction of antibiotics in the 1940s, by 1965 nearly 200 women were still dying each year. And these are official figures; reality was far worse.

Unwanted pregnancy is often the result when sex education is replaced with ideologically driven "abstinence only" propaganda—a favorite project of both the Republicans as well as Democrats like the Clintons. Today, 58 percent of all schools in the U.S. have "abstinence only" education, and that percentage is increasing. The programs deliberately foster fear—of AIDS, STDs, pregnancy, cancer, poverty, loneliness, depression, infertility and suicide, among other things—in a futile attempt to get young people to abstain from sex. One "abstinence only" video queries: "What if I want to have sex before I get married?" and answers: "Well, I guess you just have to be prepared to die. And you'll probably take your spouse and one or more of your children with you."

And the anti-abortion zealots are inflicting their ignorance and anti-woman arrogance on the rest of the world. Bush observed his first day in office on 22 January 2001 (*Roe*'s anniversary) by reimposing Reagan's global "gag rule," which bans family planning funding to overseas

Ebony

Civil rights protest in 1960s. Mass struggle for black rights opened road for other gains, such as abortion rights.

groups that provide abortions or referrals, even if they do so with non-U.S. funds. The Bush administration pushes "abstinence only" propaganda on programs like the United Nations Population Fund and the Reproductive Health for Refugees consortium. The result is to cause death through AIDS as well as unwanted pregnancies among huge numbers of poor women throughout the world, by callously and deliberately depriving them of birth control devices and condoms.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

To varying degrees, feminist organizations like NARAL Pro-Choice America and the National Organization for Women have barely uttered a peep of protest over the decades as abortion and other reproductive rights were all but eliminated for poor and black women. This fact reflects their *class* nature as spokesmen for mostly white, successful, petty-bourgeois women. Most recently, NARAL Pro-Choice America has cravenly dropped its opposition to a grotesque anti-abortion measure being put forward in Congress, dubbed the "Unborn Child Pain Awareness Act," which would require doctors to offer anesthetic for the fetuses of women seeking abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy!

Such capitulation to anti-abortionists is not new. *Newsday* (9 February) reported, regarding the passage of last April's "Unborn Victims of Violence Act," that "when anti-abortion groups praised the decision to charge Scott Peterson with murdering his unborn son, abortion rights advocates stayed quiet. Though the move clashed with their conviction that a fetus is not a person, they let the issue pass, apparently fearing a backlash." Squeamishness in the face of the anti-abortion assault was conveyed piquantly in 2003, when NARAL Pro-Choice America observed *Roe v. Wade* by officially dropping the unpalatable word "abortion" from its name. It reflects the current prevalence of anti-science, anti-woman bigotry that even those who claim to defend abortion shrink from speaking its name.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), whose *Socialist Worker* has carried a couple of articles recently centered on "how to defend the right to choose," is calling to take to the streets to defend abortion rights. One such article, "Have Democrats Surrendered on Abortion Rights?" (4 February), concludes that the "anti-choice" forces can be beaten back through actions to defend the clinics, such as took place in the 1990s. We Spartacists took part in such clinic defense, which for a time helped forestall assaults on access to abortion.

Women and Revolution

27 August 1970: Spartacist contingent at "women's liberation movement" march, New York City.

Our opposition to the Democratic Party is based on the fact that it is a capitalist party, by definition hostile to the interests of working people and the oppressed. In contrast, the ISO opposes merely the current policies of the Democrats. Thus, while bemoaning the Democrats' rightward plunge on abortion rights, and the feminists' accommodation to that plunge, the ISO's propaganda lacks a call to *break* with the Democrats. The ISO's calls to take to the streets amount to nothing more than a more militant version of the tactic of pressuring the Democrats. In fact, aiming to push the Democrats to the left is in effect the ISO's program. This is evidenced, for example, by their support to the capitalist politician Ralph Nader for president in 2000 and 2004. Nader's stated purpose in running was to convince the Democrats to move to the left. He called the fight for women's equality "gonadal politics" and raising specific demands against racial discrimination "divisive." In keeping with its desire to appeal to what "pro-choice" Democrats deem possible, the ISO limits itself to calling to "defend the right to choose"—in utter disdain for the fact that this right is meaningless if women have no access to clinics or ability to pay.

The fight for abortion rights mandates that we build a revolutionary workers party, waging a political struggle to break working people from the Democratic Party. The working class has the social power necessary to mobilize in defense of not only women, but all the oppressed. We have no illusions that it will be easy to convey to many workers that they have a stake in defending abortion rights. In this religious country, many workers have been equivocal at best about women's right to abortion. In today's reactionary "moral values" climate it is even more difficult to win workers to the understanding that abortion is not a narrow "women's issue" but a *class* issue: an essential democratic right, the removal of which would redound against *all* working people. As we have so often remarked, democratic rights either go forward together or fall back separately. The status of women is inextricably linked to that of the working class, which is uniquely situated to bring capitalist rule, and the basis for women's oppression, to an end. ***For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*** ■

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Bankruptcy...

(continued from page 3)

from loan sharks disappeared, and the deregulated credit industry exploded. It has been a free-for-all feeding frenzy for creditors, where loan terms can be anything the banks want, and they are free to change the rules at any time. In 2003 the credit card companies mailed out five billion credit card solicitations.

American capitalism is characterized by a cold and relentless drive to invent yet new ways of wringing more from the working class, especially as the economic situation gets worse. At the same time, capitalist ideologues declaim that poverty is a personal failure, a crime. America was built on indentured servitude and black chattel slavery, and of the original immigrants to this country, many came fleeing creditors in Europe. In 1730, James Oglethorpe, one of the founders of Georgia, made plans to send imprisoned or released debtors from England to populate the new colony. In the early 19th century, public auctions were held to offer the poor to landowners who bid on them for a period of indentured servitude. As Krugman put it in his column:

> "Warren Buffett recently made headlines by saying America is more likely to turn into a 'sharecroppers' society' than an 'ownership society.' But I think the right term is a 'debt peonage' society—after the system, prevalent in the post-Civil War South, in which debtors were forced to work for their creditors. The bankruptcy bill won't get us back to those bad old days all by itself, but it's a significant step in that direction."

As revolutionary Marxists, we fight to get rid of this decaying capitalist system and build a new society where the working class that produces all the wealth will rule. In a future communist society, young people will read in schools about the brutal nature of the long-gone capitalist-imperialist system, and how it tried in its epoch of decay to prop itself up by squeezing it out of the hides of the poorest. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Hands Off Syria!

Down With the Occupation! U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

By now, most intelligent people know that if George Bush starts talking about bringing freedom and democracy to your hometown, you just made the endangered species list. Just ask the former residents of Falluja, which was reduced to rubble, left without any essential elements of modern infrastructure, from potable water to electricity. Two-thirds of the population fled in the face of threats by the imperialist "liberators."

What does "sovereign" and "liberated" Iraq look like? On a slow day, about 40 people are killed either by the U.S. military or by suicide bombers in mosques and in the country's urban streets. People are rightly afraid to leave their homes, and the violence is reflecting sectarian and ethnic divisions that have been reinforced by the war and American occupation.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration has seized on the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri to advance U.S. and Israeli objectives against Syria, including Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. With Orwellian audacity, Bush proclaims, "The Lebanese people have the right to determine their future free from domination of a foreign power." Already, Syria has begun withdrawing some troops from Lebanon. Over the past several weeks, Lebanon has been rocked by demonstrations demanding Syrian withdrawal, and by counterdemonstrations organized by Hezbollah. A central demand raised at the anti-Syrian protests has been for an "international investigation" into Hariri's assassination. We denounce any and all U.S. and United Nations meddling in Lebanon and demand: *U.S. hands off Syria!*

Saman/Newsday

"Democracy" under imperialist occupation: U.S. soldiers in Mosul search Iraqis lined up to vote in January.

In Iraq, U.S. forces recently murdered Italian secret service agent Nicola Calipari as he escorted Giuliana Sgrena, a journalist for the leftist *Il Manifesto* newspaper, to freedom. In a report on her ordeal in *Il Manifesto* (6 March), Sgrena recalled the last words of the kidnappers who held her for 28 days: "Be careful, because the Americans don't want you to return." Prior to her kidnapping, Sgrena provided photographic evidence of the use of cluster bombs and the wounding of children during the American siege of Falluja.

Giuliana Sgrena's case made the news because she is a Western woman and journalist, and the murdered Nicola Calipari was a very highly placed Italian state agent. But what happened to them happens to men, women and children in Iraq every day. Yet they remain nameless, faceless victims. So deeply do the American and British governments care for the people they "liberated" that they don't even count the mounting civilian corpses. A recent study by Johns Hopkins University conservatively estimates 100,000 civilian deaths since the invasion of Iraq.

Imperialism is, as Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin described, the highest stage of capitalism, the product of the inevitable scramble for spheres of economic influence and domination. It cannot be reformed. To end imperialist war, the working class must overthrow the profit-driven capitalist system through a series of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions. Capitalist society is divided into two fundamental classes: those who own the wealth and control the political system and those who are forced to sell their labor-power to survive. It is only the latter, the proletariat, that has the objective interest and social power to sweep away capitalism. If this perspective appears remote or utopian in these reactionary "death of communism" times, pragmatic and empiricist readers should note: the 1917 proletarian socialist revolution in Russia, carried out in the midst of the carnage of the First World War, was the *only* antiwar movement that ever worked.

It is precisely this understanding that the organizers of the antiwar and anti-occupation protests reject, from Workers World Party and its International ANSWER coalition to United for Peace and Justice. Obscuring the necessity for socialist revolution, they push the illusion that mass demonstrations can pressure capitalism and imperialism to serve the interests of the oppressed and exploited. Flowing from their rejection of the need to get rid of the whole capitalist system, they organized protests that fed

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Fight Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

Leftist lawyer Lynne Stewart, her translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar were convicted on February 10 in federal court on all counts in a government frame-up "anti-terrorism" trial. Stewart and Yousry could face decades behind bars; Abdel Sattar could face life imprisonment. This is an outrage and dangerous provocation against civil rights and liberties for *everyone*. These convictions must be overturned or the right to an attorney, the right to dissent, the right not to be disappeared by the U.S. government will be in fact vitiated in this country.

Stewart was the court-appointed attorney for the blind Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman (imprisoned for life on charges stemming from the 1993 World Trade Center bombing). She zealously defended her client and defied the government's attempt to hold him incommunicado as if he were a "ghost detainee" in Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo, or some other U.S. torture center. Government-approved translator Mohamed Yousry—a popular York College professor (fired by the craven CUNY administration upon his indictment), doctoral candidate at New York University and opponent of Islamic fundamentalism—was convicted of...doing his job, translating. Abdel Sattar, a supporter of the sheik, was convicted of conspiracy to kill and kidnap persons in a foreign country—and the conspiracy was such a secret that the government prosecutors couldn't say which persons in what country, yet admitted not a single act of violence resulting from this alleged "conspiracy" occurred!

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League, urge everyone to energetically take up this case. Get your union or organization to publicly go on record against this ominous precedent and organize to overturn the convictions! Fight the frame-up! Send donations to the Lynne Stewart Defense Committee, 350 Broadway, Suite 700, New York, NY 10013. (For more information, see "Government Conspiracy Against All Our Rights!" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 842, 18 February.)

WV Photo

February 10: Lawyer Lynne Stewart outside courthouse denounces her conviction in government frame-up.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 845 | C-701 | 1 April 2005

"Right to Life" Ghouls and the Schiavo Case

MARCH 28—The spectacle of political vultures hovering over the body of Terri Schiavo has rightly disgusted millions. A CBS News poll last week revealed that an overwhelming 82 percent of the public wants the government *out* of this tragedy. This woman, irremediably brain-damaged 15 years ago, has been exploited by a despicable media frenzy and by ghoulish "right to life" reactionaries—including the Christian right and the Catholic church—who would impose their theocratic dictates on society. Terri Schiavo's husband Michael, who has spent almost all of a $700,000 settlement on her care, has been dragged through the mud by self-righteous politicians and sinister anti-abortion bigots.

With arrogant imperial power, President Bush and a Congressional posse of all-purpose reactionaries have trampled human decency and their own laws in the service of a bizarre Christian fundamentalist agenda. Michael Schiavo spoke for the many thousands who face similar decisions every year in the U.S. when he said: "What kind of government is this? This is a human being. This is not right, and I'm telling everybody you better call your congressman, because they're going to run your life."

We say this capitalist state has no right to decide who shall live and who shall die. That is why we also oppose the death penalty on principle. The state has no business interfering into *any* private, personal decisions. Terri Schiavo is in a persistent vegetative state from which she can never recover. She had told her husband Michael she didn't want to be kept alive artificially, tied to tubes. That should have been the end of it.

But not for the monsters currently running the American empire. In the name of a mythical god, in the name of patriarchy, and in the name of the capitalist state, these politicians are using Terri Schiavo's tragedy as another wedge to crush a woman's fundamental right to abortion. In a last-ditch effort to circumvent the court rulings, Florida governor Jeb Bush unsuccessfully tried

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Free Jose Padilla and All the Detainees!

U.S. Outsources Torture

That destruction, vicious racist repression and even torture is what U.S. imperialism metes out in the name of "freedom"—from the colonial occupation of the Philippines in the first half of the 20th century to the 1985 bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, from Korea to Vietnam, and Central America to South Central L.A.—is nothing new. But torture is now, blatantly, U.S. policy. The zealots in the Bush administration think their cynical "war on terror" is a license to shred every civil liberty, every right working people have fought for and every rational value emanating from the Enlightenment. New attorney general Alberto Gonzales baldly stated in January that the ban on "cruel, unusual and inhumane treatment" does not apply to "aliens overseas." Even by the U.S. government's own admission, at least 28 prisoners have died as a result of confirmed or suspected homicide in Afghanistan and Iraq. BBC News reports that children as young as eleven years old were held at Abu Ghraib. "I don't care if we're holding 15,000 innocent civilians. We're winning the war," said Major General Wodjakowski, who in 2003 was the second-most senior army general in Iraq.

To paraphrase the infamous pre-Civil War *Dred Scott* decision, even U.S. citizens have no rights the government feels bound to respect. Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen, was seized at Chicago's O'Hare airport on 8 May 2002. First the Bush administration held Padilla for a month as a "material witness" in the September 11 grand jury investigation; then they declared him an "enemy combatant" on the basis of outlandish allegations that he had been thinking of trying to build and set off a radioactive "dirty bomb." He has been locked up in a military brig in South Carolina for almost three years without charges or recourse to a hearing or trial. In a series of rulings last June 28 on the cases of Padilla, Yasser Esam Hamdi and the Guantánamo detainees, the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed Padilla's case on the outrageous pretext that it was filed in the wrong federal court. But on February 28, a federal judge in South Carolina gave the government 45 days to either charge Padilla with a crime or release him. The government announced it would appeal, dismissing the court order with the same contempt with which it shreds the Bill of Rights.

AP

Concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay, part of global network of U.S. torture centers.

Hamdi, another U.S. citizen, was picked up in Afghanistan in 2001 and held in a military brig in Norfolk, Virginia. Asserting that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president," the June 28 Supreme Court decision ruled that Hamdi could not be held as an "enemy combatant" indefinitely, but should have a "fair opportunity to rebut the Government's factual assertions before a neutral decision maker." The U.S. government responded by deporting Hamdi to his home in Saudi Arabia, upon Hamdi's agreement to renounce his U.S. citizenship.

What's posed here is the government's attempt to inscribe permanently into the American system of criminal justice the right to disappear political opponents—the hallmark of the police state dictatorships the U.S. has propped up around the world. In this pursuit, Bush & Co. ooze contempt for any court ruling that even modestly stands in the way of untrammeled executive power. Even a number of conservative Republicans have now joined with the ACLU in seeking to rescind certain provisions of the USA-Patriot Act. But the liberals of the ACLU do not unambiguously oppose the new arsenal of "anti-terror" repressive measures. The new coalition, Patriots to Restore Checks and Balances, declares: "We agree that much of the Patriot Act is necessary to provide law enforcement with the resources they need to defeat terrorism." The Democrats have supported Bush in his "war on terror" at every step, from passing the USA-Patriot Act and the recent Intelligence Reform Act to endorsing the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Padilla and Hamdi, because they were American citizens, at least had a chance to challenge in the courts their seizure and detention without charge by the U.S. government. In so doing, the Padilla and Hamdi cases opened a crack in the fortress wall, enabling other challenges to the plights of countless individuals rounded up and disappeared in the "war on terror" and incarcerated in hellholes worldwide.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, filed *amici curiae* (friends of the court) briefs for Padilla in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and the U.S. Supreme Court. Our brief declared:

> "The Executive has imposed martial law on Jose Padilla, a citizen, on the pretext of an alleged 'war on terrorism' which is in fact not a military conflict but a political agenda.... The treatment of Padilla is

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IG: Norden's Regression of Consciousness

25 March 2005

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

As Lenin said, "A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills *in practice* its obligations towards its *class* and the *working people*." This Bolshevik practice guided us in publishing our candid, self-critical accounts of external challenges and internal problems we have faced since the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-1992, most recently in "A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks—Spartacist League 12th National Conference" (*WV* No. 841, 4 February).

Our earlier article in *Spartacist* ([English-language edition] No. 58, Spring 2004) on our last International Communist League conference drew a predictably windy and dishonest response from Jan Norden and his Internationalist Group (IG). Norden's specialty is "squid tactics": squirting large quantities of ink to conceal his own flight from Trotskyism. The article, "Post-Soviet SL/ICL: New Zigzags on the Centrist Road" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2004), is a textbook example of the IG's method.

A 1994 Spartacist League/U.S. conference document wrongly asserted: "The Chinese Stalinists, with the support of Japanese and significant sections of American imperialism, are moving to attempt a cold restoration of capitalism from above" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 51, Autumn 1994). This formulation was corrected in our 2003 international conference document, which noted: "The Stalinist bureaucracy is incapable of a cold, gradual restoration of capitalism from above. A capitalist counterrevolution in China would be accompanied by the collapse of Stalinist bonapartism and the political fracturing of the ruling Communist Party. What would emerge from the collapse of a Stalinist bonapartist regime, i.e., capitalist restoration or proletarian political revolution, would depend on the outcome of the struggle of counterposed forces" (quoted in "The Fight for Revolutionary Continuity in the Post-Soviet World," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 58, Spring 2004).

In response, the IG blustered that they had always taken "the ICL to task for their anti-Trotskyist line." The IG screams that the 1994 China formulation, among others, is proof of our "creeping Shachtmanism"—i.e., repudiation of the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states, including China. Of course, the IG knows this to be a lie, as the SL (unlike the IG) regularly publishes articles and holds public meetings calling for defense of China. Moreover, Norden, who was then a full member of the SL Central Committee and ICL International Executive Committee, voted *for* the 1994 formulation—a fact conveniently airbrushed out of the *Internationalist* diatribe! But honesty matters no more to the IG than political clarification, because they regard political consciousness as irrelevant to revolutionary struggle.

The mass of workers involved in militant class struggles today in defense of their livelihoods, as well as radical youth, no longer identify their struggles with Marxism or the ideals of socialism. The IG is willfully blind to this *historic retrogression* in political consciousness and shrugs:

> "Moreover, the impact on working-class consciousness is quite uneven. In West Europe, workers in the large Communist parties and CP-led unions had reformist consciousness before the demise of the Soviet Union, and by and large they still do today. American workers generally support the capitalist Democratic Party—what would a qualitative step backwards in their consciousness mean. In much of the semi-colonial world, on the other hand, many workers still 'haven't got the news' of the supposed 'death of communism'."

Presumably the IG was napping with Rip van Winkle while, e.g., the French Communist Party lost unquestioned allegiance of the massive CGT unions and slid from winning roughly 25 percent of electoral votes to less than 5 percent, including losing ground and supporters to Le Pen's fascistic National Front. In Italy, Rifondazione Comunista and the historically Communist trade-union federation (CGIL) have hemorrhaged members to anarchists and syndicalists. As for much of the semicolonial world, it is not the radical nationalists or reformist Communist parties but reactionary Islamic fundamentalism and other murderous religious nationalisms that have absorbed social discontent among the poor and oppressed and emerged as dangerous political forces.

The bourgeoisies of the world have learned something from the working-class defeats of recent years, but the world proletariat has not even fully grasped the enormity of the defeat embodied in the destruction of the Soviet Union. The IG denies this reality the better to capitulate to it and ingratiate itself in truly alien milieus. Thus they sneer at the ICL's proud assertion to be among the foremost opponents of Islamic fundamentalism. In a demonstration initiated by the IG at New York's Hunter College at the time of the U.S. war in Afghanistan in 2001, they dared not even mention the role of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in combatting an Islamic fundamentalist insurgency in the 1980s, much less that the ICL (which Norden & Co. were members of at the time) *hailed the Red Army* against the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats (see "IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan," *WV* No. 772, 11 January 2002).

Rejecting the ABCs of Marxism, the IG equates class struggle with communist class consciousness. Asserting not much has changed since capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, they state: "A dozen years later, history has not ended, the U.S. empire is bogged down in the aftermath of its second war on Iraq, and the class struggle continues unabated." Class struggle predates capitalist society and will be around for as long as class society continues to exist. If class struggle were simply synonymous with communist consciousness, then every strike and protest would augur a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order. Marx himself pointed out that even some bourgeois ideologues accept the class struggle. What Marxists stand for is the dictatorship of the proletariat to open the road to an international socialist society.

Ignoring the distinction between a class in itself and a class *for* itself that fights consciously for its own rule, the IG rejects the statement from our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Trotsky's assertion in the 1938 Transitional Program that 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat' predates the present deep regression of proletarian consciousness. The reality of this post-Soviet period adds a new dimension to Trotsky's observation. The only way in which this regression can be overcome and the working class can become a class *for* itself, i.e., fighting for socialist revolution, is to reforge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party as the leadership of the working class. Marxism must once again win the allegiance of the proletariat."

If the undoing of the Russian Revolution had no significant impact, then conversely the IG must also believe that the working-class seizure of power in 1917 was no big deal. But Marxism gained hegemony within the left wing of the workers movement internationally particularly under the impact of the victory of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The ICL is dedicated to the purpose of leading new October Revolutions and to that end strives to build parties that Lenin and Trotsky would recognize as their own. We try to be honest in self-examination and public correction of errors, as we are in polemics against political opponents, because that quality is essential to a party that intends to lead a cadre of critically thinking workers to reorganize society on a socialist basis; we know if we fall short in our attempts, the likelihood of failure of proletarian revolution increases. The IG's dishonesty fools only these legends in their own minds.

A.P.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Medicine and Religious Superstition

In capitalist society, there is a monstrous contradiction between the ability of medical science to qualitatively ease suffering and the social conditions that keep these benefits from most of humanity. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, speaking on Soviet radio, outlined the Marxist understanding that science and technology, including the relative advances of modern medicine, exist not in a vacuum but in class society with all its social deformations, including backward religious superstitions.

Just as inside the hull of a steamship impenetrable partitions are placed so that in the event of an accident the ship will not sink all at once, so also in man's consciousness there are numberless impenetrable partitions: in one sector, or even in a dozen sectors, you can find the most revolutionary scientific thinking; but beyond the partition lies philistinism of the highest degree. This is the great significance of Marxism, as thought that generalizes all human experience: that it helps to break down these internal partitions of consciousness through the integrity of its world outlook....

Technology and science have their own logic—the logic of the cognition of nature and the mastering of it in the interests of man. But technology and science develop not in a vacuum but in human society, which consists of classes. The ruling class, the possessing class, controls technology and through it controls nature. Technology in itself cannot be called either militaristic or pacifistic. In a society in which the ruling class is militaristic, technology is in the service of militarism.

It is considered unquestionable that technology and science undermine superstition. But the class character of society sets substantial limits here too. Take America. There, church sermons are broadcast by radio, which means that the radio is serving as a means of spreading prejudices. Such things don't happen here, I think—the Society of Friends of Radio watches over this, I hope? [*Laughter and applause*] Under the socialist system science and technology as a whole will undoubtedly be directed against religious prejudices, against superstition, which reflect the weakness of man before man or before nature. What, indeed, does a "voice from heaven" amount to when there is being broadcast all over the country a voice from the Polytechnical Museum? [*Laughter*]

—Leon Trotsky, "Radio, Science, Technology, and Society" (1 March 1926), printed in *Problems of Everyday Life* (Monad Press, 1973)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jeff Thomas

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 29 March.

No. 845 **1 April 2005**

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Down With Racist Frame-Up of RNC Protester Jamal Holiday!

We reprint below a leaflet in support of Jamal Holiday issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on March 18 and distributed at the New York demonstration against the occupation of Iraq on March 19. Jamal Holiday, the last protester against the Republican National Convention (RNC) still in jail, has spent seven months locked away in Rikers Island. Facing up to seven years in prison on felony assault charges, on March 21 Holiday agreed to a plea bargain, pleading guilty to a lesser felony charge of attempted assault. When he is released from jail on April 7, Holiday will face one year of "intensive supervision" probation, after which the felony will be reduced to a misdemeanor. Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly railed that the plea bargain was "outrageous" because it "does not include any jail time." Holiday should never have spent a moment in jail to begin with. In the eyes of the working class Jamal Holiday committed no crime!

Of the 1,806 protesters arrested during the RNC, some 10 percent of the cases are still pending. Another protester, Josh Banno, also faces up to seven years on trumped-up felony charges of assaulting a police officer. Banno faces additional charges of loitering, riot and reckless endangerment. We demand that all charges be dropped now! Hands off Josh Banno! Banno's trial is scheduled to begin on April 5 in New York Supreme Court. Fill the courtroom to show your support! The PDC has donated $100 to Josh Banno's defense fund. Send your donations, check or money order made out to Josh Banno, to: Law Office of Shroff, 350 Broadway, Ste. 700, New York, NY 10013.

Jamal Holiday is a political prisoner and victim of the brutal police repression during the protests against the Republican National Convention this past summer. Holiday, a young black man arrested during these protests, spent his 20th birthday behind bars. On August 30, Holiday was part of the Poor People's March when a plainclothes cop drove an unmarked motor scooter into the crowd of demonstrators, striking at least one woman. The protesters reacted in defense against this apparently crazed individual. As the video of the incident shows, Jamal told the police who came on the scene, "He just ran over people." The cops then ordered Holiday and other protesters to leave the vicinity. Holiday was arrested the following day at another protest by police who claimed surveillance cameras showed him to be wearing the same clothing (a baseball cap and T-shirt) as an individual filmed kicking the undercover provocateur at the August 30 march. He now faces up to seven years in prison on felony assault charges. ***Free Jamal Holiday!***

Jacob Richards and Connie Murillo

Demonstrators arrested during RNC in New York City were held at Pier 57, abandoned bus barn with no windows or ventilation.

Despite attempts to get Holiday to plead guilty, he has bravely asserted his innocence and that his actions were an elementary act of self-defense of himself and other protesters. Recently, CBS 2 News aired footage showing several cops beating and arresting three black men handing out leaflets in Times Square on March 9. The newscaster then named one of the cops in the video as William Sample and pointed out that this is the same cop who was filmed driving his scooter into the crowd at the Poor People's March during the RNC. CBS 2 News also stated that Sample has received a promotion and showed Mayor Michael Bloomberg commending Sample for a job well done at the RNC protest!

Jamal Holiday's trial will begin soon. The evidentiary hearings currently being held in New York Supreme Court show that Holiday's case is a political and racist frame-up and provocation from start to finish. It was no accident that the cops picked the heavily minority Poor People's March for their potentially deadly provocation. In video footage shown in a court hearing on March 17, the district attorney and two detectives interrogated Holiday (with no defense attorney present!) about what political groups he belongs to, what other marches he attended during the RNC and what kind of political literature he has at home. This proves that the D.A. was primarily concerned with Holiday's political beliefs and associations. The D.A. told Holiday that his case relates indirectly to terrorism because of a flyer for a Palestinian rights event taken from him when he was arrested. The leaflet was issued by Al-Awda, the Palestinian Right to Return Coalition which the D.A. maliciously equated with *Al Qaeda!* Holiday's court hearing also revealed that the FBI was among his many interrogators the night of his arrest. Holiday's case makes obvious that the government's new "red scare" equates dissent with "terrorism" and treats protesters like the "enemy within." Holiday's bail was raised from $50,000 to $250,000 based in part on the fact that political literature was found in his home.

The bourgeois state, with its cops and courts is not some "neutral" agency which serves society as a whole, but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit and oppress. The cops' role is to break workers strikes, and beat, kill and frame up black people and other minorities. The courts, which routinely whitewash these racist terrorists—as seen in the acquittal of the cops who, in February 1999, gunned down Amadou Diallo—and carry out the frame-ups of black militants and other leftists, cannot be relied upon to mete out justice. The case of Jamal Holiday is a racist political witchhunt! While the stakes are not as high, it recalls the political vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal, the courageous innocent death row prisoner, journalist, former Black

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Drop the Charges Against Antiwar Protesters!

We reprint below a protest letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to the Cook County State's Attorney on March 22 in response to arrests and police intimidation at the March 19 Chicago rally against the occupation of Iraq. A PDC protest letter was also sent to the Suffolk County D.A. following arrests and police assaults against antiwar protesters in Boston on March 20. Three of those arrested in Boston, Michael Long, Jamie Phillips and an unnamed minor, face a slew of charges including felony assault, resisting arrest and malicious destruction of property. In New York, some 30 people were arrested in protest actions outside military recruitment stations in Manhattan and Brooklyn on March 19. On the same day in San Francisco, nine protesters were arrested in the downtown area. We demand that all charges against the antiwar protesters be dropped now!

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly protests the arrests of Andy Thayer and at least four other demonstrators at the March 19 antiwar rally commemorating the second anniversary of the invasion of Iraq. Thayer, prominent Chicago activist and one of the organizers of the demonstration, was specifically targeted. As a result of simply voicing their opposition to the occupation of Iraq, these protesters now face bogus disorderly conduct charges. These arrests were nothing more than a vindictive move against those who dared assemble in an area deemed off-limits to free speech by the Daley administration.

As we stated in our letter of March 5 demanding that the protesters be granted a permit to march down Michigan Avenue, "In the name of the 'war on terror,' the government wants to squash any expression of dissent as the U.S. continues its brutal imperialist occupation of Iraq while at home the government wages war on immigrants, labor and black people."

The massive mobilization of police at this demonstration, which included Illinois State Police in riot gear, was intended to intimidate all those who wished to protest the death and destruction meted out by U.S. forces occupying Iraq. Such intimidation comes in the context of increased attacks by the Bush White House, fully supported by the Democrats, on civil liberties.

WV Photo

SL/SYC contingent at L.A. protest against Iraq occupation, March 19.

We demand that all charges against the March 19 protesters be dropped immediately!

Brazil: Lula's Popular Front and the Left

Stuckert/Agencia Brasil

Brazilian president Lula was booed by members of his own Workers Party at 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre for implementing IMF austerity.

The following article is translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 170 (March 2005), published by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.*

LE BOLCHEVIK

PARIS, February 8—Over 100,000 anti-globalization protesters gathered for the fifth World Social Forum (WSF) held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in opposition to "neoliberalism" and against the occupation of Iraq, among other things. The WSF was directly financed by capitalist institutions and by the bourgeois politicians who are their water boys. (This was also the case for the European Social Forums in France and Britain.) Over 1.7 million euros (about $2.3 million) were donated by NGOs like the Ford Foundation. Brazil's federal government run by the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers Party) of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva contributed 2 million euros. Bourgeois politicians of all kinds also participated in the WSF. A message from [French] president Chirac was read and the two big stars were the president of Brazil, Lula, and the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez. As Marxists we are opposed to these social forums because they are class-collaborationist formations including the direct involvement of bourgeois organizations and bourgeois state agencies.

The capitalists and their bourgeois politicians finance and appear in the social forums to polish up their anti-American, anti-Bush credentials, raising their credibility to better implement attacks against workers in their own countries. So, at Porto Alegre, Lula launched a "campaign against poverty." But let's talk about poverty in Brazil: *favelas* (slums) surround every major city; there is racism against blacks, murder of *meninos de rua* (street kids); there are millions of landless peasants; and there is imperialist pillage and domination. Empty, cynical words from capitalist rulers won't change that. Brazil has one of the biggest economies in Latin America. The powerful workers of the country produce all the wealth, from cars to petroleum to electricity. The workers are also the only force with the capacity to stop production and to lead struggles at the head of all the oppressed—from the landless peasants to the poor in the *favelas*—for a socialist revolution that would tear the factories out of the hands of the capitalists and establish a workers state. To serve the needs of the majority of the population it's necessary to have a centralized and collectivized economy based on workers councils.

There is no solution to economic backwardness confined to the "national" development of capitalism. A workers revolution in Brazil would also have to be extended elsewhere in Latin America and to the United States. In the U.S., black people are a very powerful component of the working class and, certainly, struggle by the largely black Brazilian proletariat would have an impact in the U.S. It is only with the participation of workers from imperialist states that capitalist imperialism will be destroyed and the enormous resources of those countries used in the service of all humanity.

Lula came to power in 2002 with the blessing of the Brazilian bourgeoisie because the capitalists thought that he had the authority necessary to convince workers to accept austerity measures. The balance sheet of those two years is: the dismantling of pensions, attacks on education that have led to protests on the campuses, no agrarian reform, and an enormous budgetary surplus that goes toward paying off the country's debt to satisfy the demands of the IMF. Lula's PT is a bourgeois workers party with a working-class base but a leadership with a pro-capitalist program. The coalition that brought Lula to power is an example

Reuters

Members of Landless Peasants Movement protest in Pombos, Brazil. Killings and arrests of landless peasants have continued under Lula government.

of what is historically known as a "popular front," i.e., a coalition of one or more workers parties in alliance with bourgeois forces. Lula's PT even made an alliance with the Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) of the big capitalist José Alencar. We Marxists call that class collaboration—because the interests of the workers and of the capitalists are irreconcilable. Workers produce all the wealth of society and make the means of communication and transportation function. The profit from their labor power is appropriated by the capitalists who own the factories, the telecommunications companies, etc. It's not possible for workers to fight politically in their own interests when they are politically subordinated to the bourgeoisie.

However, Lula's coming to power was largely viewed as a victory or as a first step by organizations in France that claim to be Trotskyist. The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) wrote at the time: "The PT's electoral results constitute nonetheless a defeat for neoliberalism and mean a significant change in the relationship of forces in Brazilian society" (*Inprecor*, January-February 2003). The sister organization of the LCR in Brazil is in the Democracia Socialista (DS—Socialist Democracy) tendency and is actually part of the PT. In fact, Lula's minister of agrarian development, Miguel Rossetto, is a member of DS. Unlike the reformists of the United Secretariat (USec—the international organization to which the LCR is affiliated), revolutionaries are opposed in principle to participation in an executive organ of the bourgeois state—the bourgeoisie allows "socialists" or even "Trotskyists" in the government only on the condition that they defend the capitalist order, and that is exactly what Miguel Rossetto does.

The LCR's youth group, the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR), was a bit more reserved about having a comrade in Lula's government. In March 2004, *Red* [the JCR's newspaper] wrote: "The Lula government is a liberal government that fights against the social movement." But they also let it be understood that perhaps a capitalist government could act in the interest of workers and the poor if only it had enough good will. So, they defend their comrade minister Rossetto, saying, "Obviously, financing for the ministry of agrarian reform isn't Lula's priority and therefore, our comrade couldn't make all the changes that he wanted to" (*Red*, January 2004). Far from what the JCR says, there has been less distribution of land by the Lula/Rossetto government than during the previous right-wing government, and Rossetto has blood on his hands for each landless peasant killed by the big landlords for whom the Lula government works.

Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR), affiliated with the Committee for a Workers' International [CWI, whose U.S. affiliate is Socialist Alternative], at first also contributed to the illusions in Lula's election, hailing a "victory of the working class" (*L'Egalité*, November-December 2002). From 1998 until recently, the GR's comrades in Brazil built the PT, with some criticisms, from within the Socialismo Revolucionário (SR—Revolutionary Socialist) tendency. Therefore, however critical they are of the PT today, the truth is that their comrades in Brazil directly helped to put the current government in place.

Illusions in the Lula government have started to dissipate, and discontent is starting to grow among youth, workers and peasants. And obviously the opportunists in the DS, the SR, et al. have adapted to this change. A recent split in the PT reflects the level of discontent and anger with the government. The Party of Socialism and Liberty (P-SOL) was created as a result of the December 2003 expulsion of the parliament members Heloísa Helena, Babá, Luciano Genro and João Fontes, who had protested the federal government's attacks on pensions. The P-SOL was officially formed at a conference in June 2004, and its leadership includes quite a few groups that call themselves Trotskyist. Heloísa Helena was a member of DS inside the PT and a minority of members previously in the DS are now in the P-SOL. The SR tendency was expelled from the PT at the same time as some members of the DS, and now they are also part of the P-SOL, as are some people who left the Morenoite PSTU and individuals from other groups.

The P-SOL program of reforms takes a position against imperialism, for a reduction in the workweek, etc. It even mentions the oppression of blacks and gays. But if they take a more leftist posture, it's only to better channel the anger of youth and workers, not toward a struggle against the capitalist system and the building of a new revolutionary party, but toward the building of a reformist party to the left of the PT. The P-SOL's program, adopted on 5-6 June 2004 during its founding national conference, says that it is necessary to build a new party because "it's an objective necessity for those who, in the last twenty years, built a combative conception of the PT and offered the extraordinary possibility of opening the door to a Brazil without misery and exploitation, but who saw their struggles, dreams and aspirations betrayed." The

continued on page 11

no credit

no credit

Pope greets fake Trotskyist Miguel Rossetto, minister of agrarian development in Lula's government. Near left: Heloísa Helena, parliament member and founder of Workers Party split-off, P-SOL.

Down With the Victimizations!

Democrats Turn the Screws on Chicago Transit Workers

CHICAGO—Bus drivers in Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 have been working without a contract for most of the last six years. The ATU International bureaucrats further undermined the ability of the local to struggle by placing it in receivership almost two years ago. Emboldened by the union tops' refusal to fight, the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) has carried out increasing attacks against the workers and the riding public.

With their latest threats of "doomsday" budget cuts, the CTA bosses have shown once again why they are hated not only by the CTA's multiracial, largely black workforce, but also by the broader mass of Chicago's working class and poor. The current cuts, as outlined in various scenarios, promise anything from 3,500 layoffs of transit employees, to nearly doubling the fare price, to drastic service reductions, to a combination of all three. And, in "Segregation City," it is black Chicago that is hit first and hit hardest. Under one of the CTA's "doomsday" plans, some residents of the predominantly black South Side would need to walk *four miles* to get to the nearest bus line!

The "transit crisis" is the product of a cynical feud between Democratic mayor Richard Daley and his fellow Democrat, Governor Rod Blagojevich, over how to balance the state budget. CTA president Frank Kruesi is himself a former roommate of and longtime gofer for Daley, and epitomizes the CTA bosses as a whole: incompetent, arrogant and corrupt. All these Democrats are committed to balancing their budgets on the backs of the working class, particularly the two ATU locals, 241 (bus) and 308 (rail). Now Chicago's capitalist rulers are carping that none of the "doomsday" proposals goes far enough in demanding union givebacks. A 25 March *Chicago Tribune* editorial clamors that it is time for the CTA to turn over bus routes to private firms and take an ax to the ATU pension fund.

Those who labor produce the wealth and those who produce this wealth have the power to shut down the economy. That is a fundamental truth of capitalist society. If the power of the union were brought to bear, these layoffs and cuts could be stopped colder than a Chicago winter. A strike against the CTA would win wide support throughout the city, especially among the impoverished masses of the ghettos and barrios who are faced with all-sided attacks on their living conditions. ***For free, quality mass transit!***

But far from mobilizing the union's power, year after year the union misleaders have rolled over in the face of company attacks. After placing Local 241 in receivership in 2003, the ATU International forced a "binding arbitration" contract down the membership's throat (see "Chicago Transit Workers Under the Gun," *WV* No. 815, 5 December 2003). Since then, the local has not even had official union meetings (only infrequent "informational" sessions) because of the receivership. A typical refrain *Workers Vanguard* salesmen hear from transit workers is "what union?" This widespread cynicism derives from the union leadership's sellouts. But instead of writing off the union and the potential for organized struggle against the CTA, what is posed is a political fight against the union tops' policy of class collaboration.

WV Photo

ATU Local 241 contract rally in Chicago, January 2003.

Several workers have told *WV* salesmen about increased company harassment and outright firings, including about the case of Eric Hampton, a 26-year veteran bus operator and Local 241 union official. Hampton was fired in December in the midst of company hysteria about a rider "fare strike" being pushed by Midwest Unrest, a small, local group of anarchists. A manager claimed to have overheard Hampton tell co-workers that, in the event of mass layoffs, bus drivers should consider responding by not collecting fares. This firing was a blatant act of intimidation, meant to silence any union member who even thought about protesting the threatened layoffs, service cuts and fare hikes. Adding insult to injury, later that month a letter by ATU trustee Rodney Richmond was posted at bus garages, solidarizing with the company against the fare strike proposal, which would have drivers refusing to collect fares.

Driving a bus is a physically demanding, stressful and dangerous job. As Daley trashes public housing through the "Transformation" plan and takes aim at the city's unions, operators find themselves literally face to face with the increased misery and desperation. In the wake of this deterioration it is not surprising that physical assaults by passengers against drivers have escalated. The *Chicago Tribune* reported three attacks in little more than one month: one driver was stabbed, another pepper-sprayed and a third threatened with a box cutter. In another incident that was not reported in the main bourgeois newspapers, a driver who effectively defended himself against physical attack was fired for "conduct unbecoming" a CTA worker. Evidently the CTA aspires to turn the clock back 100 years to the time when the Pullman Company required that all its black sleeping car porters submit to being called "George" by their clientele as an expression of abject servility.

Local 241 members have told *WV* salesmen that the International trustee has announced that the receivership will end sometime this summer. The workers must regain control of their union local and build a new leadership that will fight the attacks of the CTA bosses on the basis of a class-struggle program. Critical elements of such a program are:

Break with the Democrats! From Chicago's City Hall to the State House in Springfield, it is Democratic administrations that are waging war on the transit unions and the ghetto and barrio masses. The Democratic Party nationally, no less than the Republican Party, is a party of the class enemy. The interests of capital and labor are irreconcilable—yet the ATU, like most unions in this country, pumps hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Democratic Party.

No "binding arbitration"! The current proposed contract has again been sent to "binding arbitration" and the result promises to be a rotten deal just like the last one. Putting the contract in the hands of a "neutral" labor arbitrator, instead of mobilizing the union to fight for a worthwhile contract, means the company's demands will be rammed down the workers' throats.

No Contract, No Work! This basic union tradition has been buried by decades of sellouts. As an excuse not to strike, the labor bureaucrats point to the Illinois Public Labor Relations Act, which bans strikes if there is a "binding arbitration" clause in the union contract. Yet it is these same bureaucrats who *agree* to "binding arbitration" in contract after contract. The only strike that is "illegal" is a strike that loses. The relationship of forces between capital and labor—not words on paper—is what determines the outcome of class struggle, and the question of working-class leadership weighs heavily in that balance.

Everything of value that the workers movement has won has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks in hard-fought struggle. To unleash the enormous potential power of organized labor requires replacing the bureaucrats who pledge loyalty to the capitalist system at the expense of the membership. The political fight necessary to forge a class-struggle union leadership is part of the larger task before us—the urgent need to build a revolutionary workers party committed to the struggle to sweep away capitalism as a system. A workers government would seize control of production and industry, including transportation, and put it at the service of all working people and the oppressed. Those who labor must rule!■

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up 3
The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism ... 13

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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Sinister "War on Terror" Prosecution

Defend Steven Kurtz and Robert Ferrell!

On 11 May 2004, University of Buffalo professor and artist Steven Kurtz awoke to find his wife of 25 years, Hope, had stopped breathing. Kurtz called 911. After an unsuccessful attempt to revive his wife, one of the paramedics noticed test tubes and petri dishes Kurtz was using for his artwork. Hours later, agents of the Joint Terrorism Task Force arrived, seizing his wife's body, his house, cat and car while detaining Kurtz for questioning for 22 hours! Cordoning off the entire block around Kurtz's house, federal agents dressed in biohazard suits searched his home, impounding books, personal papers, computer and artwork.

The macabre persecution of Steven Kurtz began with the invocation of a 1989 "bio-terrorism" law expanded under the 2001 USA-Patriot Act. Even after it was determined that Kurtz's wife had died of heart failure and that the "biological laboratory" in his home consisted only of three types of harmless bacteria and equipment to extract DNA from cells, the state convened a federal grand jury. And although the grand jury concluded that Kurtz could *not* be accused of terrorism, it argued that he and Robert Ferrell, the former chairman of the University of Pittsburgh's Department of Human Genetics, should be charged with fraudulent use of the U.S. mail and wire services. The supposed "fraud" is that Ferrell used his account with a biological supply company to obtain the bacteria for Kurtz. They were charged in Federal District Court on 8 July 2004 and await trial, facing 20 years in prison under these outrageous charges!

So why are the Feds proceeding with this patently ludicrous prosecution against a respected artist and university professor? Steven Kurtz is a member of the internationally acclaimed Critical Art Ensemble (CAE), which is "dedicated to exploring the intersections between art, technology, radical politics and critical theory," obviously all anathema to the reactionary, bible-thumping, anti-science bigots running this country. The CAE has sought to educate the public about the politics of biotechnology. Kurtz himself noted: "I have been vocal about the way the state is using research in germ warfare. That is why they want to get me."

Artists from around the world have rallied to Kurtz's defense, noting the chilling effect of this prosecution on those who seek to challenge U.S. government policy. Respected science magazine *Nature* (17 June 2004) noted: "As with the prosecution of some scientists in recent years, it seems that government lawyers are singling Kurtz out as a warning to the broader artistic community.... Art and science are forms of human enquiry that can be illuminating and controversial, and the freedom of both must be preserved."

The Kurtz case demonstrates that the "war on terror" has everything to do with suppressing dissent and shredding civil liberties. Drop all charges against Steven Kurtz and Robert Ferrell!

Donations to Kurtz's legal defense can be made to: CAE Defense Fund, c/o Hallwalls, 341 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, NY 14202.

Torture...

(continued from page 1)

> intended as both the precursor and legal justification for application of Executive unilateral prerogatives on a broader scale, denying due process protections in criminal prosecutions, immigration proceedings and civil challenges to government policy. It is a frontal assault on the very concepts of due process and citizenship itself. Padilla is being forcibly expatriated, confined to a civil death. The imperial Presidency's objective is nullification of First Amendment rights and a qualitative diminution of all democratic rights. The target of the Executive is any and all perceived opponents of government policy."

U.S. Imperialism's Worldwide Web of Torture

One of the Supreme Court decisions last June 28 also afforded some legal rights to the hundreds of detainees (including teenagers) incarcerated and subject to torture at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. With a six-to-three majority, the Court ruled that the detainees have the right to file *habeas corpus* petitions challenging their imprisonment. When some of the detainees then attempted to avail themselves of the right, the Justice Department responded by claiming the Supreme Court ruling may have allowed them to file any legal papers they wanted, but since the detainees aren't citizens, they have no rights and therefore the courts are powerless to rule! On January 31, a federal court in Washington, D.C. rejected the government's Kafkaesque contentions, declaring that the detainees must be allowed to challenge their imprisonment in federal court.

Unvision

Jose Padilla with relatives before his imprisonment.

Five days after the federal court ruling, the Pentagon announced that it would ship half the detainees to prisons in Afghanistan and elsewhere. The clear purpose is to get them to places where they can be tortured and disappeared without interference by the U.S. courts. An informative and chilling article headlined "'One Huge U.S. Jail'" (London *Guardian*, 19 March) states:

> "Since September 11 2001, one of the US's chief strategies in its 'war on terror' has been to imprison anyone considered a suspect on whatever grounds. To that end it commandeered foreign jails, built cellblocks at US military bases and established covert CIA facilities that can be located almost anywhere, from an apartment block to a shipping container. The network has no visible infrastructure—no prison rolls, visitor rosters, staff lists or complaints procedures. Terror suspects are being processed in Afghanistan and in dozens of facilities in Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Jordan, Egypt, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the British island of Diego Garcia in the southern Indian Ocean. Those detained are held incommunicado, without charge or trial, and frequently shuttled between jails in covert air transports, giving rise to the recently coined US military expression 'ghost detainees'."

This floating population of "ghost detainees" numbers over 10,000, according to military officials.

While the U.S. has a long history of deporting refugees and others to certain torture and probable death, this policy has now been made official under the practice known as "extraordinary rendition." This practice was described by former CIA operative Robert Baer in the *Guardian* article:

> "We pick up a suspect or we arrange for one of our partner countries to do it. Then the suspect is placed on civilian transport to a third country where, let's make no bones about it, they use torture. If you want a good interrogation, you send someone to Jordan. If you want them to be killed, you send them to Egypt or Syria. Either way, the US cannot be blamed as it is not doing the heavy work."

It speaks volumes about the hypocrisy of the "war on terror" that one of the countries in U.S. imperialism's global torture enterprise is none other than Syria, vilified by Washington as a "rogue" state. Canadian citizen Maher Arar was seized at JFK airport by U.S. officials and placed on a charter jet to his native Syria, where he was locked up for a year without charges and repeatedly tortured. He is now suing the U.S. for the torment he endured. In a similar case, U.S. citizen Ahmed Abu Ali was imprisoned for 20 months in Saudi Arabia, where he was held without charges and tortured. When he was finally released, he was returned to the U.S. and indicted here for supposedly conspiring with Al Qaeda.

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defend Our Rights!

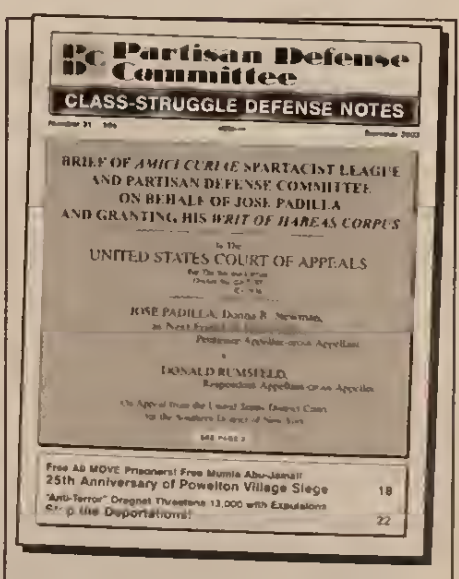
From the outset of the "war on terror," we have insisted that the government's repressive measures, directed initially at Muslims and immigrants, were an attack on political dissent and civil liberties across the board. The outrageous prosecution and conviction of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart was a major escalation of the government's conspiracy against all our rights. As we stated in our article "Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted—Outrage!" (*WV* No. 842, 18 February):

> "As a government-appointed attorney for an Islamic fundamentalist cleric, Lynne Stewart was a prime target on the domestic front of the 'war on terror.' But let's be clear: black people and the working class are the ultimate target. Why? Because the politically conscious mobilization of workers and black people, in a class-divided society where the color line and the legacy of slavery prop up capitalist rule, is the combination to unlock the gate to revolutionary social change and progress."

The democratic rights under attack today were won through centuries of struggle and revolution—the parliamentary partisans in the English Civil War, the French Revolution, the U.S. Revolutionary War and the Civil War, the pitched labor battles of the 1930s and the mass movement against Jim Crow segregation in the 1950s and '60s. And they must be defended, as well, through the struggles of black people, immigrants and defenders of civil liberties welded to the power of the multiracial labor movement. What's needed is to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight to sweep away the war criminals in the White House and Pentagon, with all their prison houses and torture chambers, as part of a socialist revolution that consigns to history the barbaric capitalist system itself. ■

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League initiated labor-centered mobilization in Oakland, California, February 2002, in defense of immigrant rights and against "war on terror."



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Schiavo...

(continued from page 1)

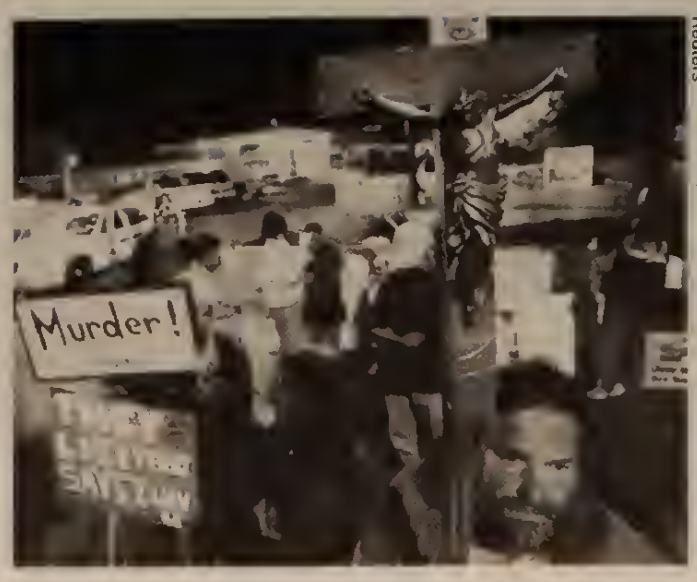
to take state custody of Terri Schiavo. In 2003, Bush similarly tried to circumvent the right to abortion by appointing a state guardian for the fetus of an indigent, mentally disabled woman who was pregnant as a result of rape. Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry today organizes for Terri's parents, while the current president of Operation Rescue and other anti-abortion groups parade before TV cameras. The Reverend Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition, which runs vicious anti-gay campaigns, happily noted the increased contributions to his group as "the blessing that dear Terri's life is offering to the conservative Christian movement in America" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

We wrote some years ago in an article titled "In Defense of Dr. Kevorkian" (*WV* No. 593, 4 February 1994):

> "The same religious fanatics who terrorize abortion clinics in the name of 'life' are a moving force to ensure that you die in agony in the name of 'god.'
>
> "Any veterinarian will put a fatally sick dog or cat out of its misery. The opposition to applying the same elementary humanitarianism to human beings is derived from the Christian concept of the human 'soul,' which only god can take. Unless, of course, the 'soul' is one of a 'criminal'—in which case often the same bible-thumping 'pro-lifers' will campaign for your death."

Dr. Jack Kevorkian was convicted in 1999 of assisting a terminally ill patient to die. He is still in prison, though he should have never spent a day in jail.

Meanwhile, the Christian fundamentalists have taken the White House. Of course they don't care about the life of one woman. They have massacred many thousands of men, women and children in Iraq, and preside over a vast global torture network, exemplified by Abu Ghraib. They have condemned millions upon millions more—poor people, women and children—to disease, malnutrition and death in the U.S. and abroad under their cruel "ownership society," which means, if you don't own anything, you're not part of their society. With 40 million already uninsured, this "right to life" administration is further slashing Medicare and Medicaid; "medicine for profit" means the lives of the poor are of no account.



Reuters

"Right to life" bigots converge outside Terri Schiavo's hospice in Florida.

This March a black six-month-old infant died in Texas after his breathing tube was removed under the "Texas Futile Care Law," which allows hospitals to terminate life support if there's no hope of improvement—even if the family objects. Then-governor of Texas George W. Bush had no trouble signing that law. And today, when President Bush intones "it is wisest to always err on the side of life," he's certainly not talking about the death penalty. Notorious for his scrupulous disregard of any facts or legal histories involved, he presided over 152 Texas executions.

Critic Frank Rich commented, "The Harvard Law School constitutional scholar Laurence Tribe pointed out this week that even Joe McCarthy did not go so far as this Congress and president did in conspiring to 'try to undo the processes of a state court.' But faced with McCarthyism in God's name, most Democratic leaders went into hiding and stayed silent. Prayers are no more likely to revive their spines than poor Terri Schiavo's brain" (*New York Times*, 27 March). Of course, the Democrats, as under "born-again" Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, play the religion card when it suits them. They have been just as faithful to their capitalist masters in enforcing the death penalty, slashing welfare, waging war and all the other necessities of maintaining capitalist class rule as their partners in the Republican Party.

The humane solution in the case of Terri Schiavo would be a swift, merciful and painless injection, a measure which is currently unavailable because of reactionary laws based on religion. A doctor writing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 March) described his outrage at Terri Schiavo's treatment, pointing out: "To the casual observer, when Terri Schiavo's eyes are closed, she appears to be asleep. But unlike Sleeping Beauty, Schiavo cannot be aroused. She is unable to recognize and respond to her surroundings except in one way—she can respond to noxious stimuli.... So there Terri Schiavo lies—unable to move, poked and prodded, turned and repositioned.... 'Noxious stimuli' are applied regularly to make sure she is still 'there'."

Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher commented in his speech, "On Socialist Man" (1966), that "Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on.... But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?" When the wealth, tremendous resources and medical technology of this society are put to the service of the many, not the profits of the few, we will be able to build a society, freed of cruel and crippling religious superstitions, where human life, human worth and human dignity count.■

Schindler Family/ZUMA Press

Michael and Terri Schiavo on their wedding day.

Holiday...

(continued from page 3)

Panther and MOVE supporter, who was targeted by the cops and sentenced to death because he was and is an outspoken fighter for the oppressed. The capitalist rulers seek to execute Mumia in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge vicious cop repression in the ghettos, who stand up for labor rights on the picket lines as well as those who protest imperialist mass murder from Afghanistan to Iraq. *There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. Youth, workers and all opponents of racist capitalism must defend the courageous young class-war prisoner Jamal Holiday. Fill the courtroom to show your support! Organizers of last summer's RNC protests have a special responsibility to make themselves heard and come forward in defense of Jamal Holiday! An injury to one is an injury to all! What the government wants to get away with is the ability to label any and all political opponents as "violent" or "terrorists"—categories that will provide the state with a license to suspend democratic rights, criminalize political activity and engage in legalized murder. Whatever rights we have under this oppressive capitalist order administered by both the Democratic and Republican parties, were won through tumultuous class and social struggle. Our rights must be defended through the struggles of black people, immigrants and defenders of civil liberties welded to the power of the multiracial labor movement.

* * * * *

In October 2004, the PDC began sending monthly stipends to Jamal Holiday from our class-war prisoner defense fund and will continue to do so for the duration of his probation. The PDC's class-war prisoner stipend program continues a tradition of the early Communist movement when the International Labor Defense supported labor militants and other class-war prisoners in an act of elementary solidarity with victims of capitalist injustice. Currently we send a modest monthly stipend to 16 class-war prisoners, including to innocent death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Become a PDC sustainer! Contributions can be sent to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.■

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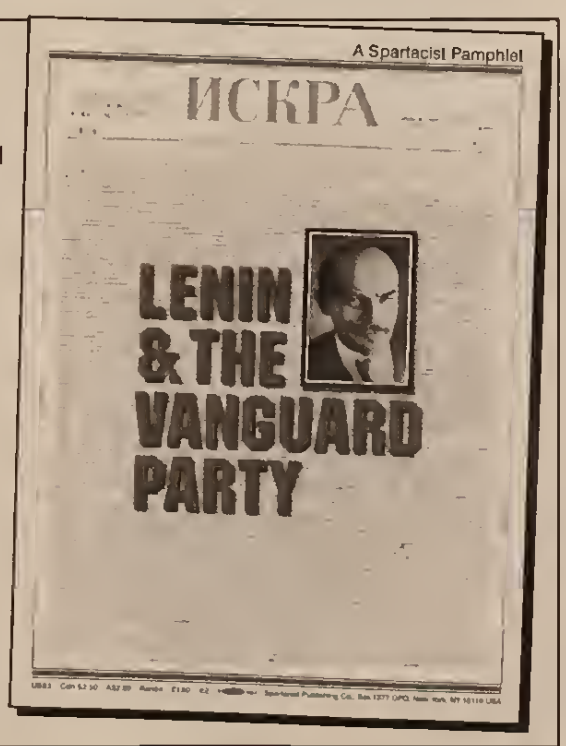

First published in 1978, this pamphlet provides a detailed historical and theoretical account of Lenin's struggle for a vanguard party. Includes: "In Defense of Democratic Centralism"

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Rwanda...

(continued from page 12)

Since September 11, the Bush gang has extended the "war on terror" to Africa, opening a military base in Djibouti and "anti-terrorist command centers" in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. U.S. forces have assisted military operations in the Sahel, the buffer zone between the oil fields in North Africa and the Gulf of Guinea. Over the next ten years, Africa is projected to become the U.S.' second largest supplier of oil after the Near East. France has responded by strengthening ties with oil rich countries in North and West Africa, undercutting American policies in the UN, and aggressively intervening in its "spheres of influence," for example the Ivory Coast.

Internews

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Theoneste Bagosora, key figure in the *akazu* faction, widely viewed as having masterminded the April-June 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

Imperialist Lies, Colonial Guilt: Causes of the Rwandan Genocide

The cause of the Rwandan genocide has been the subject of enormous, deliberate obfuscation. The most vulgar example is the mantra of "age-old tribal rivalries." The Hutu and Tutsi are not tribes —a word applied to Africa with careless indiscretion—but share a common language, territory and, in parts of Rwanda, culture. Journalists often refer to the "Hutu genocide of the Tutsi," in a tropical rendition of the Goldhagen thesis that Germans bear "collective guilt" for the Holocaust. This distortion has provided a cover for mass reprisals against the Hutu. The driving force behind the genocide was fundamentally political. This was a systematic plan of eradication targeting Hutu opponents of the regime and the entire Tutsi civilian population—the potential base of support for an invading Tutsi-led army from Uganda. But it would not have occurred without the legacy of German and Belgian colonialism, without the role of the UN and without the direct military support of French imperialism.

Two myths circulate about the Hutu and Tutsi. The first is that the division has its origins in an invasion of Rwanda by iron-working, pastoral peoples from North East Africa who conquered and then subjugated the indigenous inhabitants. No archeological or linguistic evidence exists to support such claims: metallurgy first appeared in the region around the sixth century B.C.; pastoral peoples have existed in this part of Central Africa for at least 2,000 years. This myth was first used by the colonial powers to justify fortifying the rule of a "Caucasoid Hamatic" Tutsi over the "Bantu" Hutu. Africans were supposedly so primitive and savage that the complex civilization of pre-colonial Rwanda must have been imported.

The second myth is that the Hutu-Tutsi division was completely fabricated by colonialism. The main promoter of this African nationalist fairytale is the current Tutsi-dominated government in Kigali, the Rwandan capital, and its foreign defenders. By asserting that these social divisions were imposed entirely from outside, the current Kigali regime can pose as an opponent of ethnic chauvinism while continuing to viciously persecute its Hutu adversaries.

Following the German conquest of Rwanda in the late 19th century, a complex set of social relationships involving clientage, kinship and clan ties that had developed over several centuries was reduced to bipolar Tutsi-Hutu terms of racial dominance. German and then Belgian colonialism greatly strengthened the power of the Tutsi chiefs, eliminated all Hutu office holders and assisted the Tutsi monarchy in conquering the north of the country. Redefining the pre-existing divisions in racial terms, the Belgian colonialists and Catholic church limited access to education, administrative positions and most jobs to the Tutsi "master race." Collective labour for the state became a Hutu obligation.

The resulting system of "dual colonialism" was a hybrid of direct and indirect rule, where the colonial state employed the Tutsi aristocracy to extract taxes and labour from the Hutu peasantry. Following independence from Belgium in 1962, a Hutu-chauvinist political party came to power that had fully assimilated the racial outlook of their colonial masters. This avowedly "Hutu Power" state instituted systematic discrimination against the Tutsi and launched repeated pogroms.

Like everywhere else in the colonial world, the various ploys of the imperialist rulers served to twist and distort social relations. The imperialist partition of Africa undermined the formation of indigenous property-owning classes while integrating tribal structures and chieftainships into the state apparatus. Following independence, the new African states inherited societies composed of numerous linguistic and cultural groups, often pitted against each other by the divide-and-rule strategy of colonialism. Maintaining and strengthening tribal institutions, these African nationalist regimes were locked into the politics of ethnic dominance and its murderous consequences.

The Rwandan Civil War: Setting the Stage

Political repression in Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi during the 1960s and '70s produced several waves of exiles into Tanzania, the Congo and Uganda. By the late 1980s, there was a large Rwandan diaspora throughout central Africa. Many survived for decades by scraping out an existence in permanent "resettlement" camps. Often denied citizenship and access to farmland, Rwandan refugees were the target of xenophobic attacks. In Uganda, Rwandan Tutsi exiles played a central role in the guerrilla army that brought Yoweri Museveni, a key American ally, to power in the mid 1980s.

In 1990, the Tutsi-led Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded Rwanda from Uganda in order to overthrow the existing regime and forcibly repatriate tens of thousands of refugees. While the RPF's first advances ended disastrously, by 1993 Rwandan government forces were facing defeat. As the RPF moved into the country, they killed civilians, looted and impressed youth into forced labour. By the beginning of 1993, some 950,000 people had fled its advance—roughly one in seven Rwandans—creating massive social dislocation. On both sides of the civil war, access to and control of land was a driving issue.

Internally, the Rwandan government faced mounting pressure for democratic reform. Rwanda had been in a protracted economic crisis since the late 1980s, largely due to the plummeting of coffee prices on the world market. One of the ten poorest countries in the world, 90 percent of its population engaged in agriculture. In August of 1993, the government, the RPF and the opposition signed a "power sharing" agreement, the Arusha Accord, which temporarily put an end to the fighting. Elements around Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarjmana then stalled on the implementation of a coalition government with the RPF, insisting on the inclusion of rahidly anti-Tutsi politicians from the fascistic CDR (Coalition for the Defense of the Republic). Hutu-extremist radio was urging a "final solution" to crush all of the Tutsi "cockroaches." The situation further deteriorated in October 1993, when Melchior Ndadaye, the first Hutu president of Burundi, was assassinated. Following a wave of ethnic violence in Burundi, 200,000 desperate Hutu refugees fled across the Rwandan border. The stage was set.

The Rwandan Genocide Begins

On April 6, 1994, the plane of the Rwandan president was shot down, most likely by Hutu-extremist forces in the military. This signaled the start of the killing. The central force behind the genocide was the *akazu*, which means "little house" in Kinyarwandan. A military and government faction centered on the family of the president's wife, this grouping had long enjoyed substantial French backing. Like many African ruling groups, its privilege derived almost entirely from control of state power, which allowed it to skim foreign aid, tax agricultural exports, shake down local businesses and run smuggling operations. This grouping saw the power-sharing agreement with the RPF and the prospect of an open election as a direct threat to its existence as a core element of the state apparatus.

During the first stage of the genocide, the elite presidential guard assassinated opposition figures, especially moderate Hutu from the south of the country. Then the death squads of the *Interahamwe* ("those who attack together") moved through the countryside, often mobilizing landless peasants and refugees. The *Interahamwe* had originally been established as the youth group of the main government party. The orders were given by the *akazu*. Catholic clergy and schoolteachers played a key role in identifying Tutsi victims. Hundreds of thousands of Rwandans, maybe more, took part in this minutely choreographed savagery. There was scattered resistance, especially in the south. Some Hutu refused to participate, hiding Tutsi. But these instances were exceptional. Others saved friends or colleagues and then joined the mass pogroms.

It torments the intellect that so many Hutu killed their neighbours, friends, lovers, families. In a country plummeting into anarchy, torn apart by four years of civil war, untold numbers faced starvation. Desperate and driven out of their homes by the RPF advance, many killed for land and cattle. With a gun to their head, some killed in order to save their own lives. Others feared that the return of the Tutsi armed forces would lead to the reestablishment of the monarchy and the loss of what little land they had left. Decades of pogroms, chauvinist propaganda and interethnic murder have created societies in central Africa where social conflict plays itself out in the grim dialectic of racial slaughter. This is the ultimate legacy of colonial rule.

WV Map

Genocide and the Marxist View of History

In a letter to a Russian leftist, Marx's life-long collaborator Friedrich Engels wrote: "But history is about the most cruel of all goddesses, and she leads her triumphal car over heaps of corpses, not only in war, but also in 'peaceful' economic development" (Letter to Nikolai Danielson, 24 February 1893). Engels is ***not*** writing about genocide. He is explaining how the material, scientific and cultural gains that humanity has made under class society—from the Egyptian pyramids to modern industry—have come at terrific cost, consuming the lives of untold numbers of the toiling classes. Every monument to bourgeois civilization is a monument to barbarism—no wonder Africans sometimes speak of capitalism as a form of cannibalism. But Marx and Engels' great insight was that, with the advent of science and modern industry, this terrific suffering is no longer historically necessary.

By exponentially increasing the productivity of human labour, industrialization has the potential to eliminate want and scarcity—the struggle over the basic means of survival—which is the origin of man's oppression of other humans. A centralized, rationally planned economy

could address the unequal distribution of wealth internationally and draw the billions of poor and desperately impoverished around the world into the economic, scientific, cultural and artistic work of creating a fundamentally new society. However, this potential is crippled by the capitalist system, where the application of technology is enslaved to the pursuit of profits, and where competition between capitalists produces economic anarchy. The industrial working class, whose labour creates almost all wealth, has both the power and historic responsibility to rip the means of production out of the bourgeoisie's hands. This is why Marxists see the working class as the fundamental force for progressive social change.

The genocide in Rwanda had nothing to do with the costs of historic progress, hut was ultimately the consequence of a decaying system turning in on itself. Rwanda had no working class to speak of and modern industry scarcely existed. The sncial power Marxists look .to, the proletariat, whose material interests *transcend* racial and ethnic divisions, was simply absent.

In the age of the great mercantile empires, European capitalism tore over 12 million people out of the African continent in the hellish "Middle Passage" to the American slave plantations. During the late 19th century, it conquered the continent with the assistance of the Gatling gun, plundering Africa's resources and impressing millions of Africans into forced labour. Reinforcing the most reactionary and oppressive aspects of pre-colonial societies, colonialism opened the continent to imperialist capitalism, while failing to extend the benefits of the industrial revolution—paid for in significant measure with African blood—beyond a few enclaves. The fate of Africa

British colonial force under Lord Kitchener crushed Sudanese rebels in bloody battle of Omdurman, 1898.

Mary Evans Picture Library

was chained to the world market and foreign capital.

The modest economic growth and social development that occurred in many countries following independence was devastated during the global economic crisis of the 1970s and the catastrophic economic collapse throughout Africa in the 1980s. To the imperialists, Africa is a "failed" continent, its population a write-off in the blue books of world finance. The explosive alloy of mass desperation and racial chauvinism is not unique to Rwanda. It can and ***will*** happen again. The end of Engels' letter which I quoted above reads: "And we men and women are unfortunately so stupid that we never can pluck up courage to a real progress unless urged to it by sufferings that seem almost out of proportion." Without socialism, we face the continuing descent into barbarism.

Imperialist Complicity at Every Step

The great lie surrounding the Rwandan genocide is that foreign intervention would have prevented this catastrophe. In fact, foreign intervention did occur—again, and again, and again. Viewing the Tutsi RPF as tools of the "Anglo-Americans," the French ruling class backed the Habyarimana regime to the hilt. Shortly after the beginning of the war, the government of François Mitterrand sent in 600 troops who assisted in interrogating prisoners, transported massive military aid and managed roadblocks, demanding "*Vous êtes Tutsi ou Hutu?*" The French underwrote the financial risk of weapons deliveries from Egypt and brokered an arms deal with South Africa. At one point, French officers took complete control of counterinsurgency operations. Throughout this period, hundreds of Hutu opponents of the regime were arrested, and thousands of Tutsi civilians were murdered by the Rwandan army.

The IMF, the World Bank and foreign governments actually *increased* foreign aid to the Hutu regime during the war. (Rwanda was the number one per capita recipient of Canadian aid.) The UN-brokered Arusha Accord—which like all such agreements was incapable of addressing the fundamental causes of the conflict—in the end only provided breathing space for the *génocidaires* to organize.

In his book *Shake Hands with the Devil* (2004), Roméo Dallaire meticulously describes the cynical indifference of the imperialist powers toward the fate of the Rwandan people. In detailed memoranda to the UN headquarters in New York, Dallaire warned that death squads were being organized and described the progress of the genocide. The UN *stopped* him from intervening. Every suggestion aimed at arresting the progress of the killing was deliberately obstructed. His indictment of the UN's role is worth quoting. He writes of the

> "suffering, mutilation, rape, and murder of 800,000 Rwandans, with the help of the member nations of the only supposedly impartial world body. Ultimately, led by the United States, France and the United Kingdom, this world body aided and abetted genocide in Rwanda. No amount in cash and aid will ever wash its hands clean of Rwandan blood."

Dallaire is an imperialist officer who loyally served Ottawa for decades, including in the occupation of Quebec during the 1970 October Crisis. He is far from our idea of a hero. But he was honestly driven to the edge of madness by the staggering reality of the genocide and Western racism. His book contains moments of furious honesty, like the description of Belgian troops sitting in a local bar, bragging that they know what to do with African "n-----s" and about how many hundreds of people they killed during the UN's "peacekeeping" mission in Somalia. Yet Dallaire dedicates his book to these same soldiers.

His story is populated by complacent, silk-tied UN diplomats who live in palatial mansions and drive black Mercedes while refugees starve near their doorsteps. After the genocide, someone from the Clinton administration told Dallaire that it would take the deaths of *85,000* Rwandans to justify risking the life of a *single* U.S. soldier, expressing the imperialists' racism to the fifth decimal place. These are the same imperialists Dallaire appeals to, pleading with them to abandon "national self-interest" and adopt a humanist approach to foreign policy. Dallaire's book is an argument for how imperialist militarism, if properly deployed, could have saved the day. It is because he passionately believes his case, and because he writes about Rwandans as human beings whose lives have value, that this account is the most dangerous piece of propaganda in the new "humanitarian imperialism" crusade.

Three months into the genocide, the French government launched "Opération Turquoise" when it became clear that its Rwandan clients faced defeat by the RPF. Authorized by a resolution of the Security Council, the French intervention was in part commanded by officers who had recently acted as military advisers for the Hutu-power government. The *Interahamwe* cheered French troops, while waving the French flag. The French military often stood by in nearby towns while killing went on unabated in the hills a few kilometers away. Since 1994, France has continued its maneuvers, backing various forces in the Congo and the government of Zimbabwe in opposition to the U.S.' new ally in the region, RPF head Paul Kagame.

In Africa, where the imperialists created artificial states containing a multitude of peoples, the rule of a formerly oppressed people like the Tutsis in Rwanda will inevitably entail brutal methods of forced assimilation, expulsion or genocide. As the RPF took power in Kigali, a million refugees flooded into the Congn, spreading the civil war into that country. When the Hutu military began to use refugee camps to regroup, the RPF and its local proxies killed tens of thousands of Hutu refugees in the Eastern Congo. In 1996, the new Tutsi-led Rwandan army, Uganda, Burundi and Eritrea invaded the Congo (then Zaire) with full U.S. backing to overthrow the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko. Canadian corporations like Barrick Gold and Tenke Mining underwrote this effort in order to obtain rights to the country's vast mineral wealth. One Canadian mining executive later told an African employee: "You Congolese must know that this country and all its minerals are not yours but ours."

Rwanda and Uganda invaded the Congo again in 1998, exacerbating a multi-sided regional war that plunged the Eastern Congo into chaos. The plunder has been so systematic that Rwanda has become an exporter of diamonds. There is not a single diamond mine in all Rwanda. In Rwanda, disappearances and summary executions are now common. A wave of Hutu *and* Tutsi government politicians has fled the country, fearing imprisonment or murder at the hands of the RPF. All of this has occurred with the knowledge, complicity and direct aid of the same imperialist powers that people like NDP stalwart Stephen Lewis and Roméo Dallaire are now calling on to intervene in Darfur.

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Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

U.S. imperialist terror in Africa: Marines in Somalia (1992); Clinton's bombing of Sudan pharmaceutical factory (1998).

Sudan: Colonialism, the Cold War and the "War on Terror"

Sudan is the largest country in Africa, roughly the size of the United States east of the Mississippi, with a population of nearly 30 million people. Over 100 languages and dialects are spoken, the most common being Arabic in the north and Dinka in the south. Islam was prohably introduced to the north in the same fashion as the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, first through commercial networks and later the adoption of Islam and elements of Arabic culture by the indigenous ruling class. Fictional Arab genealogies became markers of elite status.

Northern and southern Sudan were first drawn into a single political economy in the 1820s, when the Egyptian army led by Muhammad Ali invaded the country in search of slaves and gold. As Douglas Johnson writes: "The incorporation of the whole of the south as the state's exploitable hinterland, the intensification of racial stratification and the widespread identification of people from the south with low status were thus consequences of the economic and political system of Turco-Egyptian colonialism" (*The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, 2003). After an Islamic uprising drove Egypt out in the 1880s, Britain conquered the Sudan, instituting a policy to keep the south segregated, welcoming Christian missionaries while banning Islamic proselytizers.

The "Southern Policy" kept the area economically primitive, as the British concentrated economic resources, roads and schools in the north. While giving lip service to the abolition of slavery, the British colonial administration looked the other way while the northern Arab elite kept their slaves. In 1956, under pressure from newly independent Egypt, Britain handed over political power to the northern ruling class. In anticipation of this perfidy, an army battalion in the south rebelled, presaging the first of two civil wars that have continued until today.

The bourgeois press repeats simplistic clichés about "Arab versus African" or "Muslim versus Christian," feeding into the anti-Arab racism of the "war on terror." But the Sudanese war has been driven by a combination of the historic exploitation of the south, imperialist Cold War geopolitics and the conflict over resources, especially oil. During the early 1980s, Sudan was the third largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid (massively in the form of military assistance and modern weaponry), and was cultivated hy the Reagan White House as a regional counterweight to Libya and Soviet-backed Ethiopia. The Islamic fundamentalists and military officers who took power in 1989 through a coup d'état were once considered CIA "assets" because of their vehement anti-Communism and alliance with the *mujahedin* fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan. Islam has long heen the militant ideology of the northern rulers. Far from heing the product of a "clash of

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Rwanda...

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civilizations," the south's struggle has been driven by resistance to economic, cultural and political oppression.

The second civil war began in 1983 when the Khartoum government, seeking to maintain control over newly discovered oil reserves in the Upper Nile province, unilaterally abrogated the south's regional status and imposed Islamic *sharia* law over the entire country. The northern government has frequently pursued this war by arming local Arabic-speaking groups displaced by economic privations and encouraging them to prey on their neighbours. The Sudanese conflict provoked an international outcry in the mid 1990s, after it had come to light that government-backed militias had kidnapped and enslaved more than 15,000 women and children from the south. We have denounced the flagrant role that foreign oil corporations, such as Canada's Talisman (which withdrew in 2003), played in perpetuating this conflict and collaborating with the militias in massacres and forced displacements (see "Why Marxists Oppose UN/Canadian 'Peacekeepers'," *SC* No. 134, Fall 2002). France's repeated military interventions into neighbouring Chad are part of the broader struggle among the imperialists for control of this region.

Bonn/NY Times

Refugees driven from their homes in Darfur, 2004.

No Imperialist/African Union Intervention into Darfur!

Darfur is not part of the south, but consists of three separate provinces in the west of the country. Populated by both agricultural and Bedouin peoples devoted to herding cattle, Darfur's entire population is Muslim. The most marginalized province of Sudan, Darfur has received less in social services, economic aid and government posts than any other region of the country. Alex de Waal explains that in the wake of famine in the mid 1980s, which killed over 100,000 people, conflict over diminishing land and resources exploded into battles between agricultural and nomadic peoples. Resentment against the Khartoum government deepened after the Islamic fundamentalist regime of Hassan al-Turabi took power in 1989. A wave of repression swept the country, including the banning of workers' unions and the total cloistering of women in the cities. In Darfur, the bankrupt local administration attempted to rule through public executions and terror, while the laws regarding access to land were revised. Returning Islamic militants from Libya, exiled under the previous regime, further polarized Darfur along racial lines.

But Turabi also extended his hand to Islamic groupings long despised by the northern Arab elite, like the Sufi and West African Fellata. When Turabi was sidelined by the officer corps in the late 1990s, many of his supporters went into opposition against the government, producing a "Black Book" documenting the ongoing marginalization of Darfur. In April 2003, a coalition of secular and Muslim organizations launched an audacious assault against a government military installation, taking an Air Force general hostage. The government responded by supplying arms to Arab militias, called the *janjaweed*. The militias have murdered, raped and physically branded speakers of Fur, Tunjur, Masalit and Zaghawa, while uprooting their fruit trees and destroying irrigation systems.

Spartacist Canada

Trotskyist League participates in 1993 Toronto protest against U.S./UN attack on Mogadishu, Somalia.

Marxists denounce these crimes in the strongest possible terms. But the UN's plan to send over 10,000 "peacekeeping" troops to Sudan, based overwhelmingly in the south, has absolutely nothing to do with "humanitarian" concerns over this carnage. The imperialist powers want to shore up the unstable peace agreement between the north and the south, although they would prefer to subcontract out as much of the work as possible to the states of the African Union, particularly South Africa and Nigeria.

Dominated by the U.S.' South African junior partner, the African Union is otherwise composed of neocolonial satraps and client regimes of the imperialist powers. African Union intervention, pushed throughout Africa as a nationalist alternative to the UN, is simply imperialist occupation at one remove. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has repeatedly called to implement starvation sanctions against Sudan. Unlike Rwanda, U.S. imperialism has pressing strategic concerns in Sudan, especially the control of oil reserves in the south and the political stabilization of a country long infamous as a refuge for Islamic fundamentalist groups like Al Qaeda. This is UN "peacekeeping" as a cover for the "war on terror." We demand: No U.S./UN/African Union intervention! All occupying troops out! No to UN sanctions!

Africa and the Collapse of the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union, the first workers state in history, provided a crucial military counterweight to U.S. imperialism. Despite its political degeneration under the Stalin bureaucracy, we fought to defend the Soviet Union. We recognized that its destruction would deliver a staggering blow to working and oppressed peoples across the globe. At the same time, we sought to build Trotskyist parties in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to remove the Stalinist bureaucrats and return these countries to the path of socialism.

For millions of working people around the world, the Soviet Union represented the possibility for a radically different kind of society, one with no unemployment or homelessness, with universal health care and free education for all. That the USSR went from an overwhelmingly peasant country, suffocated by the archaic institutions of tsarist absolutism, to the second most powerful military and industrial state in the world had enormous significance in Africa. Even pro-capitalist African nationalists looked to countries like Yugoslavia, whose multiethnic population lived together in peace under Tito's bureaucratically deformed workers state. The USSR gave military assistance to the South African ANC in the struggle against apartheid, while Cuba sent troops to Angola, routing the U.S.-backed South African army and its puppets. The Soviet Union took dock workers from Senegal, like the world famous novelist and director Ousmane Sembene, and trained them in how to make films.

As Soviet leader Gorbachev moved to conciliate U.S. imperialism in the mid 1980s, Soviet aid to Africa began to dry up. The U.S. made clear that with the end of the Cold War, it would no longer bother to prop up its former African puppets. Since the Soviet Union's destruction in 1991-92, a quarter of Africa's countries have been plunged into war and social disintegration, while the rest of the continent is in the grip of an intractable economic and political crisis. The aftermath has been apocalyptic: a rise in witchcraft accusations and the murder of young women; the spread of fundamentalist Islam and Christianity, often intermixed with reactionary practices such as the bride price and female genital mutilation; the complete devastation of the small urban labour forces; forced labour; land shortages and rural conflict. Starting in the late 1970s-early '80s, IMF structural adjustment programs have devastated the meager social services. Famine and the AIDS pandemic threaten the eradication of tens of millions of people across the continent.

Especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union, it has become common for leftists to call on the imperialist powers to play a "humanitarian role." Feminists like the recently deceased Susan Sontag cheered the NATO bombing of Serbia. The self-professed anarchist professor Noam Chomsky called for sanctions against Iraq and he regularly appeals to the supposed principles of "international law." In a recent article, the Canadian International Socialists lamely recite the liberal line that "the Great Powers stood by and did nothing" during the Rwandan genocide (*Socialist Worker*, 5 January). In France, the fake-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and the supposedly anti-state anarchists of the CNT have provided a cover for imperialist machinations in Africa, signing a statement that calls on the African Union to supplant French troops now occupying the Ivory Coast. Their excuse for lobbying on behalf of these imperialist-backed thugs and dictators? Foreign troops are necessary to avoid another Rwanda. All of these people have fed into the lie that imperialism can come to the aid of the downtrodden.

Imperialism and Permanent Revolution

For revolutionary Marxists, "imperialism" is not simply an evocative characterization of Western foreign policy or the acts of individual corporations—grotesque as they may be. In Toronto, we have gone on protests to denounce the participation of Canadian security firms in the Iraq occupation in order to draw attention to the role of our "own" bourgeoisie. But we do not believe that altering individual company or government policies is a strategy for defending oppressed and subjugated peoples. Imperialism is—in Lenin's words—the highest stage of capitalism. In the late 19th century, monopolies, banks and finance capital came to play a predominant role in the functioning of the international economy. Since then, the world has been divided into spheres of influence manipulated and controlled by the main capitalist powers and their junior allies, like Canada. There is no hope of reforming imperialism. It must be overthrown.

As Russian Marxist Leon Trotsky argued in his theory of permanent revolution, the venal despots who run the colonial and neocolonial world are incapable of raising the economic development of their countries to the level of the advanced industrial world. Contrary to the NGOs and "development" agencies, lack of democracy in underdeveloped countries does not derive from the absence of "civil society." Caught between the seething masses and the dictates of their impe-

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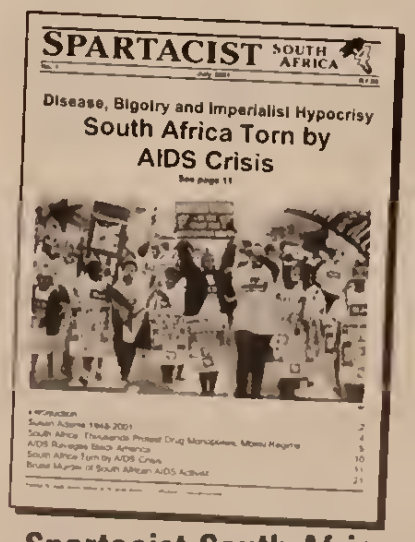

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Lula...

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P-SOL is based essentially on the idea that the PT's program was correct but that it went wrong once in power; thus the "struggles" and "dreams" of the founders of the P-SOL were "betrayed." The PT didn't betray its program at all because from the beginning it had a program of class collaboration. The PT has participated in coalitions with bourgeois parties since the 1989 presidential elections. In 2002, Lula came to power with the approval of the Brazilian bourgeoisie. But that is not in contradiction to its program because it always had the goal of running the bourgeois state.

The P-SOL says that its programmatic basis can be founded only on one principle: "The defense of the political independence of the workers and the excluded. The party that we are building will not have class collaboration as a goal." In fact, members of the USec are active in the leadership of the P-SOL, but most of their members remain in the DS tendency inside the PT, and a resolution of a DS national conference condemned the "sectarian party perspective" of what became the P-SOL (*Inprecor*, September 2004). Nonetheless, for Heloísa Helena, class independence is such an "important" principle that she remains in the ***same international*** with her comrades who have a minister in Lula's government. In the municipal elections of November 2004, the national P-SOL supported the PT/DS candidate, Luizianne Lins, on the second round in Fortaleza. Lins managed to win the city with support from several small bourgeois parties in the second round (which received executive posts in the municipal government in exchange for their support), such as the populist Partido Democratico dos Trabalhadores (Democratic Workers Party) and the Greens. The P-SOL also refused to oppose the PT in Porto Alegre, where the outgoing candidate, Raul Pont (also in the PT's DS tendency), was in a coalition with several bourgeois parties. The national leadership of the P-SOL supported a declaration "against the candidate Fogaça (PPS), without calling for a vote for Raul Pont" but defended either a vote for Pont or a blank ballot ("Statement of the P-SOL National Executive Assessing the Municipal Elections," not dated, www.psol.org.br). Most of the leading members of the P-SOL come from the PT, but they have never criticized their own past activities as PT members because they continue the same practices.

brazzilbrief.com

Brazilian troops, part of imperialist occupation force in Haiti.

If a clearer example of class collaboration were necessary, in the P-SOL's program one can read: "It's fundamental to democratize the police forces and in particular the army, with the right of troops to free political organization and to elect their officers, with the right to promotion without limits for junior officers." That's a suicidal call for workers—more "democratic" rights for the cops means better conditions for them to break the next strike and better conditions for them to kill street kids in cold blood! That is the essence of reformism and class collaboration. The capitalists maintain themselves in power in part by their ideology and in part by force through their state: cops, prison guards, the army. All the bloody lessons of history show that it is not possible to "reform" the bourgeois state; it's necessary to overthrow it, and the workers should establish their own state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It's necessary to build a revolutionary party, but the French fake-Trotskyists look to Brazil as a model of how to build a reformist party. The LCR and the JCR mostly campaigned against the expulsion of Heloísa Helena from the PT, and now that their comrades have been expelled, most of the LCR's attention remains on DS. They are ecstatic with the recent victory of their PT comrade Luizianne Lins in Fortaleza, and they cry about losing the city of Porto Alegre that they long controlled. The GR/CWI "hailed the birth" of the P-SOL (*L'Egalité*, September-October 2004) because at bottom they see a big, non-revolutionary party not as an obstacle but, on the contrary, as a step toward the construction of a truly revolutionary party, and they take the P-SOL as their model. The GR says: "But one shouldn't adopt a sectarian position and mechanically demand as a prerequisite that the new party be revolutionary." However, in the next sentence they try to moderate their statement a little: "That doesn't mean that a workers party is a necessary step before the revolutionary party." For the CWI, the P-SOL program "presents the socialist perspective and strategy as a fundamental aspect of building the new party" (*L'Egalité*, January-February 2005).

We fight for an authentically Marxist party that will champion the rights of all the oppressed—blacks, women, gays, peasants—with a class-struggle program designed to bring the working class to power. That isn't possible by building a party like the P-SOL that has nice words about "feminism," blacks and gays in the program, but that does not even mention the most fundamental democratic question for women: the right to abortion. The P-SOL is certainly under pressure from the powerful Brazilian Catholic church, as the declaration by the main spokesperson of the P-SOL, Heloísa Helena, shows:

> "I am Catholic. I always go to church. I have many friends in the interior who are priests. Over the last week I went to four masses in a single city, helping in the celebration. I rediscovered my faith some years ago, through pain, and am firmly resolved. My religious experience is with the comrade in the skies who has already given me much proof of love during the difficult times that I have had in life."
>
> —Interview in the *Jornal do Brasil*, quoted in *Inprecor*, January-March 2004

We Trotskyists fight for ***free abortion on demand! Cops, priests out of the bedroom!***

A revolutionary party must be able to counterpose the liberating ideals of communism to the prejudices of the dominant capitalist ideology in all aspects of social life: against the prevalent machismo, for the liberation of women through socialist revolution, against racism, upholding the banner of black liberation, and fighting to defend peasants and indigenous peoples. As we wrote in the article "Lula's Popular Front Turns Screws on Workers" (*WV* No. 818, 23 January 2004):

> "[The revolutionary party] must put itself at the head of the struggles of all the oppressed as part of the fight to establish working-class rule, smashing the rule of the bosses and placing the immense resources and energies of the country in the service of the most urgent human needs. This perspective is necessarily internationalist and is part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International to lead new October Revolutions. It is the perspective of the International Communist League."■

---

rialist paymasters, democracy is a luxury the rulers of Africa can hardly afford.

Drawing on the experience of the 1917 October Revolution, Trotsky argued that the fight for national emancipation from imperialism and the struggle for democracy falls to the industrial working class in countries of belated capitalist development. And once the working class has seized power, it cannot stop at these tasks, but must move to destroy private property and establish a workers state. To survive and flourish, a socialist revolution in such a country must be extended to the imperialist heartlands.

But what about countries like Rwanda or Sudan where the working class is weak or non-existent? As Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930): "Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses.... A backward colonial or semi-colonial country, the proletariat of which is insufficiently prepared to unite the peasantry and take power, is thereby incapable of bringing the democratic revolution to its conclusion." In such cases, there is no purely internal solution. The destiny of these countries is directly tied to the international class struggle, in the first instance to those countries in the region that *do* have important proletarian concentrations.

In South Africa there exists a powerful labour movement, whose ranks contain many adherents of a socialist vision of society. Since it came to power in 1994, we have characterized the ANC government as "neo-apartheid," underlining that the ANC serves as black frontmen for the same white capitalist rulers. The fundamental contours of South African capitalism are unchanged, while black unemployment, now 50 percent, and poverty have worsened. An estimated 5.3 million South Africans are HIV positive and the death rates are so high that the cemeteries are overflowing. But the ANC government has pursued a deadly policy of denying that HIV causes AIDS and obstructing access to treatment. In a country that produces over ***50 percent*** of sub-Saharan Africa's economic output, instead of science and medicine, government ministers recommend the *sangomas*—traditional "healers"—whose treatments for AIDS are often lethal.

There is searing anger at the base of South African society. But working-class struggle is blocked by the false leaders of the working class, especially the South African Communist Party and the COSATU trade-union tops who sit in the government administering capitalist austerity. Socialist revolution in South Africa would reverberate around the world, especially among black workers and in the impoverished ghettos of the U.S.

The last two decades have witnessed the near devastation of the limited industrial growth once achieved by many African countries. But small concentrations of industrial workers still exist throughout the continent. An international revolutionary party would link their struggles with the social power of the workers movement north of the Sahara and throughout the Near East. The hundreds of thousands of African immigrants who are a major component of the working class in France and elsewhere in Europe are a critical bridge for the international extension of the revolution, wherever it begins.

The final liberation of the Third World will require the destruction of capitalism in the imperialist countries. The workers of North America, Europe and Japan owe a tremendous historical debt to the oppressed masses of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Only after the working class in the imperialist countries has taken power will the social resources, technology and scientific expertise finally become available to begin addressing the plight of the African masses.

Today, solidarity with the struggles of those targeted by imperialism must begin with opposition to our "own" capitalist rulers. The Trotskyist League fights for defense of the Palestinians, opposes the murderous U.S. occupation of Iraq and exposes the crimes of the Canadian bourgeoisie whose troops are participating in the occupation of Haiti and Afghanistan. We denounce those on the left and in the labour movement who push the lie that Canadian imperialism or the UN can play any kind of progressive role, a lie whose purpose is to reconcile Canadian workers with their exploiters. We fight to build the revolutionary internationalist workers party that will bring the fighting power of labour to bear in the struggle against every manifestation of oppression and state tyranny. We demand: ***No imperialist/African Union intervention into Sudan! All UN/U.S./Canadian troops out of Africa!***■

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Publication of the Ligue Trotskyste de France
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Imperialist Crimes in Rwanda and Sudan

No U.S./UN Intervention in Africa!

Annahar

Thousands march in Sudanese capital, Khartoum, in 2004 to protest threat of foreign intervention in Darfur.

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 144 (Spring 2005), publication of the Trotskyist League/Ligne Trotskyste, section of the International Communist League. The article is based on a well-attended February 12 talk in Toronto by Jon Seville, editor of the* Young Spartacus *pages of* Spartacist Canada. *In this country, calls for U.S. intervention in Sudan are pushed particularly by an alliance of black liberals, Christian fundamentalists and pro-Zionist neoconservatives. On March 24, the UN Security Council voted to send a 10,000-member "peacekeeping" force to Sudan. We say: U.S., UN,* all *imperialist troops get out and stay out!*

SPARTACIST CANADA

Over the course of three months in 1994, some 800,000 Rwandan Tutsis and tens of thousands of moderate Hutu were systematically murdered in a meticulously prepared genocide organized by forces within the Rwandan government and military. The details overwhelm the imagination. *Interahamwe* death squads hacked village after village to death with machetes. Neighbours executed neighbours, husbands butchered wives, or were themselves shot by government troops. Sometimes the torture continued over days. Fetuses were cut from the stomachs of their mothers and then hacked apart as the women watched and bled to death.

As the violence began, the United Nations Security Council ordered the bulk of the multinational "peacekeeping" force stationed in the country to withdraw. Imperialist politicians like U.S. president Bill Clinton and French president François Mitterrand repeatedly denied that a genocide was in process, tossing off racist explanations like "tribal resentments" to cover their profound indifference. When the French military finally intervened, it created a *cordon sanitaire* that allowed the authors of the genocide—longtime French collaborators—to flee into the Congo. The war now engulfing that country is in no small part a result of this intervention.

Fast forward to April 2003. In Darfur, a western region of Sudan, a coalition of secular and Muslim groups launched armed attacks against Sudanese government troops in response to decades of economic privation, repression and political corruption. In retaliation, government-armed militias have carried out a scorched-earth policy of crop destruction, banditry and murder. An estimated 70,000 people have died, and 2.3 million have been displaced. One observer, Alex de Waal, stated that "predictions of up to 300,000 famine deaths must be taken seriously" (*London Review of Books*, 5 August 2004). A series of "peace agreements" have collapsed as the Sudanese government mouths hollow diplomatic promises while prosecuting the war.

This is the latest episode in a series of military conflicts that have raged in the country for the last 22 years, largely between a northern Islamist government and the historically oppressed south. An estimated two million people have died in a war waged primarily against civilians, many as a result of government-manufactured starvation. I emphasize *estimated* because there are no truly reliable statistics given the near-complete absence of modern infrastructure and health facilities. At every level, this conflict has been compounded by the effects of British colonial policy, Cold War rivalries and the predations of foreign corporations.

My talk tonight is going to focus on the role of imperialism in Rwanda and Sudan. There is profound anger and desperation over these tragedies, ***but this anger is being manipulated in defense of forces who are profoundly culpable.*** The tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide has seen a torrent of newspaper articles, movies, documentaries and books: a concerted international propaganda campaign whose principal message is that UN intervention could have stopped the Rwandan genocide, and that the Western imperialist powers should send troops to Darfur. A chorus of voices has perversely argued that Rwanda represents a failure of Western "conscience," thus transforming the genocide into the symbol of a new UN-led "civilizing mission" on the African continent.

The Canadian lieutenant-general responsible for the 1994 Rwandan mission, Roméo Dallaire, has written a best-selling critique of the UN and Western powers' complicity, arguing for a greater role for "humanitarian" military intervention. The social-democratic NDP [New Democratic Party] echoes these calls, pushing the Canadian nationalist myth that this is a "peacekeeping" nation. Many youth and working people, even when suspicious of Western foreign policy, see UN intervention as the only way to stop the horrific violence, however temporarily.

The ideological drive to paint the capitalist rulers of the U.S., Canada or Europe as potential allies of the impoverished and persecuted is based on a web of myths and lies. It is also profoundly dangerous. The International Communist League categorically opposes UN "peacekeeping missions," which are in reality imperialist forces of occupation. The United Nations does *not* rise above the competing interests of its member states, as U.S. sidelining of the UN in the lead-up to the Iraq war vividly showed. UN intervention has always provided a "humanitarian" cover for the crimes of the imperialist powers, from the 1961 assassination of Congolese nationalist Patrice Lumumba to the murder and torture of Somali youth by Canadian special forces in 1993. The nightmare that Africa confronts is inextricably linked to the international capitalist system. Looking to the UN only strengthens agencies whose express purpose is to guard the current world order.

Today's call for greater Western intervention into Africa occurs in an extremely sinister context. No longer constrained by the military counterweight of the Soviet Union, the first workers state in history, U.S. imperialism has rampaged across the globe for the last 15 years, spreading death in Iraq, Afghanistan, Serbia, Colombia, Haiti and elsewhere. This has led to increasing tensions between the imperialist powers, who have moved to expand their spheres of neocolonial influence and protect key mineral resources. In particular, France has scrambled to preserve its influence, in part through strengthening its global military infrastructure and securing its role in multilateral economic and defense agreements. A second-rate power, whose fading claim to imperial glory rests in large part on suzerainty over its former African colonies, France sees the greater economic role played by Nigeria and South Africa—both closely tied to U.S. and British capitalism—as a threat.

continued on page 8

Sebastião Salgado

Rwandan refugees in Tanzania, 1994. Racist colonial rule and neocolonial capitalism in Africa have produced continuing wars and destitution.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 846 | GCU C-701 | 15 April 2005

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The following talk, edited for publication, was given on April 2 by Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee at Goucher College in Maryland to students largely unfamiliar with the background or particulars of the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter and eloquent journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless"—is an innocent man who has been on death row since 1982, framed up for the murder of a Philadelphia cop.

Rachel Wolkenstein was a member of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team from 1995 through June 1999. She resigned from the legal team when then-lead attorney Leonard Weinglass refused to present crucial evidence of Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence. Another man, Arnold Beverly, had come forward and confessed that he, and not Mumia Abu-Jamal, had shot and killed police officer Daniel Faulkner. Beverly's affidavit is published in a PDC pamphlet, Mumia Ahu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man! New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up, *which also includes supporting evidence in affidavits by Rachel Wolkenstein, Mumia Abu-Jamal, and others. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, vigorously fights for Mumia Abu-Jamal's freedom and the abolition of the racist death penalty.*

* * *

The circumstances of the prosecution and conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal epitomize the injustices committed every day by the capitalist legal system. At the same time, it is a very special case of political persecution and intended to he a lesson to any who dare to speak out against the injustices and inequities of American capitalism.

Let me begin with what the state and legal institutions represent in this society. Far from being neutral arbitrators that can be pressured to act on behalf of labor and minorities, the capitalist state is the machinery of repression and violence in defense of the propertied rich minority that rules over this society against all the exploited and dispossessed. This machinery includes the police and the courts, which enforce laws hased on defense of the capitalist order. In the U.S., the forcible subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society is key.

How many of you have seen TV shows like "The Shield" or cop movies that show that police don't actually carry out justice, hut shoot people on the street, set up and "silence" people because of their beliefs? I promise you that nothing you may have seen in the movies comes close to what happens in real life, and what happened in the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

WV Photo

In 1968, when Mumia was 14 years old, he was arrested and beaten by undercover police while he was protesting a presidential candidate by the name of George Wallace. George Wallace was famous at the time for barring black children from going to school, for standing in the schoolhouse door and vowing, "segregation forever!" Wallace came to South Philly, which was at that time a white racist bastion policed by a racist demagogue named Frank Rizzo, who was then Philadelphia police chief and later mayor of Philly. J. Edgar Hoover, then-FBI chief, declared war on hlack youth through a program called COINTELPRO. This was the Counter-Intelligence Program by the FBI, established to set up,

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Mexico: Down With Fox's Attack on Mayor López Obrador!

Break with the PRD! For the Political Independence of the Working Class!

For months, Mexico has been in turmoil over ongoing attempts to strip the legal immunity of Mexico City's popular mayor, Andrés Manuel López Obrador of the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). The Mexican constitution requires the approval of a parliamentary body for judicial authorities to prosecute certain public officials. Removing López Obrador's legal immunity, which took place earlier this month, allows Mexican authorities to hring charges against him for disobeying a judge's order to halt work on a hospital access road. Since Mexican law deems suspects guilty until proven innocent, López Obrador would be banned from contesting for or holding public office once charges are brought against him. López Obrador is the likely PRD candidate in the 2006 presidential elections, and reportedly holds the lead in opinion polls.

The drive against López Obrador is led by President Vicente Fox—a longtime ally of Bush and a favorite of the U.S. imperialists—as well as the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Fox came to power as the candidate of the right-wing and clericalist National Action Party (PAN) in 2000, ending some seven decades of PRI rule.

We print helow a translation of a leaflet by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, issued on April 7 and distributed at a 300,000-strong demonstration in support of López Obrador that day. The same day, the PAN and all hut a handful of the PRI members of the Chamher of Deputies voted to lift López Obrador's immunity.

* * *

We communists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México are opposed to the attempt to strip Andrés Manuel López Ohrador of his political immunity (a process called *desafuero*), while giving him no political support. The attempt by Fox and his PRI accomplices to prevent a hourgeois-nationalist candidate from running in the elections is a hlow to the democratic rights of the population. Its target is ultimately the masses who in vain place their hopes in the PRD as an alternative to the rapaciousness of the PAN and the

continued on page 9

Reuters

Mexico City mayor López Obrador waves to demonstrators at the capital's main square, where 300,000 turned out to protest right-wing threats to strip him of legal immunity.

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Imperialists Mourn Pope of Counterrevolution

Alberto Pizzoli

Front-row pew for U.S. delegation to Vatican.

The enemies of human liberty and progress, the rich and powerful capitalist rulers of the earth, honored one of their own when they knelt before the body of the archreactionary, anti-Communist Pope John Paul II, the former Cardinal Karol Wojtyla of Poland. President Bush ordered American flags flown at half-mast, while he and two former American presidents made the Vatican funeral rites. In contrast, when the last Pope died, Jimmy Carter sent his mother and his national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who lurked around Rome long enough to see the CIA's favored candidate, Wojtyla, elected in 1978.

Wojtyla was no "people's Pope," as the capitalist media dubbed him in its necrophilic celebration of feudal remnants (from the death of the Pope to Prince Charles' royal nuptials). In its crusade against Communism, U.S. imperialism had no more reliable political ally than Pope John Paul II. Above all, he worked tirelessly to reverse the results following World War II of the Red Army's great victories against the Nazis; the overturn of capitalist property relations in East Europe, especially in his native Poland.

Even in church terms, Wojtyla was a reactionary. He favored the ultrareactionary Opus Dei, a lay organization that achieved political prominence in Franco's Spain, and led a modern church inquisition that ruthlessly smashed internal dissent. Boston's Cardinal Bernard Law, promoted to a cushy Vatican post by Wojtyla, gave a funeral oration, a calculated slap in the face to Catholics outraged by Law's—and the Pope's—arrogant stonewalling over the Boston priest sex abuse scandals. The Pope's medieval denunciation of sex, including forbidding condoms, is quite literally a death sentence for millions in the global AIDS pandemic.

In Latin America, Wojtyla crushed the "liberation theology" priests who actually had some sympathy for the poor, while promoting to Cardinal the Vatican's ambassadors to the bloody Argentine and Chilean military juntas. In Chile in 1988, he personally blessed the junta's leader, General Pinochet. This Pope of reaction made a special point of beatifying Nazi-lovers. Those he put on the first step to sainthood included the infamous Pope Pius XII, whose beatification process is still under way. Pius XII collaborated with the Nazi regime in Germany and the fascists in Spain and East Europe; he also refused to condemn the Holocaust against the Jews. Wojtyla also beatified Cardinal Stepinac, mentor to the bestial Croatian fascist regime in World War II. And he beatified nearly 200 priests who collaborated with the fascistic forces of Franco and died at the hands of the Republicans during the 1930s Spanish Civil War.

Above all, hatred of communism drove Pope Wojtyla's political agenda. Of course, the Vatican is the largest landlord on the face of the planet, thus always viscerally hostile to the proletarian expropriation of capitalist property in the means of production and land. As Karl Marx pointed out in *The Civil War in France* (1871), the heroic Paris Commune understood this:

> "Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power,' by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies."

For American imperialism's rulers, Wojtyla was a spearhead of their drive to overthrow the Soviet degenerated workers state, homeland of the October socialist revolution. According to Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein, Wojtyla made a secret deal with Reagan, agreeing not to oppose the U.S. installation of hundreds of cruise missiles targeting the USSR from all over West Europe in exchange for the U.S. cutting off its funding to women's programs overseas that mentioned abortion.

In the Pope's native Poland, the vehicle used by the CIA and Vatican to hammer away at Poland's socialized property forms was Wall Street's favorite "trade union," Solidarność, which exploited the grievances of the Polish proletariat against the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. Uniquely, we Spartacists warned that Solidarność was a stalking horse for counterrevolution. As the fate of the Polish working class hung in the balance in 1980, we forthrightly called for "A Workers Poland Yes! The Pope's Poland No!" (*Spartacist* No. 30, Autumn 1980). Before Solidarność solidified as an open counterrevolutionary force, we said that the task of Trotskyist revolutionaries in Poland must be "to raise in these unions a series of demands that will *split* the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. These unions must defend the socialized means of production and proletarian state power against Western imperialism. In Poland today the elementary democratic demand of the separation of church and state is a dividing line between the struggle for workers democracy and the deadly threat of capitalist restoration."

This should have been elementary for any Marxist, especially in Poland, where the Catholic church is virulently anti-Semitic, a notorious bastion of reaction even within world Catholicism, and a powerful political force. But no. As we wrote in 1980: "First in Iran, now in Poland, various fake-lefts have maintained that the traditional church (Islamic Shi'ite and Roman Catholic respectively) can play a progressive, even a revolutionary, role. In this sense the opportunistic left shows an ideological regression similar to the bourgeoisie in the imperialist epoch" ("Religion & Reaction," *WV* No. 268, 14 November 1980). Everyone from the American Socialist Workers Party to the pseudo-Trotskyists of the European United Secretariat to the "state capitalist" Cliffites, represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), vicariously bowed before Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran and Pope Wojtyla in Poland. The drive for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, led by Pope Wojtyla and Solidarność, was the opening wedge for capitalist restoration throughout East Europe and the USSR. In Poland as in the USSR, this created vast misery: mass unemployment, homelessness and a furious wave of anti-Semitism, anti-woman legislation, anti-Roma (Gypsy) terror and all-sided clerical reaction.

In its struggle against feudalism, the bourgeoisie, when it was an ascending class, embraced Enlightenment rationalism and rejected the religious obscurantism of the feudal order's ideological bulwark, the church. But today, in this epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeoisie of the most powerful capitalist state rejects Enlightenment rationalism, embracing organized religion as one more means to prop up its rule. It falls to revolutionaries to uphold the liberating ideals of the Enlightenment and authentic Marxism. In Poland, one of these Marxists was the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. Her words, in the 1905 essay "Socialism and the Churches," are a fitting epitaph for all peddlers of religious obscurantism:

> "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people. The clergy and the parasitic capitalists hate the organized working class, conscious of its rights, which fights for the conquest of its liberties." ■

For Class War, Not False Unity!

TROTSKY

LENIN

Throughout the invasion and occupation of Iraq, the reformist left has peddled the lie that unity with "progressive" capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party can stop the war and end the occupation. Writing in 1918, amid the slaughter of the First World War and as the 1918-19 German Revolution was unfolding, revolutionary leader Karl Liebknecht warned against the dangers of false unity. Liebknecht called for a break with the Social Democratic Party (SPD), which betrayed the working class by supporting German imperialism during the war. In 1919, the revolution was defeated and Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other leaders of the German proletariat were murdered by right-wing paramilitary forces at the behest of the SPD.

Unity! Who could yearn and strive for it more than we? Unity, which gives the proletariat the strength to carry out its historic mission.

But not all "unity" breeds strength. Unity between fire and water extinguishes the fire and turns the water to steam. Unity between wolf and lamb makes the lamb a meal for the wolf. Unity between the proletariat and the ruling classes sacrifices the proletariat. Unity with traitors means defeat.

Only forces pulling in the same direction are made stronger through unity. When forces pull against each other, chaining them together cripples them both.

We strive to combine forces that pull in the same direction. The current apostles of unity, like the unity preachers during the war, strive to unite opposing forces in order to obstruct and deflect the radical forces of the revolution. Politics is action. Working together in action presupposes unity on means and ends. Whoever agrees with us on means and ends is for us a welcome comrade in battle. Unity in thought and attitude, in aspiration and action, that is the only real unity. Unity in words is an illusion, self-deception, or a fraud. The revolution has hardly begun, and the apostles of unity already want to liquidate it. They want to steer the movement onto "peaceful paths" to save capitalist society. They want to hypnotize the proletariat with the catchword of unity in order to wrench power from its hands by reestablishing the class state and preserving economic class rule. They lash out at us because we frustrate these plans, because we are truly serious about the liberation of the working class and the world socialist revolution.

Can we unify with those who are nothing more than substitutes for the capitalist exploiter, dressed as socialists?

Can we, may we join with them without becoming accomplices in their conspiracies?

Unity with them would mean ruin for the proletariat. It would mean renouncing socialism and the International. They are not fit for a fraternal handshake. They should be met not with unity, but with battle.

The toiling masses are the prime movers of social revolution. Clear class consciousness, clear recognition of their historic tasks, a clear will to achieve them, and unerring effectiveness—these are the attributes without which they will not be able to complete their work. Today more than ever the task is to clear away the unity smokescreen, expose half measures and halfheartedness, and unmask all false friends of the working class. Clarity can arise only out of pitiless criticism, unity only out of clarity, and the strength to create the new socialist world only out of unity in spirit, goals, and purpose.

—Karl Liebknecht, "The New 'Civil Peace'" (19 November 1918), in *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power* (Pathfinder Press, 1986)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

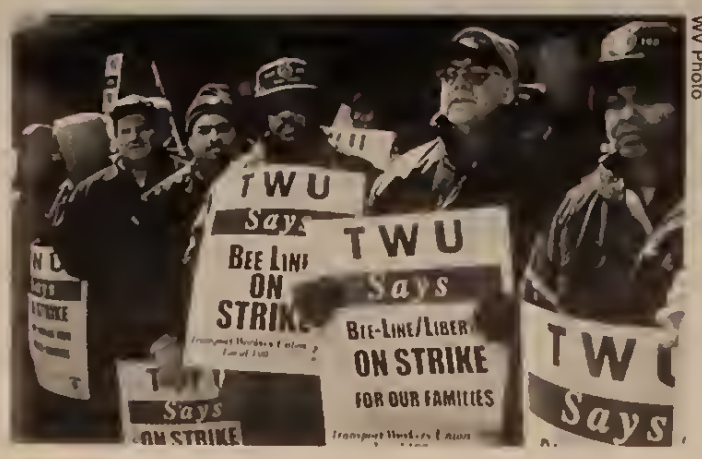
Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 12 April.

No. 846 **15 April 2005**

Victory to the Bee-Line Bus Strike!

Westchester, NY



WV Photo

March 10: Bee-Line workers on strike. Ranks of powerful TWU Local 100 should be mobilized for victory in Westchester.

APRIL 12—For six weeks, 568 bus drivers, mechanics and cleaners of Bee-Line bus, serving 55,000 riders in Westchester County, just north of New York City, have been solidly out on strike against the Liberty Lines bus company. On March 2, just hours before the strike deadline, management suddenly made demands for new health benefit givebacks which would cost members up to $2,000 per year. This was the last straw for the workers, and the strike ensued. Around the end of March, nearly 60 strikers were arrested while trying to stop buses that management was trying to remove from a depot to train a handful of scab drivers. The strikers were released, and they are now facing disorderly conduct charges. ***Drop the charges!*** Although Bee-Line workers are a small section of the powerful 37,000-strong Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, the union as a whole has the power to beat back the union-busting attacks of the bosses and the Westchester County politicians who control the subsidies that keep the buses rolling and guarantee the company's profits.

The issues involved in this strike are faced by most workers today—savage attacks on health care and pensions. Bee-Line workers are dying before they can ever receive even the meager retirement benefits that they were promised. Bus drivers suffer high mortality rates from job-related hazards and stress, including hypertension, back problems, heart attacks and kidney disorders. Outrageously, Bee-Line workers have *no sick days* in their contract. No wonder they are fighting to be able to retire at the age of 57 after a minimum of 20 years of service—bringing their retirement package closer to the rest of the TWU Local 100 membership—and to defend their existing health benefits. We say: ***Victory to the Bee-Line bus strike!***

The principal power broker in this strike is Democrat Andy Spano, the Westchester County Executive. Spano says the union's demands are "preposterous" and fumes, "Who gets benefits like this? Who retires at 57?" A transit worker who visited the picket lines told *Workers Vanguard* that more than 4,000 workers have made careers at the Liberty Lines over the years, yet only a couple of hundred collect benefits today—the rest are dead. Because Spano, who works closely with Liberty Lines bosses, controls the cash, he also controls the negotiations, which came to a halt during his recent two-week business trip to China.

With its segregated suburbs like Yonkers, Westchester County illustrates the sharp race and class divide in American society. Wealthy professionals commute into Manhattan while the working poor and their children must use the Bee-Line bus service every day for work, school and shopping. There is widespread sympathy for the strike, despite the howls and blatant lies from the bosses' anti-union press and politicos. Spanish-language newspapers read by immigrant riders have notably been more sympathetic, and their articles and photos have been posted at the picket lines. Spano and Liberty Lines management try to cynically exploit the real hardships of black, immigrant and poor riders to drive a wedge between them and the unionized workers. In fact, Bee-Line management openly admits it has enough money to meet the union's demands! But they provocatively refuse to budge from their union-busting drive, dripping with racist disdain for the riders. A union call for ***free mass transit*** would go a long way toward spiking the bosses' propaganda and forging a fighting alliance between the riders and the union.

Playing by the bosses' rules, the TWU Local 100 leadership has let the strike drag into its sixth week without flexing the union's muscles. On March 29, TWU Local 100 president Roger Toussaint responded to the on-again, off-again negotiations by calling in a federal mediator. "It brings pressure on both parties," said Local 100 Secretary-Treasurer Ed Watt. This underscores the role of labor misleaders in this country as agents of the bosses within the union movement. Calling in a federal labor mediator to broker "a compromise" is calling in an enemy of labor to get the workers to back down in defeat. Such mediators, as well as judges and arbitrators, are part of the machinery of the capitalist state which exists to defend the status quo, protecting the profits and property of the ruling class against those whose strength lies in their organized labor power. Workers have wrested gains from the capitalists by relying on their own strength and mobilizing in struggle.

Toussaint and the rest of the TWU Local 100 leadership have left Bee-Line strikers twisting in the wind and isolated. Only Local 100 staffers and small groups of transit workers and other unionists have visited the striking workers. But the union could easily mobilize thousands of MTA workers to swell the picket lines. If the bosses succeed in defeating the Bee-Line strike, it will only embolden them in their attacks on the rest of the TWU Local 100 membership, the large majority of whom are facing a contract battle with the MTA this December. The MTA is now completing a takeover of seven other private bus lines, one of which was Liberty Lines' express bus service between NYC and Westchester. These Liberty Lines workers still don't have a contract with the MTA. If the TWU Local 100 leadership were willing to fight, the former "Liberty Lines Express" (now "MTA Bus") workers in Westchester ***would also be on strike!*** What's needed is a union-wide mobilization to win full parity in wages, benefits, job protection and union rights—at the highest levels—for all bus and subway workers.

What better illustration can there be of the arrogance of the racist rulers and the irrationality of the capitalist system of wage slavery than this: Bee-Line workers are striking just to be able to live to retirement! Who but the vicious capitalists benefit when over 45 million workers in rich and powerful America have no health care? The lessons of class struggle show that the working class shouldn't plead—it must fight.

The strategy of the TWU tops, like the rest of the AFL-CIO pro-capitalist leadership, is to lobby (i.e., beg) Democratic and Republican Party politicians for a few more crumbs. Such "labor lieutenants of capital" have made a choice that their fortunes lie in defending the bosses' system, so they are not interested in leading the type of hard, independent class struggle that workers need in order to win. What's necessary is a leadership that wants to put political power in the hands of those who labor, a leadership that fights for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Alabama Bigots Vibrate over Sex Toys

Recently the U.S. Supreme Court justices donned their stately robes in order to refuse to hear a constitutional challenge to Alabama's 1998 ban on the distribution of "any device designed or marketed as useful primarily for the stimulation of human genital organs," that is, sex toys. First-time violators face a penalty of up to $10,000 and one year in jail! Georgia and Texas have similar laws, and they do enforce them. In 2003, Joanne Webb, a devout Christian and Republican, was arrested in a police sting operation for selling lotions, books and toys, items quaintly known as "marital aids," at one of her Tupperware-style "Passion Parties" for Texas housewives. In the 4 March *Moscow Times*, columnist Chris Floyd wrote: "Sex, sex, sex—how it haunts the damp and fervid dreams of the Bushist Party faithful."

The challengers to the Alabama legislation made clear that such laws are aimed at women, pointing out that products of the Viagra variety are perfectly legal. The bible-thumping bourgeois legislators believe that God himself has anointed them to police women who try to squeeze a little fun out of life. In their evangelical hallucinations, chaste young girls grow up to be passive, faithful wives who "endure" sex for procreation. You might think that if you really want to advise a teenage girl to "control your urgin', be a virgin," you would, at least, let her have a vibrator. It all brings to mind H.L. Mencken's classic description of the American Puritans, tortured by "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy." Of course, the rulers' hypocrisy is boundless; the divorce rate in Alabama is one of the highest in the country.

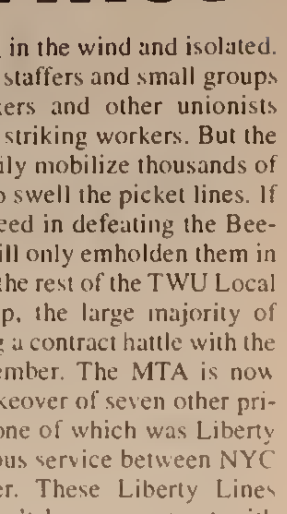
We say, it ain't nobody's business. We oppose all laws against "crimes without victims." We oppose "age of consent" laws and laws against pornography, drugs, gambling and prostitution—and certainly laws against peddling the delightful variety of vibrators and dildos on the market. The sex toy restriction is part of a law that bans strip clubs, which are just fine by us also. These "morality" laws have nothing to do with protecting anybody from anything but rather serve to regulate and control the population, instilling guilt and shame in the service of obedience to authority. And abstinence-only programs mean that when teenagers inevitably have sex, they are ignorant of HIV and other STDs, and have no access to contraception.

Locher/NY Times

Joanne Webb (right), arrested on outrageous "obscenity" charges in Texas.

As Floyd points out, laws against sex toys are meant to clamp down on the sexual pleasure of women and "are part of Bush's worldwide war against women... a war in which the Bushists are allied with their putative enemies, the radical Islamists. These two groups share an overwhelming fear of the freedom and inviolability of a woman's body, her ability to control her own sexuality and fertility. This freedom threatens social, cultural, political, economic and even psychological structures that in some cases go back thousands of years."

More and more, laws that might have once been dismissed as signs of rural backwardness, perhaps remnants of a Victorian and Puritan America or the slaveowning Confederacy, are being resurrected and pushed as the law of the land. Alabama stamps all its biology schoolbooks with evolution "warning labels." Now some Imax theaters have decided to stop showing any educational films that refer to evolution. Bush proclaims that the jury is still out on evolution, the framework of modern biology, and that potentially life-saving stem cell research should be *verboten*. Law upon law is piled on to end the right to abortion, and homegrown religious fascists threaten the few remaining abortion providers. White-supremacist Eric Rudolph has just pled guilty to the 1998 bombing of a Birmingham abortion clinic that killed one person and maimed another. Meanwhile, one state after another outlaws same-sex marriage.



Musée des Antiquités nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye

Artifact from the Stone Age: People have been at this for a long time.

The anti-sex, anti-abortion, anti-gay capitalist politicians only take breathers from their religious crusades to ax welfare, food stamps and Medicaid—hitting poor women and children the hardest. Religious reaction and anti-woman bigotry are part of the ideological underpinning to the grinding down of the working class. Government out of the bedrooms! For the separation of church and state!

Are we going back to 19th-century America when women had to seek out physicians who wielded large steam-powered massage contraptions in their offices to "treat" recurring bouts of "female hysteria"? The Alabama law does indeed exempt sales of sexual devices for "bona fide" medical purposes. In fact, sales are also allowed for "legislative, judicial or law enforcement purpose"! As Floyd put it, "Let's just rejoice in the knowledge that, thanks to the Supreme Court, Alabama politicians, judges and sheriffs can diddle themselves to their heart's content with all manner of manipulators, while your ordinary desperate housewife will have to do without them." ■

Oakland Teachers Under Attack

Defend Public Education! Free, Quality Education for All!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Bay Area Spartacist League on April 10.

OAKLAND—The Oakland Education Association (OEA) teachers union is waging a battle for its very survival against a government drive to dismantle the puhlic schools in this largely minority and working-class city. With public education increasingly under attack in California and across the country, the success or failure of the OEA could well be a turning point in this crucial battle for all working people. In fighting against layoffs, school closures and for a decent contract and improved classroom working conditions, Oakland teachers are necessarily also fighting against a state takeover that threatens to privatize public schools, gut education at all levels, and render the already appalling conditions of the schools even more like prisons for youth. Contentious district-union negotiations led to a March 25 proposed scttlement that was rejected 13 to 0 hy the union executive board. Meanwhile, teachers continue a "work to rule" slowdown.

Oakland schools administrator Randolph Ward, appointed by State Supcrintendent Jack O'Connell in 2003 to run the Oakland schools after the district's massive financial collapse, has called for the closure or "restructuring" of more than a quarter of the district's 94 schools, primarily in poor neighborhoods. "Restructuring" usually means turning the school into a charter run by an outside corporation on the same inadequate budget that was already in place, often requiring the teaching staff to reapply for their jobs and threatening the union contract. Thus, Ward aims to balance the books out of the teachers' pockets and at the cost of educating the youth. In late February, amid protests by hundreds of teachers, parents, students and other citizens, Ward proposed to eliminate Oakland's $15 million adult education program, which serves up to 30,000 people and is vitally necessary, above all to immigrants seeking to learn English.

Attempting to set native-born working people of all races against non-English-speaking, non-citizen immigrants, Ward vowed to "not allow adult ed to take away from K-through-12 education" (*Oakland Tribune*, 23 February). Hc also tried to blame the dismantling of adult education on the unions by saying that adult ed might remain only if the union agreed to cost-saving measures such as cuts in health care benefits. Perhaps he thought his crude play of the anti-union race card would divert people from the real culprit: the massive underfunding of public education by a capitalist class that is no longer committed to maintaining what is traditionally considered to be the road to a better life in the United States. The demented right-wingers running the country right now want high-priced, high-quality education for their own children and the sheerest tokenism for all others.

Free, Quality Integrated Education for All!

The public schools have been on the front line of struggle around every important social issue in the United States. Today, with the U.S. government witchhunt against immigrants, and the general assault on democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror," the fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants must be front and center in labor struggle, including bilingual education. Everyone should have the right to an education in their own language and the right to learn English!

Historically, the battle for black rights has raised education as a central priority. From the laws of the old slave states making it illegal to teach slaves to read and write, to the civil rights marches against the lie of "separate but equal," to the decaying ghetto schools today, public education has been a hattleground against segregation and oppression. A January 2005 study by the Harvard University Civil Rights Project, *Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and Educational Inequality*, shows that education has declined as poverty and segregation increase in the public schools. In March, the Civil Rights Project released a new study documenting a graduation rate of only 71 percent among California high school students; according to this study, Oakland Unified School District graduates less than half of its incoming freshmen on time. It is no coincidence that the attacks on public education and the "racial cleansing" of higher education through the destruction of affirmative action accompany California's three-strikes law and increased police brutality in the ghettos.

Tristan

Oakland: Rally in defense of teachers, March 15. A victory for Oakland teachers would strike a blow against attacks on education.

The severe crisis in California's public education dates from the 1978 Proposition 13 tax revolt, when white, middle-class property owners voted a cap on property taxes. Prop. 13 was a de facto racist referendum aimed against spending "tax dollars" on social programs that benefited blacks and other minorities—a convenient scam designed to pit petty-bourgeois homeowners against unions and government workers. The real beneficiaries were large commercial property owners, who in San Francisco alone reaped an annual windfall of some $600 million as a result. Since then, California, which used to boast of being the "education state," has plunged toward the hottom of the 50 states in per-pupil spending.

The Labor Black League for Social Defense, fraternally aligned with the Spartacist League, is intervening in support of the OEA with a class-struggle program, calling for: Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! Free, quality, integrated puhlic education for all! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! In the discussion period at a March 8 town hall meeting, "Defend Public Education," an LBL spokesman addressed the audience of some 200 teachers, parents and students:

> "Randy Ward might be the point man for these attacks, but they are bipartisan. The Democrats as well as the Republicans represent an American capitalist class that is no longer interested in educating the children of working people, blacks and minorities. To the capitalists, black ghetto youth in particular aren't wanted except as cannon fodder.... They want to eliminate all social services and break the backs of the unions, and that's the real motive for the anti-education and racist 'No Child Left Behind' and the charter schools.... The right of universal public education was won through hard, integrated class struggle, as a result of the Civil War and through the civil rights movement."

Certainly, no mere change in the structure of the school administration or city council, or the name of the administrator or mayor, can "reform" education in favor of the oppressed. With the race-color caste oppression of black people as a fracture line of American capitalism, a question as central as public education cannot be addressed without taking on the struggle for black liberation. That requires a revolutionary transformation of the society itself. Today, even incremental improvements are hampered by the political allegiance of the union tops to the Democratic Party and the capitalist system as a whole. What's needed is to huild a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will fight for the interests of all the oppressed and exploited.

Such a party would mobilize the power of labor to defend the teachers and the education of working-class, black and immigrant youth. Teachers must not be left to defend themselves alone. Oakland is a transportation hub, vital to the flow of profits, giving considerable potential power to workers organized in the rail unions, the Teamsters and particularly the strategic ILWU longshore union, which operates the Port of Oakland. The ILWU, able to shut down a major conduit for the lucrative profits of Pacific Rim trade, could exercise considerable social power in this struggle; many union members are also the parents of Oakland schoolchildren. In defending the OEA—and other teachers, such as those in Berkeley who rejected a proposed contract in late March and who are also engaged in a "work to rule"—the labor movement will be defending its own future and the future of all the oppressed.

However, the political allegiance of the labor tops to the Democratic Party—the other party of racism, austerity and war—is an obstacle to such a mobilization. The Democratic Party is no less committed to defending the interests of the capitalists than the Republicans. Witness state senate Democratic majority leader Gloria Romero, who came out for a "compromise" with Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's union-busting attack on teachers, which would extend the time it takes a teacher to get tenure from two years to five (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 March). At the March 8 town hall meeting, ILWU member Clarence Thomas, who chaired the gathering, touted last October's Million Worker March as a movement of the working people independent of the politicians. But as we wrote in "Million Worker March: Tail of Lesser-Evilism" (*WV* No. 831, 3 September 2004), "The MWM platform deliberately avoids denouncing 'lesser evil' support to the Democrats—including by their own unions, whose tops are pouring money into Kerry's campaign coffers." Without an explicit renunciation of the Democrats, the MWM's persistent call to dump Bush could only have meant, vote Kerry. Thus the MWM is attempting to put over a deliberate political swindle on workers who are seeking genuine independent labor political organization and action.

With Oakland's gross metropolitan product topping $100 billion, the OEA calls on local businesses to pay the district's $60 million debt to the state. But what if they don't want to, in line with their class interests? Presumahly, the OEA tops look to "elected officials" to lean on recalcitrant capitalists. Implicit in this or other "tax the rich" proposals is the illusion that the capitalists can be induced to act contrary to their class interests through moral suasion or the intervention of the government. But the government—local, state and federal—is in charge of a set of institutions dedicated to defending the interests of the capitalists.

The futility of pressuring Democrats has its sad and comic side in California under the Governator, who recently slammed state schools superintendent O'Connell as one of the "Three Stooges" for opposing the proposed budget, which further starves the schools of desperately needed funds. Those who think O'Connell may be a "lesser evil" should remember that Randolph Ward works for him, and that before Ward came to Oakland, he administered the coup de grâce to the public schools of Compton, the impoverished black and Latino city just south of Watts. In Oakland, ex-Democrat and now "independent" mayor Jerry Brown is an ardent supporter of charter schools and military academies such as the Oakland Military Institute, which he helped establish in 2001.

The reformist left has followed the lead of the labor bureaucracy. The International Socialist Organization pushes the Green Party, which they supported in the last two California gubernatorial elections. But the Green Party is no less a capitalist party than the Democrats. The group Education Not Incarceration lohbies the politicians to move money into education and away from the enormous prison system. But there's a reason why the government puts the priority on prisons instead: This ruling class really thinks Oakland school kids, who are considered "excess population," deserve prison time and not decent schools. Begging and sweet reason will not change their minds—we've got to take through struggle what should be ours.

One organization that captures the fundamental problem of the reformist outlook is BAMN (Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action, Integration and Immigrant Rights and Fight for Equality By

Any Means Necessary). Echoing the OEA officials, BAMN calls to "restore democratic control and full voting rights to the people of Oakland—End the school takeover and get rid of Randolph Ward." But local control of the same cutbacks can do nothing to improve things. This is a small example of what's wrong with BAMN's entire orientation. With its maximum demand for a "new civil rights movement," BAMN embraces the program of pressuring the Democrats embodied by Martin Luther King. The reformist civil rights movement ran into a capitalist brick wall when King tried to take it North. In contrast to King's and BAMN's liberal program, we put forward a program of revolutionary integrationism. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

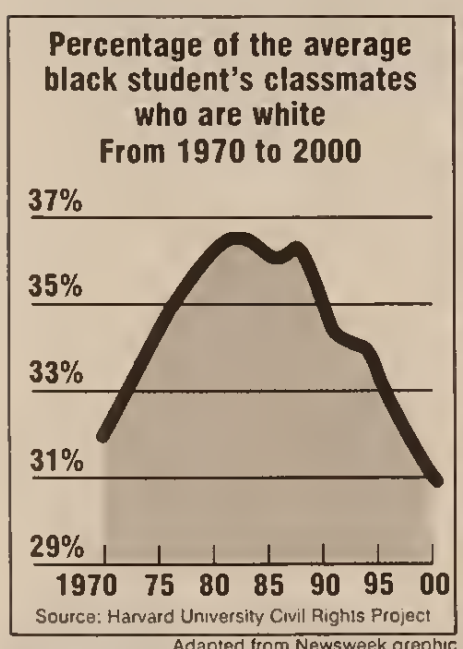
Wagner/Chicago Tribune

Chicago high school. Capitalist rulers have turned inner-city public schools into police pens with metal detectors and cops.

National Right-Wing Campaign Targets Blacks, Workers

Nationally, the Bush administration is spearheading the destruction of public education with its 2002 reauthorization of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, dubbed No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in a bitter misnomer. Under NCLB, schools are mandated to administer standardized yearly tests in reading and math from grades three through eight, beginning in school year 2005-2006, and later grades as well. Schools whose test scores fail to improve at a set pace are penalized by loss of funds, "reorganization" (firing the staff), closure or conversion to charter schools. The key index is "adequate yearly progress" (AYP). So arbitrary are the standards that one of the state's best school systems, in wealthy Cupertino, does not meet NCLB requirements for AYP because, in a very small section of its students, test scores did not increase!

NCLB also requires school districts to provide U.S. imperialist military recruiters with students' names, addresses and phone numbers. Considerable opposition has materialized against this from those who oppose the U.S.'s bloody war against the people of Iraq, as well as parents who protest the requirement as a violation of privacy. Drop the requirement! U.S. out of Iraq now! U.S. imperialism, get your bloody hands off the world!



Adapted from Newsweek grephic

WV Photo

With rollback of gains of civil rights movement, schools have become increasingly segregated. Right: Spartacist signs at March 2004 antiwar rally in San Francisco.

National education experts have complained about the focus on test scores as a measure of school success. Already strapped for resources, schools are cutting art, music, social studies, foreign languages and recess while prepping students for the standardized tests. In a statement released after the National Conference of State Legislatures report criticizing NCLB, National Education Association president Reg Weaver commented, "Instead of saddling educators and schools with inflexible, bureaucratic mandates, the federal government should be focusing aid on classrooms, where it makes a difference. This means adequate resources for smaller class sizes, increased teacher training and parental involvement, expanded early childhood and after-school services, and up-to-date textbooks and materials" (NEA online, 23 February).

Coupled with the across-the-board decrease in government funding for education, programs that make both learning and teaching fun and exciting are slashed, while the very art of teaching is transformed into a robotic pursuit of test scores, driving the best and most experienced teachers out of the profession. And this is, evidently, one of the aims of NCLB, only the latest salvo fired against teachers unions nationally.

The ideological campaign against the teachers unions is intended to scapegoat their supposed incompetence as responsible for the crisis in education. But more importantly, teachers unions (despite their relative lack of social power) have been effective in pushing for more funding for schools from Congress and state governments. Teachers' authority among parents lends the unions a potentially broad influence, while widespread union seniority and tenure provisions make teachers more difficult to intimidate. Teachers are likewise in the path of the right wing's drive to use the schools to indoctrinate children in all kinds of backwardness for purposes of social regimentation—from destroying sex education to promoting anti-science "creationism" and imposing school prayer. Thus the vehemence of the attack, captured by Bush's former secretary of education Rod Paige who last year called the NEA a "terrorist organization." The plan for education seems best summed up by Newt Gingrich, whose new book calls for children born into "violent homes" to be placed in orphanages.

In California, Schwarzenegger is campaigning for a special election in the fall to vote on several union-busting propositions, among them to tie teachers' pay to "merit," abolishing union seniority provisions. Teachers are another of the "special interests" he is after—along with all the other unionists in the state. (Another proposition, since withdrawn for the time being, seeks to dismantle the pension system for state and local government employees.) "Merit" will presumably be established by student test scores.

California's government is bankrupt by design: The state's economy is the fifth largest in the world. Oakland itself, for example, is home to a major international port doing over $25 billion in annual trade. U.S. Census Bureau statistics from 2002 show that the per capita GNP in the United States is higher than any other country except Switzerland. The resources exist for the U.S. to have a public education system as good as, if not better than, that of any other country. But to the contrary, a recent report states that in 2002-03 the nation's public schools were $250 billion in debt, up 11 percent from the previous year (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 March). The real problem is not lack of resources, but the political balance of class forces.

Beginning in the late 1970s, the capitalist war on labor gave impetus to an enormous upward redistribution of income. Between 1976 and 1992, hourly wage earnings declined almost 1 percent a year, while productivity increased nearly 1.5 percent—an enormous shift of income from labor to capital that shows in stark economic terms the increase in the rate of exploitation of labor. This shift may well be historically unprecedented for an advanced bourgeois democracy in a comparable period.

The widening of class-based inequality in the country translates into inequality in class-based and ethnic-based school districts. While school districts are funded largely through local property taxes in most other states, in California state funding ends up with much the same result. State spending per student is capped to ensure "equality," a measure devised to end the gross disparity in tax revenue between wealthy and poor communities, but which has in effect equalized mediocrity by making sure all districts get a fixed, inadequate amount of money for their schools. Wealthier towns can supplement these funds through local measures, as Berkeley does, for example, or through private fundraising, often organized by desperate parents. While a spaghetti dinner in a poor community may raise a few hundred dollars, wealthy parents in rich suburbs can raise hundreds of thousands of dollars by establishing tax-exempt charities to fund their school districts. This guarantees that rich, white suburban kids get the best education money can buy, while poor and minority inner-city students end up in squalid, decaying pits.

In 2000, a San Francisco middle-school student, Eliezer Williams, initiated a lawsuit (later joined by some one million schoolchildren) against substandard conditions in the urban schools; a recent court agreement is supposed to provide state funds to buy textbooks and clean out vermin in the schools, for example. But the legal notices informing students of their rights under the Williams settlement are still lacking in most classrooms (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 February).

As socialists, we oppose all class-based and racially discriminatory privileges in educational opportunity. As against funding based on local property taxation of very different "publics," we call for the full funding of public education at the national level. All social services, from welfare to health care, should be federally funded. Yet as long as the schools remain segregated, no amount of federal aid can ensure equal access to educational facilities. The root cause of school segregation is the residential segregation that pervades American society. Residential segregation itself must be smashed through a massive public works program that builds affordable housing and good neighborhoods for all.

Break with the Democrats! Fight for a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

The share of the social product dedicated to maintaining the standard of living of the working people—in the form of wages, government funding and social programs—is determined by the level of class struggle. The ruling class concedes nothing that it isn't forced to give.

That the labor movement today has instead lost so much ground can be laid squarely at the door of the trade-union bureaucracy, which has cultivated not the strength but the weakness of the unions at organizational, economic and political levels. As Republicans and Democrats unite to slash social programs and the wages and jobs of government workers, raising fees and taxes that disproportionately target poor and working people, the bureaucracy plays along, pushing the lie that labor and capital have the same interest in keeping profits high and the economy "healthy" and competitive with U.S. imperialism's world rivals. The issue is not to choose one or another capitalist politician. As long as the capitalist system of production for profit—not human needs—prevails, the rulers will always seek to reduce the standard of living of the working class to its lowest possible level.

We have often noted that if the labor unions had spent the millions they spent on trying to elect Democrats such as John Kerry or Gray Davis on actually promoting labor struggle, such as funding the Southern California grocery workers strike, they would be in a much better position. But the unions are led by a labor bureaucracy wholly committed to the capitalist system and the preservation of the profit system, for whom "class struggle" means begging the other party of American capital, the Democrats, for slightly better conditions under the same system of wage slavery that produces the misery and racism in this society. With such pro-capitalist policies, the unions can't even fight for a slightly better today, never mind wage the fight for a workers government that will finally end the rule of capital altogether. Labor must be unchained from its political reliance and dependency on the Democratic Party, the party of slavery and war, if it is to succeed in defending its rights. To achieve this will require a political fight in the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and to forge a revolutionary party committed to fight for a workers government to seize control of the country's enormous wealth and use it for the benefit of the workers and oppressed of the whole world. ■

SYC Class Series

CHICAGO

Tuesday, April 19, 7 p.m.
The 1917 Russian Revolution
University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Room 214
5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

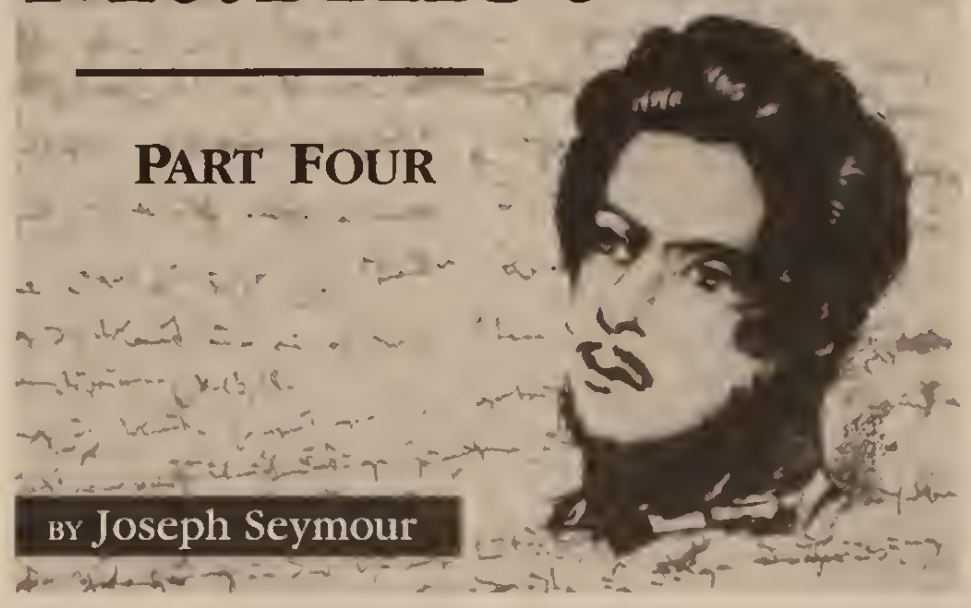
LOS ANGELES

Tuesday, April 26, 12 Noon
Video Showing:
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Pasadena City College, Room R-109
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Young Spartacus

How Marx Became a Marxist

PART FOUR



BY Joseph Seymour

Young Spartacus graphic: drawing of Marx by H. Bach

We print below the fourth, and concluding, part of an educational given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Twelfth National Conference of the SL/U.S. held last summer. Part One appeared in WV *No. 840 (21 January). Part Two in* WV *No. 842 (18 February) and Part Three in* WV *No. 844 (18 March).*

The period between late 1843 and the spring of 1845, when Marx wrote the "Theses on Feuerbach," was a transitional period in his thinking. His ideas did ***not*** constitute a consistent and coherent whole. Elements of left Hegelian idealism coexisted with rudimentary elements of what Plekhanov would later term "dialectical materialism."

Thus in late 1843, Marx projected an imminent revolution in Germany led by the proletariat. At the same time, he by no means rejected and opposed Feuerbach's concept of the "religion of humanity." He wrote to Feuerbach in 1844:

> "In these writings you have provided—I don't know whether intentionally—a philosophical basis for socialism and the Communists have immediately understood them in this way. The unity of man with man, which is based on the real differences between men, the concept of the human species brought down from the heaven of abstraction to the real earth, what is this but the concept of *society*!" [emphasis in original]

Marx was here still operating with a concept of man in society which was class *un*differentiated.

A superficial and ahistorical reading of Marx's early writings might give the impression that he was more radically leftist in 1843-44 than in 1847-48. In the introduction to his "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," written in late 1843, Marx declared:

> "In Germany emancipation from the *Middle Ages* is possible only as emancipation from the *partial* victories over the Middle Ages as well. In Germany *no* kind of bondage can be broken without breaking *every* kind of bondage. The *thorough* Germany cannot make a revolution without making a *thoroughgoing* revolution. The *emancipation of the German* is the *emancipation of the human being*. The *head* of this emancipation is *philosophy*, its *heart* is the *proletariat*." [emphasis in original]

However, in the *Communist Manifesto*, written four and a half years later, Marx projected:

> "The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

How does one explain Marx's change in position on the crucial question of the social character of the coming revolution in Germany? The answer is that in 1843-44 Marx was not yet a Marxist. He used the terms "proletariat," "revolution" and "communism," but these terms were placed within a left Hegelian conceptual framework. The proletariat was assigned the role of the revolutionary negation or antithesis of the existing social and political order in Germany. Marx defined the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat essentially, indeed entirely, in ***negative*** terms. It was

> "a class with ***radical chains***, a class of civil society which is not a class of civil society, an estate which is the dissolution of all estates, a sphere which has a universal character by its universal suffering and claims no ***particular right*** because no ***particular wrong*** but ***wrong generally*** is perpetrated against it." [emphasis in original]
>
> —Introduction to "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law"

None of Marx's early writings investigate the actual socio-economic condition of the German proletariat, its various components (such as artisans versus factory workers), its organizations and political consciousness. The empirical reality represented by the term "proletariat" in Germany in the 1840s was fundamentally different than it is today or, for that matter, half a century later. No more than a third of urban wage earners worked in factories. The large majority were employed in small workshops using pre-industrial technology. And they considered having to work in a factory a form of social degradation which they resisted as best they could.

When the political situation opened up in 1848, the newly formed mass working-class organizations did not look forward to a collectivized industrial economy, but rather backward to a protected artisanal economy. They demanded higher tariffs to protect German workers from cheap manufactured imports from Britain. They agitated for laws to protect artisans from competition from goods made in German factories. On a few occasions, small groups of artisans physically attacked and sought to demolish factories. "We are destroying industrial capitalism...literally. Smash! Take that, you evil factory!"

I want to digress a little on the present-day significance of left Hegelian radicalism. Because of Marx's involvement in this movement, left Hegelianism is usually identified with Germany in the early-mid 1840s. But the German left Hegelian movement was very short-lived. Even before 1848, its leading figures—Bruno Bauer, Feuerbach, Arnold Ruge—had dropped out of radical politics, while Marx and Engels transcended left Hegelian idealism.

It was not German but rather *Russian* left Hegelians—notably Alexander Herzen and his colleague Mikhail Bakunin—who founded historically significant political-ideological tendencies which exist *to this day*. Herzen was the founding theorist of Russian populism—the idea of a peasant-based revolution leading to peasant-based socialism. Bakunin was the founding figure of anarcho-communism both as a doctrine and a movement.

We're all aware of the revival of anarchism in the post-Soviet period. However, there has been a revival of left Hegelian radicalism, in substance though not form, since the 1960s. From the late 1950s until his early death in 1961, Frantz Fanon, a left-wing intellectual from the French West Indies, served as a publicist for the Algerian petty-bourgeois nationalists then waging a war of liberation against French colonial rule. In that capacity he published a book whose title, *The Wretched of the Earth*, instantaneously entered into the vocabulary of the left internationally.

Fanon maintained that the industrial working class in the advanced capitalist countries, and also the colonial and semi-colonial countries, had become bourgeoisified. The revolutionary negation of the global capitalist-imperialist system was now to be found in the "wretched of the earth"—the poorest and most downtrodden section of the peasantry and the impoverished slum dwellers in cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the U.S., Fanon's views strongly influenced the leaders of the Black Panther Party like Huey Newton and David Hilliard, who maintained that black lumpens—the "brothers on the block"—were the social vanguard of the American revolution. To speak Hegelian, the black lumpenproletariat was the revolutionary antithesis of the American racist, capitalist social and political order.

All of us in the SL/U.S. are familiar with the expression: the most oppressed is the most revolutionary. This is the crux of left Hegelian political radicalism which Marx and also Engels transcended in the course of becoming Marxists.

Toward Dialectical Materialism

Looking back in the 1880s, Engels considered that the "Theses on Feuerbach," written by Marx in the spring of 1845, was the first coherent expression of historical materialism. The following year, Marx and Engels wrote *The German Ideology*, which was in a sense an explanation and elaboration of the ideas which the "Theses" presented in a highly encapsulated, almost cryptic, form. Marx later wrote that *The German Ideology* was a work of "self-clarification," thereby implying that it criticized ideas which he and Engels had recently shared with other left Hegelians, notably Feuerbach.

I want to emphasize three aspects of the new Marxist worldview which sharply differentiated it from left Hegelian idealism. First, external reality cannot be adequately understood through passive contemplation. Thought is purposive. People think in order to pursue their needs and interests. One can expand and deepen one's understanding of the world only by seeking to change it, by trying to act upon it. One can then assess the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of such efforts and therefore the validity and adequacy of one's understanding of the world. As Marx wrote in the second thesis on Feuerbach:

> "The question of whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question. Man must prove the truth, i.e., the reality and power, the this-worldliness of his thinking in practice. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which isolates itself from practice is a purely scholastic question."

Second, Marx insisted that the elimination of oppression and exploitation in their various historically derived forms required the development of the productive forces of society. It was not enough to expose and refute the ideological legitimations of the existing social and political order such as religion and nationalism or, for that matter, liberalism. Thus a key passage in *The German Ideology*:

> "We shall, of course, not take the trouble to explain to our wise philosophers that the 'liberation' of 'man' is not advanced a single step by reducing philosophy, theology, substance and all the rubbish to 'self-consciousness' and by liberating

Progress Publishers

Marxist Internet Archive

Chartist demonstration in London, 1848. Engels developed a close relationship with left-wing Chartist leaders Ernest Jones (right) and Julian Harney (far right).

Illustrated London News

'man' from the domination of these phrases, which have never held him in thrall. Nor shall we explain to them that it is possible to achieve real liberation only in the real world and by real means, that slavery cannot be abolished without the steam-engine and the mule jenny, serfdom cannot be abolished without improved agriculture, and that, in general, people cannot be liberated as long as they are unable to obtain food and drink, housing and clothing in adequate quality and quantity. 'Liberation' is a historical and not a mental act."

Marx and Engels did not, of course, deny or minimize the importance of combating the influence of bourgeois ideology among the mass of the working class. Such propagandistic activity was a necessary precondition for a proletarian revolution. But it was the proletarian revolution that was the necessary and decisive act of social liberation in the real world.

This bears on a third important aspect of Marxism as it differentiated itself from left Hegelian radicalism. This was a dialectical materialist understanding of the working class. Here I believe Engels' contribution was of crucial importance. Unlike Marx, during this period Engels acquired firsthand knowledge of a mass political movement of an *industrial* proletariat, the British Chartist movement of the 1840s.

for the establishment of a Communist party among the educated classes of society, than anywhere else. The Germans are a very disinterested nation; if in Germany principle comes into collision with interest, principle will almost always silence the claims of interest. The same love of abstract principle, the same disregard of reality and self-interest, which have brought the Germans to a state of political nonentity, these very same qualities guarantee the success of philosophical Communism in that country." [emphasis in original]

So how did Engels become a Marxist? Certainly, an important factor was that he developed a close political relationship with the leaders of the left wing of the Chartist movement, notably Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. He came to recognize both the potential social power of the organized industrial proletariat and the many obstacles to and difficulties in organizing the mass of workers on a revolutionary program.

Even among the relatively advanced workers who participated in and supported the Chartist movement, there were significantly different levels of political consciousness. The Chartist movement, whose central programmatic demand was universal suffrage, had a well-defined right-left factional spectrum. Workers who supported the right wing were willing to

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Workers' barricades in Frankfurt, Germany in 1848. *Communist Manifesto* was published as revolutions swept Europe that year.

In 1843, Engels was sent to help manage the family textile factory in Manchester, England. At the time he was a pure left Hegelian communist who believed that what is rational must soon become real, especially in Germany. Soon after arriving in England, he wrote an article, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent," for the Owenite socialist journal, *The New Moral World*, in which he stated:

> "The Germans are a philosophical nation, and will not, cannot abandon Communism, as soon as it is founded upon sound philosophical principles: chiefly if it is derived as an unavoidable conclusion from their *own* philosophy....
>
> "There is a greater chance in Germany

settle for moderate reforms and were prepared for that purpose to collaborate with bourgeois liberals. The leaders and militants of the Chartist left were "red republicans," and indeed, later chose that term for the name of their newspaper.

Unlike Marx's earlier writings, the *Communist Manifesto* presents, albeit briefly, a dialectical materialist analysis of the modern working class, explaining the interaction between objective economic development and the organization and political consciousness of the proletariat. The *Manifesto* also for the first time clearly defines the *fundamental difference* between the communist

Time

Stephen Shames

Left: Frantz Fanon. Right: Black Panther Party rally, 1969. Panthers were influenced by Fanon's writings advancing left Hegelian view that the most oppressed are the most revolutionary.

vanguard and the relatively more backward workers:

> "The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."

The same month that the *Manifesto* was published, a popular, working-class-centered uprising in Paris overthrew the government of Louis Philippe, known as "the bankers' king." This initiated revolutions throughout continental west and central Europe. The revolutions of 1848, Marx and Engels' participation in them, their defeat and aftermath lie beyond the scope of this educational, which is plenty ambitious as it is.

However, one episode in the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions bears directly on one of the themes I've been discussing. By 1850, following the defeat of the revolution in Germany, the leadership of the Communist League reassembled in London. In the fall of that year, the League experienced a factional struggle leading to a split. A group around Karl Schapper, the veteran leader of the organization before Marx, maintained that the victory of monarchical reaction in Germany was transient. Schapper and his cothinkers projected a renewed imminent revolutionary upsurge which would be even more radical than before, since the bourgeois liberals had discredited themselves with the workers and petty-bourgeois masses.

Marx and Engels considered this wishful thinking. In the course of the fight, Marx exclaimed:

> "The materialist standpoint of the *Manifesto* has given way to idealism. The revolution is seen not as the product of realities of the situation but as the result of an effort of *will*. Whereas we say to the workers: You have 15, 20, 50 years of civil war to go through in order to alter the situation and to train yourselves for the exercise of power, it is said: We must take power *at once*, or else we may as well take to our beds." [emphasis in original]

The basic point is that the revolutionary capacity of the working class is not simply a result of the condition of oppression and exploitation but is a product of its *own historical development*, in which the communist vanguard plays a crucial role.

In 1850, Marx and Engels did not foresee and could not possibly have foreseen that the reactionary conditions in Germany and also France would last another decade and a half. And even after that, except for the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871, there was no prospect for proletarian revolution in Europe during Marx and Engels' lifetimes.

When the *Communist Manifesto* was published, there were a couple of thousand members and supporters of the Communist League in Germany and elsewhere in West Europe. Ten years later only a handful of these were still communists. The overwhelming majority of "Red '48ers," as they were called, had come to terms with the developing bourgeois order. One even ended up as German finance minister under Bismarck. A goodly number of former "Red '48ers" emigrated to the United States where they played an honorable and important role as officers and soldiers in the Union Army in the American Civil War. But they did so as radical democrats, no longer communists.

A parallel development occurred in Britain. In 1850, the first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* was published on the front page of the journal of the Chartist left, the *Red Republican*. However, over the next decade, the Chartist movement disintegrated completely. First Julian Harney, then Ernest Jones became demoralized, moved to the right and came out for collaboration between the workers movement and bourgeois liberals.

Almost uniquely among the leading "red republicans" of the 1840s, Marx and Engels continued to stand for and fight for communism for the rest of their lives. They modified their concrete program in line with changing historical conditions (for example, on the colonial question), but they did not change their ultimate goal. Eventually, they were able to intersect a new generation of young militant leftists—represented by Jules Guesde in France and Georgi Plekhanov in Russia—who had not been scarred by the historic defeat of 1848.

If, in the years or decades after 1848, Marx and Engels had abandoned communism as a utopian fantasy, the *Communist Manifesto* would today be as little known and little read as the writings of Wilhelm Weitling, Étienne Cabet, Auguste Blanqui, Robert Owen and the many other communists and socialists of the pre-1848 era. Marx and Engels were the human, that is, material, agents necessary to transmit their ideas to future generations.

We, too, now operate in the aftermath of a world-historic defeat: the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. And we, too, are the only human agents—there's no one else out there—who can transmit the principles and program of communism and the understanding of dialectical materialism to future generations. That's just the way it is.■

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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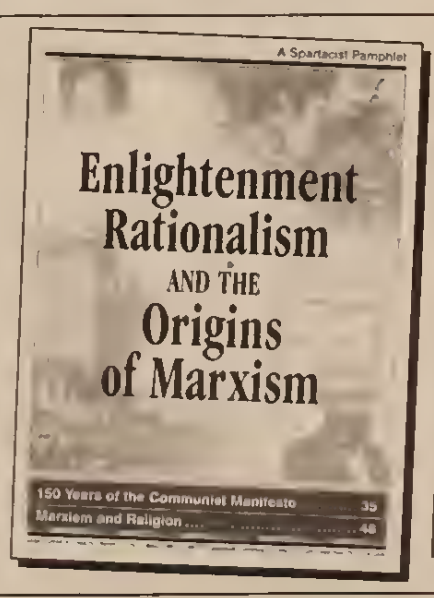
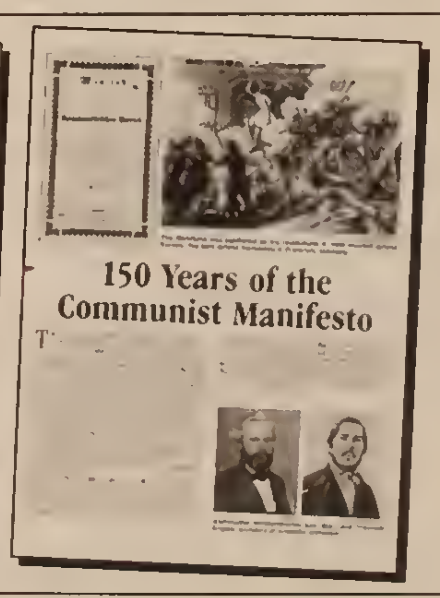




No Reprisals Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!

We reprint below an April 7 Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club statement responding to repression against protesters at San Francisco State University (SFSU).

On March 9, Students Against War (SAW) and others organized to "Kick Military Recruiters Out of SFSU." The Spartacus Youth Club participated, and an SYCer addressed the crowd of about 200, making clear our opposition to the U.S. colonial occupation of Iraq. After protesting in Malcolm X Plaza, about 100 students marched up into Jack Adams Hall and confronted recruiters at a career fair. The next day, according to SAW, two activists who entered the career fair with leaflets were pushed out by eight cops on the pretext of "causing a fire hazard" and expelled from the Student Center. We defend SAW and its supporters in the International Socialist Organization against administration attacks, despite our fundamental political differences with them. ***An injury to one is an injury to all!***

According to the local news, the administration plans to punish organizations and individuals who organized and participated in the March 9 protest (KPIX Channel 5, 9 March). Two SAW supporters received letters from the Coordinator of Judicial Affairs demanding that they appear before the administration in closed meetings where legal representation is barred. These letters are meant both to intimidate and open the process of squelching activists. During an event in February featuring racist ideologue David Horowitz, two supporters of the SYC were ejected before they were able to speak during the Q&A session. Some weeks later, these supporters received similar letters from the administration demanding they attend closed meetings. As we wrote in a recent statement, "How far the right-wing witchhunt will go depends on how much labor, leftists, and minorities are willing to stand up and voice their opinions" (*Golden Gate [X]press*, 10 February). ***We must defeat politicol repression on the compuses and natianally.***

In self-defense, Students Against War has circulated a petition entitled "Protect SFSU Students' Right to Free Speech." It reads:

> "San Francisco State University has threatened to suspend campus groups and discipline individual students for taking part in the March 9th counter-recruitment demonstration. Such actions would be blatant violations of students' right to free speech. We, the undersigned, demand that no such disciplinary actions be taken against campus groups or individual students involved in the protest."

We encourage students to sign that petition. Military recruiters aim to draw in working-class youth and students as fodder for the bloody campaigns of U.S. militarism, such as the brutal colonial occupation of Iraq. We oppose the direct use of the university by the imperialist U.S. military. ***ROTC/military recruiters off compus now!***

Our opposition to recruiters is based upon anti-militarism and anti-imperialism, not pacifism. We certainly do not groove on the deaths of American soldiers, but we do have a side in Iraq: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. We call on youth and workers in the U.S. and internationally to mobilize in protest on the basis of the defense of the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack or repression and for the military defense of Iraqi forces on the ground when they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers. ***All U.S. troops out of Iroq now! Down with the coloniol occupation!***

Meanwhile in cyberspace, SAW has posted a totally *different* online petition with language that reflects dangerous illusions in the university administration. It reads in part: "San Francisco State University should be ashamed that they are a shell [sic] for the US military. They undermine their own anti-discrimination policies and commitments to diversity by allowing a racist, sexist and anti-gay institution to recruit on campus."

On this petition, we have to note the fact that the role of the school authorities is to administer the campus on behalf of the bourgeoisie, policing it as necessary to ensure the steady flow of educated workers for the profit machine in this country and to buttress its imperialist rule abroad. Many students opposed to the presence of military recruiters on campus are nonetheless wedded to liberal beliefs in the "anti-discriminatory policies and commitment to diversity" of the campus administration. This is a misguided conception. The administration is not committed to "justice" or "equality." SFSU president Corrigan's own nasty history bears this out, from the attacks on General Union of Palestine Students and cop spying on student protesters to its cooperation with the FBI as it sought student records in an open-ended investigation of Near Eastern and Muslim students following September 11, 2001. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: ***No reprisols ogoinst student protesters!*** ■

ROTC...

(continued from page 12)

faith in "God and country." This is illustrated by the patriotic "support our troops" line pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans during the war and occupation, and echoed by much of the reformist left with their calls to "Bring the troops home now." Despite the working-class background of most of the rank and file, soldiers in the bourgeois army serve to defend the rule of the capitalist exploiters. For working people these are not "our" troops, but the troops of the U.S. imperialist butchers. Whatever the intention of the individual recruit, the reality of what it means to serve in the military can be seen starkly in Iraq today from the destruction and depopulation of Falluja to the Abu Ghraib den of torture.

The call to "Bring the troops home" is an accommodation to those who appeal to the U.S. rulers to get the American troops out of harm's way; this is what Lenin called social-patriotism—expressing concern primarily for the loss of *Americon* lives rather than for the victims of U.S. imperialist terror. This call serves to obscure the fact that working people in the U.S. should take a side militarily with the Iraqi peoples *against* the U.S. military occupiers. The blows directed against the U.S. imperialist occupiers and their Iraqi lackeys represent a just struggle by Iraqis against a neocolonial occupation. And responsibility for the deaths of American soldiers lies entirely with the U.S. ruling class. We say: ***Defend the peoples of Iraq agoinst the occupotion forces! All U.S. traops aut of Iroq now!*** At the same time, we oppose the deadly communalist violence in Iraq against other ethnic, religious and national populations, which is often carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies.

Verlag Kurt Oesch

Karl Liebknecht, revolutionary internationalist and anti-militarist.

During the war we called for defense of neocolonial Iraq against the predatory U.S. imperialist attack without giving an iota of political support to the reactionary Saddam Hussein regime. While many reformist left groups such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Workers World Party (WWP) today vicariously cheer the "Iraqi resistance," they rejected the call for defense of Iraq during the war. This was because it would have prevented them from uniting with bourgeois liberals who didn't want to take a side against U.S. imperialism and simply opposed the war because they didn't think it was the best way to advance the interests of American capitalism.

Behind many of the recent protests against military recruiters are coalitions and leftist organizations who organized the "antiwar movement" against the Iraq war. These include the ISO-dominated Campus Antiwar Network and its campus affiliates, the RCP's Not In Our Name coalition and the WWP youth group Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST). The premise of the Iraq antiwar movement was that if the greatest number of people united in a broad movement, they could pressure the U.S. government to stop the war and occupation. The goal of the antiwar movement was, and continues to be, based on the fallacy that imperialism can be reformed and that the imperialist rulers can be pressured to make their system more humane, peaceful and democratic.

These reformist leftists would have you believe that the antiwar movement failed in its goals because they just didn't get enough people on board to pressure the government hard enough. The ISO lays out this reformist strategy explicitly: "To influence Congress, our most effective tool is not compromise, but a confident, coherent and growing opposition to the Iraq occupation. We should exploit every division at the top, even between Republicans, but this can only be done effectively by wielding a clear ideological counterweight, backed up by mass forces" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). The ISO also blames supposedly nefarious liberals, like their coalition partners in the leadership of United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), for somehow sidetracking antiwar activists into campaigning for the Democratic candidate in the presidential election. Don't buy any of this!

The antiwar movement failed because you can't stop the imperialist rulers from going to war through pressure politics. Wars against neocolonial countries by imperialist nations, as well as wars between imperialist nations, are inevitable under capitalism. While the capitalist rulers may differ among themselves over tactics, imperialism is not a "policy" that the capitalist rulers can choose to carry out or not depending on their "conscience" or the will of the populace; it is a system based on cutthroat economic competition between nation-states over markets and spheres of influence. This competition is fought out ultimately in the military arena. This will always be the case until the working class destroys the capitalist system and replaces it with a society in which production is for the needs of all humanity, not the profit of a tiny minority.

Flowing from this is the understanding that a successful fight against imperialist war requires attacking the economic and social roots of war, *not* begging the capitalist rulers to make their system more humane. The only successful antiwar movement is the working class vying for power—like the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. As then-Trotskyist James Burnham stated in *War and the Workers* (1936):

> "Since the victory of socialism, and this alone, will defeat war, every step on the path to socialism is a blow at war. In the struggle against war, properly understood, every militant workers' demonstration, every broad mass labor defense fight, every well-led strike, and in general every advance of the workers toward power, is worth a thousand 'Peace Leagues.'"

War exposes the true nature of capitalism, concentrating the everyday, seemingly random violence of life under capitalism into one geographical area over a compressed period of time. In response to this, youth and workers often draw a pacifist conclusion. But this visceral reaction against the horrors of imperialist war must be turned into an understanding that it requires a class war against capitalism to put an end to war once and for all. The program of pacifism, on the other hand, is based on the false premise that peace can be achieved without overturning capitalism. In this sense pacifism is of great service to the capitalist rulers because it helps them channel discontent with war into an impotent movement crying out "Stop the War!" This is why a handful of capitalist "peace dove" politicians typically come out against the war (while, of course, "supporting the troops")—they appear on the platforms of liberal antiwar protests to keep the "movement" safe for capitalism.

Helping the imperialists keep the opposition to the Iraq war and occupation safe for capitalism are groups that claim to be revolutionary and anti-imperialist—ISO, WWP, RCP—who built the pacifist antiwar movement. Their call for the

PROTEST!

ROTC/Military Recruiters Off Campus!
All U.S. Troops Out of Iraq, Now!
Down With Anti-Gay Discrimination in the Military!

Cal Day, Saturday, April 16, 12 Noon
UC Berkeley
Wheeler Hall, South Entrance

Initiated by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

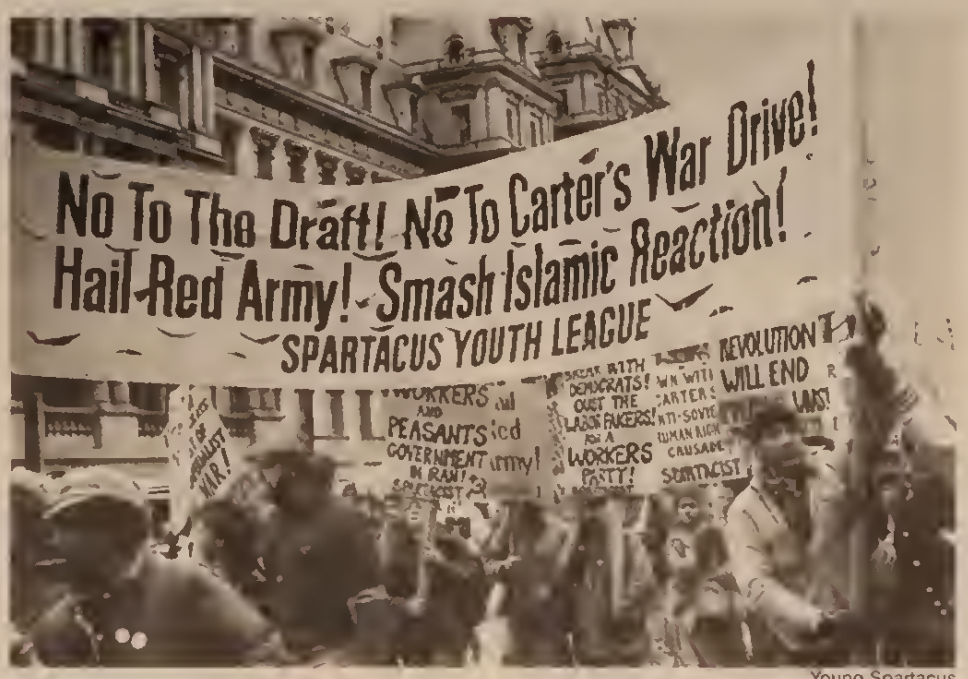
"broadest possible unity" meant eagerly seeking the participation of capitalist politicians, welcoming with open arms capitalist Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton and Dennis Kucinich. From day one, pro-Democratic Party "Anybody but Bush" politics predominated in the antiwar coalitions and demonstrations these reformist leftists organized. Of course, *after* their vaunted movement dissipated, they complained that the liberals derailed the movement into voting for Kerry! And such complaints hardly deterred them from raising the call "Beat Back the Bush Attack" and bringing out their usual roster of "antiwar" Democrats at the recent March 19 protests against the occupation.

Illusions in the reformability of capitalism and in the Democratic Party as a supposed "lesser evil" are the key obstacles to the kind of working-class struggle that is so badly needed. We say: Break with the Democratic Party of racism and war! For a revolutionary workers party!

New Campaign, Same Reformist Program

The reformist left is now working overtime to dress up the same tired, old liberal-pacifist program that the antiwar movement was based on in new, militant, "grassroots" garb. Groups like the ISO are seizing on campus "counter-recruitment" and soldiers' resistance as the new vanguard in the fight against the occupation of Iraq. The argument that if you could just stop enough people from signing up for the military and get enough soldiers to refuse to serve, then the U.S. would have to end the occupation does have its appeal to youth who've never seen a serious mobilization of the social power of the working class. These youth have been sold the myth that the Vietnam War was ended through a mass pacifist movement of antiwar protesters and draft resisters.

Contrary to popular left mythology, what ended the Vietnam War was the military defeat of the U.S. imperialists by the revolutionary workers and peasants of Vietnam who carried out a social revolution that overturned capitalism. Not only did we call for victory to the Vietnamese revolutionaries at the time, but to this day we continue to stand for the unconditional military defense of Vietnam, China, North Korea and Cuba as countries where capitalism has been overturned. Unlike pacifists and anti-Communists like the ISO and RCP, we defend the right of these workers states, albeit deformed by Stalinism, to defend themselves against the imperialists, including through the acquisition of nuclear weapons. ROTC was successfully driven off hundreds of campuses in the late 1960s and 1970s *not* because of a mass pacifist movement, but because the U.S. was waging a *losing* war in Vietnam while facing massive social and class struggle in the U.S.



Young Spartacus

1980: Spartacist contingent at Washington, D.C. anti-draft march. SL hailed Soviet Red Army against U.S.-backed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, opposed anti-Soviet war drive.

Scratch the "Revolutionary" Surface—Reformists Underneath

In contrast to the more explicit reformists of the ISO, RCP and WWP, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) couches its fight against military recruiters in high schools in revolutionary phrases: "We don't welcome the bosses' wars and we want military recruiters out of the schools. But we also know that opening the eyes of youth in and out of uniform to the need for, and possibility of, communist revolution lays the foundation for a red army of workers and youth to smash imperialist war for good" (*Challenge*, 17 November 2004). While the rhetoric may sound good, PL refused to take a side with Iraq against the U.S., writing on the eve of the war that the working class must "oppose both U.S. and Iraqi bosses" (*Challenge*, 5 February 2003).

PL clearly swam with the reformist stream as did all the other groups that refused to call for the defense of Iraq during the war, but to cover this up, they grotesquely distort Lenin. Today, in reference to the U.S. occupation of Iraq, PL writes: "Only Rebelling Soldiers Can 'Bring The Troops Home' From All Imperialist War" (*Challenge*, 19 January). In this article PL falsely applies Lenin's program on *interimperialist* wars to Iraq today. Lenin's program for wars between imperialist nations was that workers have no side in such a war and that soldiers of all the belligerent countries should "turn the guns around," turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war against the capitalists. What PL hides is that Lenin made it quite clear that in the case of a war between an imperialist power and a country subjugated by imperialism, the duty of revolutionaries was to militarily side with the latter and favor the defeat of the imperialists. As Lenin wrote in *Socialism and War* (1915): "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

Another group that touts its fight against military recruiters, the League for the Revolutionary Party, opposes the slogan "No to the Draft!" and promotes the "virtues" of a conscript army! In this they march in lockstep with bourgeois liberals like black Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel, who has introduced legislation for the reinstatement of the draft because "if policymakers in Washington knew that their kids would be placed in harm's way, their foreign policy of invading and bombing countries would cease and desist" (New York *Amsterdam News*, February 24-March 2). As was clear with student deferments during the Vietnam War and schemes like those George W. Bush took advantage of, the ruling class always finds a way for its sons to avoid being drafted into combat. Rangel's scheme is nothing other than a gross attempt to refurbish the credentials of racist U.S. imperialism in the eyes of black people and minorities by promising "democratization" of the armed forces.

Those who oppose the rapacious wars of U.S. imperialism abroad must also oppose the war drive at home. This means opposing the draconian assaults on civil liberties like the USA-Patriot Act, opposing the witchhunts in the universities against pro-Palestinian and leftist professors, as well as opposing recruiters for the armed forces. By failing to put opposition to military recruiters and ROTC in the context of the fight to abolish bourgeois militarism and imperialism, the reformist left's campaigns promote illusions in a reformed bourgeois military and a "democratic" imperialism. The SYC participates in struggles against military recruiters on campus, seeking to link these struggles to the social power of the working class, and to win youth to the understanding that only a revolutionary, proletarian fight against imperialism and bourgeois militarism can succeed. Join us! ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

PRI. In opposing this *desafuero* we are defending our class's right to organize and fight against the capitalist class as a whole. Thus, if the working class is to break with the bourgeois parties and move forward toward its political independence, as a basic starting point the working class should not allow Fox's judicial dictates to prevent it from voting for whomever it wants. If the government can push aside even a timid bourgeois nationalist such as López Obrador, removing him from his elected post and even incarcerating him, what could a class-struggle leadership of the working class expect?

López Obrador is a capitalist politician, and the workers movement must achieve its political independence from him and his party, the PRD, as well as from the PAN and the PRI. Concretely, this means not to vote for any of these parties. López Obrador himself has made it explicitly clear to Mexican investors and imperialist representatives that he is not planning to do anything that hurts their reactionary interests (let us remember that the PRD is not even opposed to NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement], that it was López Obrador who brought the racist and despotic Giuliani to braintrust the Mexico City police, that he was the first one to propose the militarization of prisons, and is rabidly opposed to union organizing in Mexico City's high schools). While we oppose Fox's anti-democratic maneuvers against the PRDer, we warn that if López Obrador wins the presidency, the very support he has among the workers movement would put him in a much better position to push forward the privatization of the electric and oil industries, which the ineffectual Fox has not been able to impose.

In large part, López Obrador's popularity is due to his being identified as an opponent of the "neoliberalism" of the PAN and the PRI, centrally symbolized by NAFTA, i.e., the unrestrained pillaging of the Mexican economy by U.S. imperialism, which for over a decade has been causing mass layoffs and an increasingly greater devastation of the Mexican countryside. Thus, in the absence of truly revolutionary parties and with the help of the current treacherous leaders of the workers movement, throughout Latin America, "left" capitalist governments have managed to pose as an alternative and even to use the mobilization of the working class to achieve a less disadvantageous position vis-à-vis imperialism—like Chávez in Venezuela—or to guarantee greater stability before the same IMF-type policies of their predecessors—such as Lula in Brazil. The history of the 20th century in Latin America has seen the alternating succession of both bourgeois nationalist and openly right-wing governments, sometimes through bloody coups, without either one achieving any real independence from imperialism or a qualitative increase in the masses' standard of living.

Despite his soft "left" rhetoric and his even more modest reforms expanding social expenditure in Mexico City, neither López Obrador nor any other bourgeois politician will realize the legitimate demands of the masses for a truly independent and democratic country free of misery. And this is so because Mexican capitalism, as capitalism in the rest of the underdeveloped world regardless of the party that administers it, is organically chained to imperialism: it depends too much on the latter's investments and credits. The solution is not in class collaboration with the "national bourgeoisie," but in the opposite; the solution lies in the powerful working class breaking with all bourgeois parties and *building a revolutionary party*, part of a reforged Leninist-Trotskyist Fourth International, capable of leading the working class, at the head of the impoverished population, in the struggle against the rule of capital. In this way the workers will be able to establish their own class rule based on the expropriation of the means of production from the hands of the national and foreign capitalists. Their best allies in this struggle will be their class brothers and sisters in the rest of the world, especially the powerful multiracial working class in the belly of the American imperialist beast. As Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution explains, the democratic demands of the Latin American masses can only be ultimately won by putting an end to imperialism and establishing socialism on a worldwide scale. ■

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NEW YORK

Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

frame up, harass, jail, and even murder black youth and disrupt their political organizations. Their prime target was the Black Panther Party. Hoover declared in 1968: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must he made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." As a member of the Black Panther Party, Mumia did consider himself a revolutionary, and, from the point of view of the FBI and the Philadelphia cops, he was a dead man on leave.

In 1995, the Partisan Defense Committee managed to obtain from the FBI over 700 pages of records that the FBI had collected on Mumia. That's only what they released to us; it's not the entirety of it. We found in these FBI files the statements proving that the FBI had begun watching Mumia on a daily hasis from the time he was 15 years old and in high school. Why did they target him? Was it because he had weapons and threatened to kill anyone? No. They put him under surveillance because of his speaking and writing skills.

Here's a quote from an October 1969 FBI report:

> "In spite of the subject's age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP [Black Panther Party] activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia branch of the BPP, and his past inclination to appear and speak at public gatherings, the subject should be included on the Security Index."

The Security Index was a list that the FBI compiled of people who were to be taken into detention and put into concentration camps in the event of a national emergency. It was a secret list. Mumia was in the gun sights of the FBI, targeted for his ability to speak and write. The reports in the FBI files include all sorts of attachments of clippings and articles written by Mumia. And the FBI noted that he "made the BPP look good because his approach was very positive." They recorded that there was no evidence of a propensity to violence yet they labeled him as "armed and dangerous."

In December 1969, the FBI was making hits on Black Panther Party headquarters across the country. Ultimately, 38 Panthers were killed nationwide and hundreds railroaded to jail on frame-up charges. In Chicago, the FBI and the Chicago police murdered two young Black Panther Party leaders: Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. They were shot in their beds. Years later, in a civil rights lawsuit, it was proved that the FBI was involved in this. Then the families got some financial compensation.

Mumia went to Chicago and viewed Hampton and Clark's shot-up apartment. He returned to Philadelphia with other Black Panther Party members and spoke out in protest against their murders. Shortly afterward, in early January 1970, the front page of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*—an establishment newspaper in Philly—ran an article about Mumia, who was then 16, sitting in the Panther office and talking about the role of the Black Panther Party and the government's attacks against it.

At the time, the Panthers had made a turn toward community service and were very involved in things like breakfast programs for poor kids in churches, reading programs and those kinds of things. They understood from experience that the police were not their friends, that the police were shooting them up.

The Panthers adopted certain slogans of Mao Zedong, then the leader of China, such as "all power to the people," and "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The latter was intended to mean that, in a historic sense, all states come into being through force. In this context, in reference to the United States government, it is seen in the eradication of the Native Americans in the area that became the United States, and in the institution of slavery and what was done to black slaves as part of building the American social system.

NYC: Mobilize for Mumia!

Join the Spartacist contingent at the April 23 Mumia Abu-Jamal rally

March under the Partisan Defense Committee banner:

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

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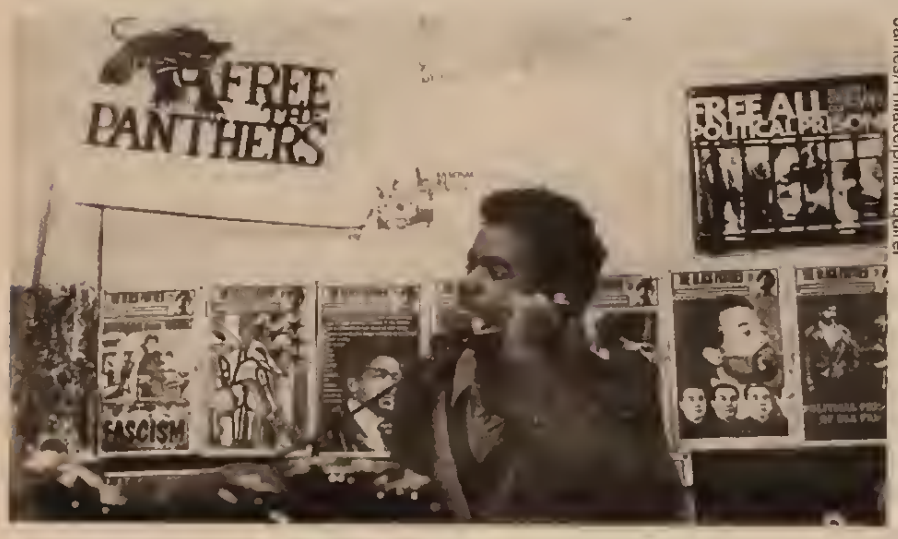

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Legato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Left: Mumia Abu-Jamal as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panthers, 1969. Right: As part of vendetta against black militants, Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo's cops stripped Philadelphia Panthers during 1970 raid on their office.

Political Repression, Lynch Law "Justice"

Some years later, Mumia was an up-and-coming radio journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." He was listed in *Philadelphia Magazine* as a rising talent, one of their "people to watch" in 1981. Just a few months later, he was arrested for the murder of police officer Daniel Faulkner. The headlines in the papers were amazing with regard to someone accused of killing a police officer. They said: "The Suspect—Jamal: an Eloquent Activist Not Afraid to Raise His Voice." That's a pretty unusual description of somehody who's just heen accused of killing a cop. The articles described his work in various communities, his Panther Party background, and his support for the MOVE organization, a back-to-nature commune that was harassed and persecuted. In 1985, the Philadelphia police in collusion with the FBI dropped a bomb on them.

The main argument used by the prosecution to get Mumia sentenced to death in 1982 was the statement he had made as a 16-year-old Panther Party member—a decade before Daniel Faulkner was killed—that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and "all power to the people." The D.A. argued to the jury that these views meant that Mumia had always intended to kill a cop. When we discovered that the hasis for sentencing Mumia to death was his membership in a political organization and manipulation of a statement he made when he was 15 or 16 years old, the PDC was compelled to take up Mumia's defense. We took up Mumia's case as emhlematic of the death penalty, of its inherent racism from its origin to its application in the U.S. And we took up Mumia's defense as part of a hroader fight against labeling people "terrorists" and sentencing them to death hased upon their political beliefs, expression or organizational membership.

Now, this may not seem so outrageous to you at this time. After all, this is the post-September 11 period and we now live in a time when laws are passed declaring that, if you give support to somebody the government deems some kind of "terrorist," it makes you a terrorist too. There's a lawyer in New York named Lynne Stewart who was just convicted of giving material aid to terrorism because she represented Sheik Omar Ahdel Rahman, who was convicted of involvement in the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. And because she vigorously defended her client, and didn't adhere to restrictive conditions hy the government that said she couldn't speak to the press ahout her client's views, she was convicted of giving material aid to terrorism and conspiring to defraud the U.S. government. She now faces decades hehind bars. We are also fighting to overturn her conviction and the conviction of her translator, Mohamed Yousry, and her paralegal, Ahmed Abdel Sattar.

When we began work on Mumia's case back in 1987, there was a long bloody history of extralegal terror and murder by the government against black people. What was shocking ahout Mumia's case was the overt use of the legal machinery of state repression to sentence a man to death because of his political heliefs. But today, going after people for their political beliefs, saying that they are "unlawful combatants," throwing them into detention camps in Guantánamo—or, like Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen slammed into a military brig without access to a lawyer, without charges, under totally unproven allegations of connections to Al Qaeda—for the U.S. government, this is now the norm.

Taking up Mumia's case was, in the first instance, a statement of our opposition to the racist death penalty. The death penalty is the most extreme version of state repression that there is and in this country it is the legacy of slavery. In 1987, about the same time we took up Mumia's case, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *McCleskey v. Kemp* that overwhelming evidence of racism in the application of the death penalty was irrelevant. It was not relevant to the highest court in the land that if you were hlack and convicted of killing a white person, you were four times more likely to he sentenced to death than if you were a white man convicted of killing a black person. According to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, as of January 2005, black people make up some 42 percent of inmates on death row—that's ahout three times the percentage of hlacks in the population of the U.S.

The Supreme Court ruled that the evidence presented in the *McCleskey* case was not relevant because the argument, "taken to its logical conclusion, throws into serious question the principles that underlie the entire criminal justice system." In other words, the court agreed that it is *true* that hlacks are treated different

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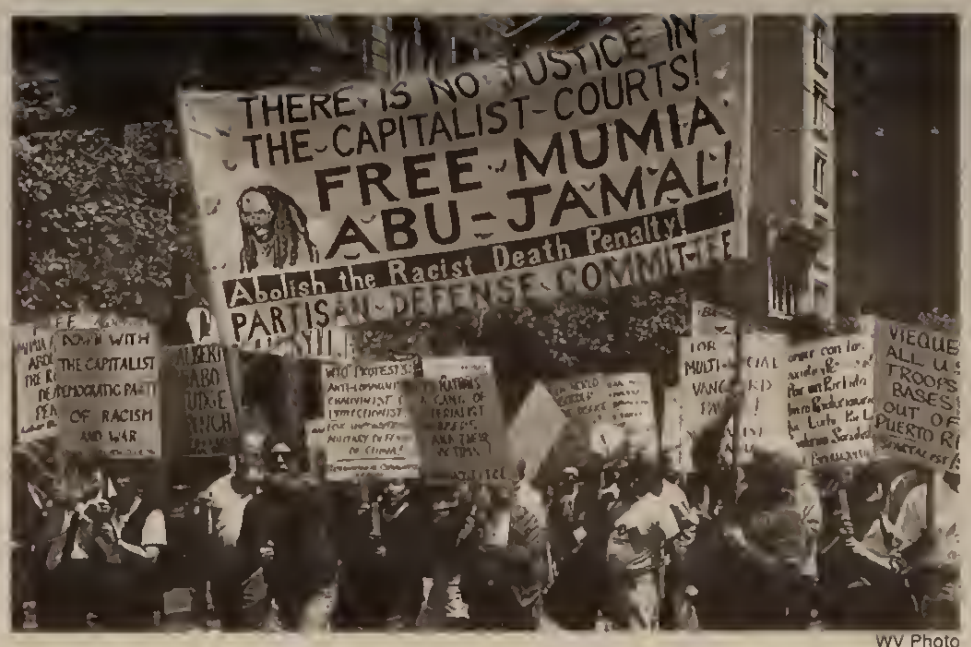
from whites, and that it is *true* that they are sentenced disproportionately to death. But because this racial disparity is fundamental to the American legal system, the Supreme Court would not overturn McClesky's death sentence because that would overturn the whole system of American "justice." The Supreme Court ruled it wasn't relevant because it was absolutely, totally relevant.

As Marxists, our opposition to the death penalty does not begin or end with racial disparity in its application. We simply do not accord to the state the right to determine who will live and who will die. The death penalty and repressive laws in general cannot just be attributed to the Bush administration or the Republican Party or people that you consider to be conservatives. The former Democratic Party president, Bill Clinton, signed into law the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which essentially gutted the right of death row prisoners to challenge their death sentences. During the 1992 presidential election campaign, Clinton flew back to Arkansas to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector, as an election year ploy. Democratic Party politicians, every bit as much as Republicans, stand in defense of the ultimate action of state repression, which is the death sentence.

The Partisan Defense Committee made a video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, to step up an international campaign on behalf of Mumia in the summer of 1990. This video was translated into many languages to introduce Mumia's case to a whole generation of young people and workers, trade unions and civil liberties organizations all over the world. So, by the time legal papers were filed in a Pennsylvania court in June 1995 to overturn Mumia's conviction, and a death warrant issued around then by the Pennsylvania governor for Mumia's execution a couple of months later, he was known internationally and did not go down as another nameless, faceless victim of racist injustice. There were international protests in the summer of 1995. Tens of thousands of students, workers, socialists, activists, death penalty abolitionists, and unions representing tens of thousands of workers worldwide, demanded: ***Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!*** These protests, and the legal proceedings that accompanied the protests, helped stay the hand of the executioners. Mumia is still alive today, though still on death row.

Cops and Courts Work Hand in Hand

What I'd like you to have some appreciation of is this: for the better part of a decade, Mumia was under surveillance by local police, the local Red Squad, and the FBI every day, from the time he was a 15-year-old supporter of the Black Panthers through his last year of freedom as an award-winning journalist, speaking out against police brutality in Philadelphia. ***He was known.*** When Mumia broadcast and wrote against the bloody 1978 police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home, Mayor Frank Rizzo blamed a "new breed" of journalists such as Jamal, who he threatened would one day "be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Three years later, the



WV Photo

San Francisco: Spartacist contingent at rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal, May 2000.

cops, the SWAT team—which in Philadelphia is called the "Stakeout Squad"—got the chance they had been hoping for all these years to silence Jamal. These were the forces that were on the street on the night of 9 December 1981 when police officer Daniel Faulkner was killed and Mumia Abu-Jamal was shot and framed up for a crime he did not commit.

As in other cities, in Philadelphia there was a great deal of co-mingling between the local police and the mob. At the time of Mumia's arrest, there were no fewer than three on-going federal investigations of corruption in the Philadelphia Police Department. This is vital to remember when you read the confession of Arnold Beverly—the evidence the courts refuse to hear—on why he shot police officer Daniel Faulkner and who hired him to do it. Jamal was driving a cab that night, when he heard gunshots. He saw people running, saw his own brother, and got out of his cab to help him. A uniformed cop shot Mumia and he was severely wounded. Mumia was beaten on the street, in the police paddy wagon, beaten again at the door to the hospital and shackled to a hospital bed. In his sworn affidavit, Jamal says, "I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to."

The prosecution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a textbook case of lynch law "justice," up North. So-called "eyewitness accounts" were secured through police manipulation, coercion and outright terror. Witnesses whose accounts punched holes through the police frame-up of Jamal were hounded out of town. The prosecution concocted a purported "confession" Jamal made while he was lying near death in the hospital, the night of the killing. This "confession" was such a hoax that it didn't even surface until two months after the killing! Ballistics "evidence" does not match Mumia's gun to the shooting or support the prosecution's theory of how the cop or Mumia were shot! Jamal was saddled at the trial with a lawyer he did not want, and refused to participate in this show trial. The judge, Albert Sabo, was known as the "king of death row," a real hanging judge who had sent more people to death row than any other judge in the country. A court stenographer, Terri Maurer-Carter, has made a sworn statement that she heard Judge Sabo say, "I'm going to help 'em fry the n----r." The Pennsylvania Supreme Court refused to hear her testimony and upheld Jamal's conviction and death sentence.

In pursuit of Jamal's freedom, my investigation, as part of the legal defense team, located Arnold Beverly. He passed a lie detector test and his confession is supported by other evidence in the case. This is what Arnold Beverly said and what the courts refuse to hear:

> "I have personal knowledge that Mumia Abu-Jamal did not shoot police officer Faulkner.
>
> "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.
>
> "Faulkner was shot in the back and then in the face before Jamal came on the scene. Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting."

Arnold Beverly's deposition states that by pre-arrangement, police officers helped him escape the scene.

What you have here is a case that, from beginning to end, is about the government targeting an articulate black man who is a political opponent of the government. And the long arm of the capitalist state—the police, the prosecution, the judge—all worked together to see Jamal convicted and sentenced to death for his political beliefs.

Join the Struggle! Free Mumia!

What can be done at this point is important. First of all, it is necessary to make very clear that the nature of this prosecution is a political frame-up. It is necessary to mobilize the widest possible support, including the social *power* that the labor movement actually has to fight for Mumia's freedom. The PDC has worked to publicize and assist in all legal proceedings and avenues open to fight for Mumia's freedom and against the death penalty. But we know that there is *no justice in the capitalist courts!* The power to save Mumia's life, the power to set him free, is going to come from the social power of working people. That means labor strikes and mass protests and demonstrations organized around the power of the integrated labor movement in this country and internationally. Unions representing tens of thousands of workers around the world have taken up the cause of Jamal's freedom. Supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League in South Africa were instrumental in getting the powerful COSATU union federation to support Jamal and fight lynch law in America.

To unleash the power that labor has in this country requires a political struggle against union bureaucrats, and even people who call themselves socialists, who subordinate every movement against injustice to the Democratic Party. A lot of union bureaucrats favorably view police and prison guards as their fastest-growing dues base. We say that the guardians of the racist capitalist system have no place at all in the labor movement. Cops out of the unions! While the AFL-CIO organizes them, the cops are busting some strikers' picket line and gunning down black youth in the ghetto, or turning in non-citizens to immigration. As for supposed socialists, many of them jockeyed for position to control the Iraq antiwar movement and ran it headlong into the dead end of support for the pro-war capitalist Democratic Party. In the past, they've done likewise in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and subordinated the call to "free Mumia" to calls for a "new trial," while peddling dangerous illusions in the justice of the very courts that have time and again upheld the racist frame-up of this innocent man and courageous fighter for the oppressed.

Our fight to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty is part of our perspective to win workers and youth to see clearly that the capitalist state, its cops and courts do not serve society as a whole, but exist to defend the class rule and profits of the rulers against those whose labor they exploit. The reality of class exploitation in America is masked with lofty language about "democracy" and the aggressive division of the working class along race lines. Black oppression, the forcible segregation of masses of black people at the bottom of this society, is intrinsic to American capitalist rule. It's essential to win the multiracial working class to the understanding that the fight for black freedom is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor and all the oppressed in this country.

To put a final end to the legacy of slavery in this country—be it the barbaric death penalty or the routine execution of minority youth on the street by cops who act with impunity as judge, jury and executioner—will require a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. That's not just a question of numbers or militancy, but crucially a question of consciousness—revolutionary socialist consciousness. We're building a party for that purpose, and mobilizing to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty is an important part of that fight.■

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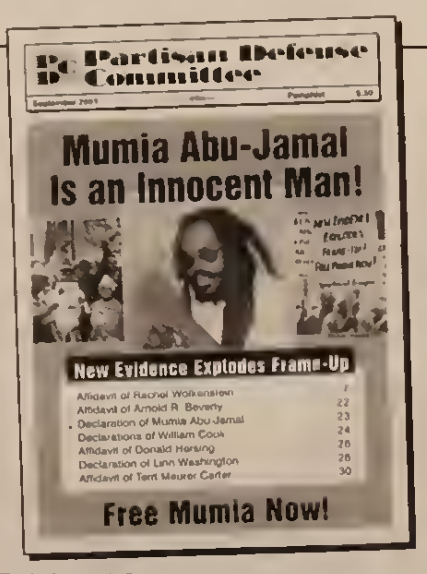

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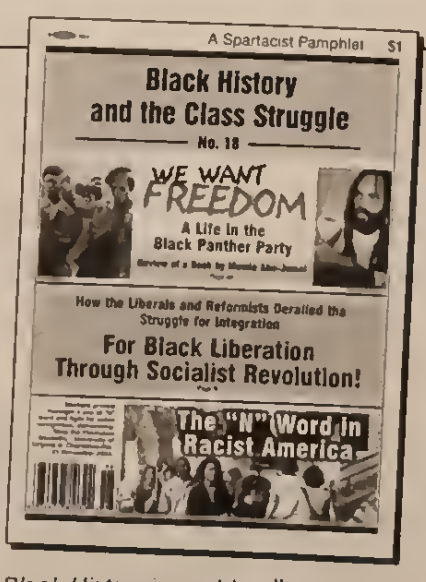

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WORKERS VANGUARD

ROTC, Military Recruiters Off Campus Now!

Not One Person, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Military!

As the bloody U.S. colonial occupation of Iraq drags into its third year, and with the U.S. volunteer military facing predictable recruitment shortages, student activists around the country have taken to protesting military recruiters on campus. On January 20, the day of Bush's second imperial inauguration, some 300 students at Seattle Central Community College confronted and successfully drove out two military recruiters. On March 9, more than 100 students at San Francisco State University (SFSU) marched into an auditorium where Air Force and Army Corps of Engineers recruiters were handing out their literature and surrounded their

Young Spartacus

tables for two hours, chanting and giving speeches (see "No Reprisals Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!", page 8). Planned and impromptu protests and "counter-recruitment" activities have taken place on dozens of other campuses.

Military recruiters, ROTC and other similar agencies are direct appendages of the military machine that exists to defend the interests of the American imperialist ruling class. ROTC recruits university students to become the next generation of the elite officer corps whose job is to oversee U.S. imperialist slaughter in wars like those against Afghanistan and Iraq. Meanwhile, military recruiters use promised tuition assistance and job opportunities to lure working-class youth, including a disproportionate number of black and minority youth, into signing up to be the cannon fodder for these wars.

The SYC opposes the extension of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state onto college campuses and high schools. We fight against the use of the universities and schools as direct agents of U.S. imperialism and have actively organized for years against ROTC, military recruiters, military research, the CIA and cop training on campus. We say: *ROTC, military recruiters off campus now!*

With the U.S. military straining to maintain a large occupation force in Iraq and fighting a global "war on terror," the capitalist rulers have been on a drive to expand the presence of ROTC and military recruiters on campus. For several years high school activists have been campaigning against a provision in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 stipulating that high schools receiving federal funding must give military recruiters students' personal information and the "same access" to schools as college and job recruiters. The drive to return ROTC to campuses such as Columbia University continues. An ROTC student-faculty task force there is evenly split on the immediate return of ROTC, but has voted overwhelmingly for the return of ROTC if the military's anti-gay "don't ask, don't tell" policy were abolished.

AP

Seattle Central Community College students drive out military recruiters at January 20 protest.

Students protesting military recruiters have been met with victimization and repression by campus administrations and the cops. On March 9, three students at the City College of New York (CCNY) were detained and brutalized by the police for protesting against military recruiters during a career fair. The three students, along with a CCNY staff member who was arrested two days later, face charges of assault and have been suspended from the college. And at William Paterson University in New Jersey, student Thomas Keenan was arrested and charged with defiant trespass for the "crime" of handing out flyers opposing military recruiters on February 28. The SYC demands: *Drop the charges now! No reprisals! Cops off compus!*

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club-led united-front protest against ROTC on UC Berkeley campus, April 2003.

Marxism and Bourgeois Militarism

The military's discrimination against gays has been central to the legal battle over the Solomon Amendment—a law stipulating that colleges and universities must allow military recruiters onto campus as a condition for federal funding. This law was ruled unconstitutional by the Third Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals last November on the basis that it violated the free speech rights of schools to bar an organization which openly pursued a policy with which they disagreed. The Justice Department has obtained a stay of this ruling while it prepares a challenge to it at the U.S. Supreme Court level.

Racism and social bigotry are intrinsic to capitalist society and therefore find their reflection in institutions such as the armed forces. As opponents of all manifestations of racial and sexual oppression we say: Down with anti-gay discrimination in the military! Yet we also understand that no amount of reform will change the fundamental purpose of the military: to uphold the capitalist system. This necessarily means that for the fight against militarism to be successful, it must go beyond the boundaries of the schools and colleges, and become a part of the struggle to overthrow the entire capitalist system. The working class uniquely has both the power and material interest to end this system by expropriating the means of production and abolishing capitalist private property through socialist revolution.

The military is an essential part of the capitalist state, the armed bodies of men—cops, courts and prison system—that exist to defend the capitalist rulers' "right" to exploit the working and oppressed masses. It defends capitalism not only through imperialist adventures and colonial plunder abroad, but also by violently repressing class and social struggle at home. From the slaughter of workers by federal troops in the historic Rail Strike of 1877 to the government's threats just over two years ago to have the military take over the ports if the West Coast longshore union dared strike, the military has been a key tool for strike-breaking. And from the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s to the 1992 L.A. upheaval in the wake of the acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King, troops have been used to crush black protest. Student protesters against the Vietnam War also got a taste of this treatment, most infamously with the National Guard killing of four students at Kent State University in 1970.

Marxist opposition to bourgeois militarism is encapsulated in the call raised by heroic German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht during World War I: Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist military! An application of this is our opposition to signing up for the volunteer army. Correspondingly, revolutionaries oppose military conscription, which serves to turn the bulk of working-class youth into cannon fodder for imperialist wars. Since their humiliating military defeat in the Vietnam War, the U.S. rulers have been hesitant to reinstate the draft for fear of the opposition this would engender. Yet, sooner or later, the U.S. ruling class will be forced to reinstate the draft. The duty of revolutionaries, if drafted, is to go into the military with the mass of young workers and seek to win the working-class ranks to the fight for socialist revolution.

The Iraq War and the Left

Bourgeois militarism is an ideologically conservatizing force, serving to imbue workers and the oppressed with national chauvinism and unquestioning

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 847 C-701 29 April 2005

Chinese Bureaucracy Promotes Reactionary Nationalism

Resurgent Japanese Imperialism Sparks Protests in China

APRIL 26—For the past month, tens of thousands of protesters have marched in anti-Japanese demonstrations in cities throughout China. The protests were sparked by Tokyo's approval of new junior high school history textbooks that whitewash past atrocities carried out by Japanese imperialism. The 1937 Rape of Nanjing, in which 300,000 Chinese were slaughtered by Japanese troops, is now described as "an incident." The enslavement of more than 200,000 Korean and Chinese so-called "comfort women," who were forced to serve as sex slaves in Japanese army brothels during World War II, has been erased from history.

The Japanese textbook whitewash is a provocation not only against the Chinese deformed workers state, but workers throughout Asia, and, in fact, it has sparked protests in South Korea. It is the latest in a series of provocations by Japanese imperialism against China, including Japan's recent statement that it will drill for oil and gas around the Diaoyutai Islands, which are claimed by China. Most significant was the issuing of a joint policy statement in February between the U.S. and Japan avowing that Taiwan is "a mutual security concern." Most of the protests in China, which for now have largely stopped, were tacitly organized or approved by the government as a response to the provocations by Japan. The bureaucracy had allowed the protests to continue—while anxiously seeking to keep them from getting out of hand—to provide a distraction from the deepening social turmoil tearing at the fabric of Chinese society. As one Shanghai demonstrator put it, "People are taking part in this march because they aren't allowed to protest anything else" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

Getty

Chinese protest in front of Japanese-owned store in Guangzhou, China. Nationalist poison pushed by Stalinist bureaucracy poses deadly danger to Chinese deformed workers state.

Down With U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance!

For Unconditional Military Defense of Chinese Deformed Workers State!

However, the protests, which continued longer than any major public demonstrations in China since the 1989 Tiananmen revolt, have promoted a nationalist response to Japan's provocations—i.e., not against the capitalist rulers of Japan, but rather against the entire Japanese population, workers no less than their capitalist oppressors. "Japanese pigs get out!", shouted Chinese protesters as they trashed Japanese-owned shops. One expression of the nationalism has been calls for boycotting Japanese businesses and goods.

The nationalist poison being promoted by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy poses a grave danger to the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution itself. As opposed to class unity between the Chinese and Japanese proletariat, the bureaucracy is pushing unity of all Chinese people, including Chinese capitalists from Taiwan and Hong Kong, against all Japanese people. This was expressed in a recent demonstration in Hong Kong, where anti-Japanese protesters carried the Taiwanese flag of the Guomindang, which represents the capitalists and landlords who fled the Revolution. The Chinese government recently hosted a delegation of the Guomindang from Taiwan for the first time since the Civil War, a display of Chinese "unity" against the pro-Taiwanese-independence Democratic Progressive Party that expresses the deep nationalism and class collaborationism of the Chinese Stalinists.

The gains of the Chinese Revolution—above all the nationalized, collectivized economy—represent a historic advance not only for Chinese workers and peasants, but also for the entire world proletariat. The expropriation of the capitalists and the setting up of a socialized economy represented a great advance over the imperialist subjugation and horrendous oppression once suffered by China's masses, laying the basis for a tremendous leap in economic development. And, with the internationalist extension of the revolution, it could lay the basis for the eventual construction of a socialist society.

However, China from its inception has been a deformed workers state, in which a conservative caste of bureaucrats, ruling in its own narrow interests, blocks development toward a classless, socialist society. Ever since (and including) Mao Zedong, these bureaucratic rulers have championed the nationalist Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Flatly repudiating Marxism, the Stalinists have historically preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country—even one as materially backward as China—if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted.

One aspect of the recent protests in China has been opposition to Japan's attempts to gain a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. For the Chinese government, this question is part of its maneuvering, within the framework of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, between so-called "progressive" and "reactionary" imperialist powers. For example, China supports Germany's bid for a permanent seat. The truth is that the UN is nothing but an imperialist den of thieves and their victims. From the Korean War to the sanctions against Iraq, which killed over 1.5 million people, the UN has shown itself to be an enemy of working people and the oppressed internationally.

Revolutionary proletarian internationalism, not nationalist class collaboration, is essential to advance the interests of the Chinese workers in defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution, and Japanese workers in their struggle against revanchist Japanese imperialism. As we wrote in a 13 March joint statement between the International Communist League's Japanese and American sections against the counterrevolutionary agreement between the U.S. and Japan over Taiwan (*WV* No. 844, 18 March):

> "The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist Group Japan...stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution....
>
> "Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, from which the Chinese deformed workers state emerged, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the puppet Chinese bourgeoisie. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with imperialism over Taiwan....
>
> "We are opposed to the Stalinists' plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in 'one country, two systems.' Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy on the mainland, a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists."

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The dogma of "socialism in one country" means opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism. The recent protests, for example, have aimed their entire fire against Japan, whitewashing the crimes of U.S. imperialism. (Apparently, Beijing considers Tokyo the easier target in the U.S.-Japan military alliance.) This reflects and feeds into an illusion in China that the U.S. is a more benign imperialist power. Yet it was the U.S. that in 1945 became the only country ever to use atomic weaponry, causing the death of several hundred thousand Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These bombings served

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An Exchange on the Iraq "Resistance"

6 November 2004

Dear editors of Workers Vanguard,

I am writing to take issue with WV's position of military support for the "resistance" against the U.S.-led "coalition" in Iraq. I do not think that the workers have any interest in the present Iraqi "resistance." I think that the position of military support for any "resistance," despite the political nature of such military opposition, against imperialist power, a position taken by Trotsky in the 1920s-'30s (Ethiopia), is not applicable to the present situation in Iraq, and is a historically specific and bounded politics that was based on geopolitical as well as class-struggle estimations that no longer apply today, after the destruction of the Soviet Union. For better or worse (for worse), we have been thrown back into a situation of potential anti-capitalist social-politics that resembles the pre-1917 world. More so than in the Soviet era, each particular configuration seems to demand a case-by-case social-political analysis and evaluation. Whereas one could broadly understand "anti-imperialism" of various forms in the Soviet era as objectively favoring revolutionary anti-capitalist political possibilities, I think that this is no longer the case after the destruction of the Soviet state, and given other social-political realities locally and globally.

AP

American Army vehicles destroyed by car bomb near Baghdad, April 20.

Similarly, whereas it might have made sense to call for the defense of Iraq and for an objective military bloc with the Saddam Hussein/Baathist state in Iraq against the U.S., the destruction of that state fundamentally changes the character of the social politics of military positions on the ground in Iraq. For example, it is my understanding that the (remnant) Iraqi Communist Party, while officially "opposing" the U.S. military occupation, supports the "interim government" and politically (and militarily) opposes the "resistance." In perspective, the first Iraq war was fundamentally related to and facilitated by the destruction of the Soviet state, and raised the specter of inter-imperialist war: the object of the 1st Iraq war was as much the USSR and the U.S.'s imperialist competitors as it was Iraq. Now, the French-German opposition to the U.S. has become the most salient social-historical feature of the 2nd Iraq war.

The situation vis-a-vis Iran raises another, related matter. The Mujahideen Al-Khalq [MEK] has been instrumental in making public and providing intelligence to the U.S. and European powers on the mullahs' nuclear weapons program. As part of their "negotiations" with the mullahs, the EU powers have agreed to maintain the MEK's official status as "terrorists." If Mordechai Vanunu is to be commended for revealing Israel's nuclear weapons program, shouldn't an ostensibly Leftist organization such as the MEK be commended—and defended—as well? The duplicity of the European powers as well as the U.S. as regards groups such as the MEK, as well as the Kurdish nationalist organizations (despite their support for the U.S.-led Iraq war), seems clear. The mullah's nuclear weapons program seems likely to make actual what WV has in the past called the Zionist state's "death trap for Jews."

Unlike North Korea, which seeks to acquire nuclear weapons for purely defensive purposes, Iran would be likely to use nuclear weapons on a "first-strike" basis; their attempts to acquire them present the very real possibilities of Israel or the U.S. striking first. The Iranian nuclear weapons program is deliberately provocative, and must be seen in light of the social-political character of the Iranian state, which is at least quasi-fascist, in nature, history and present reality. While not wanting to make a fetish of nuclear weapons, nor qualitatively to distinguish between nuclear and non-nuclear (euphemistically termed "conventional") military violence, I think that the mullahs getting hold of them does nothing to further anti-capitalist social political possibilities, not locally nor globally. This must be distinguished from acquisition of nuclear weapons by (however deformed) workers' states such as North Korea (or, historically, by the Soviet Union and China).

While indeed our "main enemy is at home," that does not mean that we should defend or call for the defense of the mullah's clerical-fascist state, nor of the present Iraqi "resistance." Al-Sadr's followers, for instance, have already laid down their weapons. One must distinguish between the social politics of military opposition that seeks bargaining power and that of fascist reaction. We in the "belly of the beast" should take positions that are at least acceptable to those on the ground in Iraq. To hold U.S. and (also E.U.) imperialism ultimately responsible for the social-politics of Islamist fascism should not mean defending it. Rather, the Iranian mullahs and the U.S. imperialists deserve each other, and both are to blame for the suffering of the people who are their subjects. Any anti-capitalist social-political possibilities are not qualitatively reduced by U.S. occupation of Iraq (or of Iran...), and are only very dubiously furthered by military "resistance" that is not interested in defending anyone's lives and whose political aims are only furthered by the slaughter. Would Trotskyists have supported fascist-supported military resistance to U.S. occupation in post-WW II Germany or Italy or France? I think not. In that instance, the U.S. was more interested in disarming their erstwhile Communist-aligned anti-fascist resistance fighters. And, since then, political possibilities have only changed for the worse.

Comradely,
Chris C., Chicago

***WV* replies:**

Chris C. raises many issues in his letter, and there is no way in this reply to respond to all of them. The main issue we aim to take up is the question of the Iraq "resistance" and what attitude revolutionaries should have toward it.

In Iraq today, we have a side against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. Our starting point is to demand the immediate,

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TROTSKY

For International Proletarian Class Unity!

LENIN

In response to recent Japanese provocations, including attempts to deny Japanese imperialism's crimes in Asia, large-scale protests have erupted in China and South Korea. Throughout the protests, the ruling Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has actively promoted poisonous nationalism, which is counterposed to the proletarian internationalism needed to defend and extend the 1949 Chinese Revolution. In its 1922 program, the then-revolutionary Communist Party of Japan laid out the perspective of international working-class unity while opposing the imperialist designs of its "own" ruling class.

The Communist Party of Japan is resolutely opposed to every species of the Imperialist policy. It is opposed to the intervention, open and secret, in China and Siberia, the interference with the government of these countries, the "Sphere of Influence" and "Vested Interests" in China, Manchuria, and Mongolia, and all the other attempts and practices of similar nature.

The most infamous of all the crimes of Japanese Imperialism has been the annexation of Korea and the enslavement of the Korean people. The Communist Party of Japan not only condemns the act but takes every available step for the emancipation of Korea. The majority of the Korean patriots, fighting for the Independence of Korea, is not free from bourgeois ideology and nationalist prejudice. It is necessary that we act in cooperation with them—necessary not only for the victory of the Korean Revolution but also for winning them over to our Communist principles. The Korean Revolution will bring with it a national crisis in Japan, and the fate of both the Korean and Japanese proletariat will depend on the success or failure of the fight carried on by the united effort of the Communist Parties of the two countries.

The three principal nations in the Far East, China, Korea, and Japan, are most closely related to one another in their political, social, and economic life, and thus bound to march together on to the goal of Communism. The international solidarity of the proletariat, and particularly of these three countries is the condition indispensable to the Victory and Emancipation of the Proletariat, not only of the respective countries but of the whole world.

—"Program of the Communist Party of Japan" (September 1922), reprinted in *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 58, Spring 2004

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tlec.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 26 April.

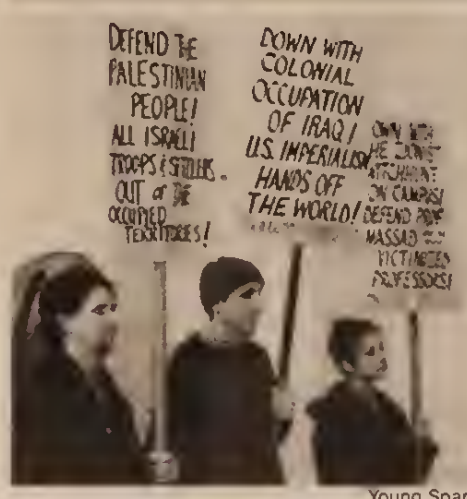
No. 847 **29 April 2005**

AP

U.S. troops brutalize civilians in Falluja, November 2004.

Columbia Administration Report Retails Zionist Lies

Fight the Ongoing Witchhunt! No Reprisals Against Professor Massad! Hands Off MEALAC!



Young Spartacus

Jason Bello/Columbia Spectator

Spartacist supporters at Columbia press conference, December 2004, in defense of Professor Joseph Massad (right).

The following leaflet was issued by the Columbia Spartacus Youth Club in New York City on April 9 in defense of Professor Joseph Massad, who has been the target of an ongoing Zionist witchhunt. For more information about this case see "Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Compus" (WV No. 842, 18 Februory).

However loudly pro-Zionist students are howling at its conclusions, the recently released Ad Hoc Grievance Committee Report at bottom imbibes in the ongoing right-wing witchhunt of the MEALAC Department and above all Professor Joseph Massad. Not only does the report in effect label Massad a liar by finding credihle an account of classroom "intimidation" by one of his former students, paving the way for official punishment by the administration, but it also whitewashes the systematic harassment of Massad himself over the past three years—the infiltration of his classes by snoops, the routine heckling there hy Zionists, the numerous death threats directed at him. The focus of a sinister campaign to silence dissent on campus, Massad did nothing wrong! The Spartacus Youth Club demands: ***Hands off MEALAC! No reprisols agoinst Professor Massod!***

The administration, the agent of the ruling class on campus, gave legitimacy to the witchhunt by launching an investigation that should not have occurred in the first place! For [university president] Bollinger, it is all about safeguarding Columbia University as an oh-so-liberal institution, while at the same time throwing Massad to the wolves. At the Octoher 28 faculty meeting, Bollinger even provocatively said that the First Amendment does not apply to Columhia because it is a private institution and has since indicated that there are limits to freedom of speech in the classroom. *Down with the ottack on the right to free speech on campus!*

From the time of the early organizing meetings of MEALAC's supporters, the SYC argued against relying on the administration to defend Massad. We wanted the investigation dropped, not made more "evenhanded." The report, which dresses up the vicious witchhunt with its professed concerns for "civility" and "mutual respect" on campus, proves our point. In contrast, the International Socialist Organization, now attempting to cover its tracks by writing of "Bollinger's damaging role" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 April), has consistently reinforced illusions in the administration as a potential ally of besieged minorities on campus, including by imploring the administration to "take a stand against the attacks on its own professors" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 December 2004) *ofter* Bollinger had already initiated the investigation.

The racist witchhunt against Massad and the other professors—exemplified by a Zionist professor grotesquely baiting Massad as "a pathetic typical Arab liar" in an e-mail—is not in essence about "academic freedom," but is part of a well-organized political campaign to intimidate and purge faculty who speak out against the crimes of U.S. imperialism and its Israeli allies. As Massad recently noted: "My crime is not only that I'm Palestinian. What galls them most is that I'm a pro-Jewish Palestinian critic of Zionism" (*New York Times*, 8 April). The Committee report even admits that the vast majority of the complaints against MEALAC were about the "content" of lectures, not "intimidation." Zionist students have routinely railed about getting Massad fired when coming across our campus lit tables. Now, with the report out, the Zionists have vowed to carry on their fight. As we wrote in our earlier leaflet (26 November 2004), "Key to defeating the witchhunt against Columhia professors and MEALAC is forthrightly taking up the defense of the Palestinian people." *Down with the Zionist witchhunt!*

The witchhunt is fueled hy U.S. imperialism's hloody neocolonial occupation of Iraq, the post-September 11 bipartisan "war on terror" and Zionist state terror against the Palestinian people. As such, it transcends the campus, as the recent exclusion of Professor Rashid Khalidi from a New York City Department of Education program shows. Its principal instigators nationally, like Daniel Pipes and David Horowitz, are closely linked to the Bush government. Democrats also have joined in, including those in the City Council who earlier announced their intention to conduct another investigation if Columbia's "comes up dry." In its 7 April editorial, the "respectable" bourgeois *New York Times* endorsed the campaign for political censorship by bemoaning the Committee's "limited" mandate and calling for Columbia to "follow up on complaints about politicized courses and a lack of scholarly rigor." Indicative of the depths of this reactionary campaign, legislatures in almost a dozen states are considering bills to give conservative students the "right" to sue their "intolerant" professors—such as biologists who teach evolution as scientific fact!

At this critical juncture, militant protest by students, faculty and workers demanding that the Columbia administration keep its hands off Professor Massad and MEALAC is as urgent as ever. Not only the campus community, but also working people and minorities everywhere have a stake in defeating this onslaught on our democratic rights. The same forces that want to keep the elite universities dissent-free and all-white (recall the racist "affirmative action bake sale" provocation against blacks, Jews and other minorities last year) are all for union-busting and increasing U.S. imperialism's stranglehold on the world. Those students seeking the best means to defend Massad should link their struggles to the working class, the ultimate target of this right-wing offensive, as it is the working class which has the interest and the social power to strike a blow against the wave of reaction, and in the end shatter the capitalist order itself. *For a class-struggle fight for all our rights!* ■

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CORRECTION

In "Independence for Chechnya! Russian Troops Out Now!" (*WV* No. 840, 21 January), we wrote: "Estimates of the number of Chechen civilians killed in the first Chechen war of 1994-96 and the second war launched in 1999 range from about 100,000 to 200,000—out of a total population estimated at 300,000 to 450,000!" The estimate of Chechens killed by Russian forces over the past decade was correct. However, the population estimate was misleading, implying that up to 45 percent of the population might have been killed.

Due to the war, population estimates —as well as estimates of casualties and refugees—vary drastically from the 1990s to the present. According to a 1989 Soviet census, the total population of Chechnya was 1.3 million, of whom some 735,000 were Chechens (most of the rest were Russians). The figure we cited of 300,000 to 450,000 comes from an official estimate by the Danish Refugee Council in early 2000—after years of war had driven the population to a low point. Later in 2000 after further research, the Danish Refugee Council arrived at an estimated Chechen population of approximately 715,000, which is probably more accurate than the number we cited. Other estimates include that of the International Helsinki Federation, which in 2002 estimated Chechnya's population to be less than half a million; and the Russian government, which that same year ludicrously claimed Chechnya's population had undergone a "miraculous expansion" to nearly 1.1 million. Although establishing Chechnya's current population is difficult, it is clear that Russia's assault has driven out an extremely high number of Chechens—approximately 150,000 according to the Danish Refugee Council—while slaughtering a high percentage of those remaining.

The same article also incorrectly referred to the Soviet Union as a "deformed workers state." Before its collapse, the Soviet Union was a ***degeneroted*** workers state, as the Bolshevik-led Octoher Revolution of 1917 underwent degeneration under a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy that seized political power in 1924. The term "deformed workers state" is used by Trotskyists to characterize China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba (as well as East Europe before capitalist counterrevolution), where capitalism was overthrown but where the workers states were bureaucratically deformed from their inception.

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Leonard Peltier Becomes PDC Stipend Recipient

Free Leonard Peltier!

Ben Corbett

This article is reprinted from the Partisan Defense Committee's Class-Struggle Defense Notes *No. 33, Spring 2005. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.*

The Partisan Defense Committee announces that it has recently added Leonard Peltier to its class-war prisoner stipend program. Leonard Peltier is known throughout the world as one of the most prominent political prisoners in America. His nearly three decades of incarceration because of his activism in the American Indian Movement (AIM) has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its indigenous people, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression.

In a March 28 letter to the PDC, Peltier asks that his stipend money be donated to his defense committee. The PDC was happy to oblige and sent a check to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044. We encourage our readers and supporters to likewise donate to the cause of Peltier's freedom.

Leonard Peltier needs no introduction to subscribers of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* or *Workers Vanguard*, the Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League, with which the PDC is associated. Peltier is now 60 years old; he was born on the Anishinabe Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. He faced the brutal racism and grinding poverty of working-class Native American Indians, working variously as a migrant farm worker, an automobile mechanic, a welder, a carpenter and a community counselor. In response to the hideous oppression he experienced and saw all around him, he became involved in struggles for Native American rights and joined AIM. As an AIM member he joined in the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties caravan to Washington, D.C., where he participated in the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building. It was in his capacity as a trusted and respected AIM activist that he came to assist the Oglala Lakota people of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in the mid '70s.

At that time, AIM fell within the government's cross hairs because it was attempting to combat the enforced poverty of Native Americans and the continued theft of their lands by the Feds and the energy companies, which were intent on grabbing the rich uranium deposits under Sioux land in western South Dakota. Pine Ridge became a war zone as the hated BIA and the FBI trained and armed thugs to terrorize and crush Indian activists. Between 1973-1976, these killers carried out more than 300 attacks, murdering at least 69 people.

When 250 FBI and BIA agents, SWAT cops and local vigilantes launched an assault against Pine Ridge in June 1975 and the FBI came up two agents short, Peltier and three others were charged with their deaths. Charges were dropped against one of them, while AIM supporters Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted in a trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, as jurors stated that they did not believe the government witnesses and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense" against the murderous FBI raid.

The government went into overdrive to assure a conviction against Peltier after the Feds had dragged him back from refuge in Canada. The prosecution concealed ballistics tests which showed that Peltier's gun could not have been used in the shooting, while the trial judge ruled out any possibility of another acquittal on grounds of self-defense by refusing to allow any evidence of government terror against Pine Ridge activists. At the trial, the prosecutors claimed that Peltier shot the agents at close range; by the time of a 1985 appeal hearing the lead government attorney admitted, "We can't prove who shot those agents."

The Feds' conspiracy against Peltier and other AIM leaders was orchestrated right from the top, through the FBI's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program." COINTELPRO was launched against the Communist Party and was then deployed to "neutralize" radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed in cold blood. Despite the massive evidence of Peltier's innocence, the courts have repeatedly turned down his appeals, just as his requests for parole have been denied again and again since he became eligible in 1993. At a hearing in June 2000, the parole officer outrageously turned Peltier down cold without even bothering to look at the materials his lawyer submitted. The following year, outgoing Democratic Party president Bill Clinton turned down Peltier's petition for executive clemency.

And there is no end to the bourgeois courts' trampling on Peltier's rights. On March 31, U.S. District judge William Skretny rejected a request by Peltier's lawyers to release FBI documents that they believe would provide evidence of government attempts to place sources near Peltier's original legal defense team. Incredibly, Skretny acknowledges the admissions of the Eighth Circuit Court that the jury could possibly have acquitted Peltier had the records improperly withheld from the defense been made available. He also found no disagreement with the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals which ruled in November 2003 that

> "Much of the government's behavior at the Pine Ridge Reservation and in its prosecution of Mr. Peltier is to be condemned. The government withheld evidence. It intimidated witnesses. These facts are not disputed."

But still Skretny turned down the defense requests and, like the courts which have acknowledged the frame-up of Peltier, continued the long history of governmental cover-up of official misconduct in the service of racist repression.

Peltier's attorneys have sought to use the Freedom of Information Act to uncover the volumes of secret FBI files pertaining to Peltier's frame-up prosecution. Attorney Michael Kuzma said that the total of the illegally withheld government evidence in Peltier's case amounted to a staggering 142,579 pages. Clearly the U.S. ruling class has much to hide in its ongoing criminal prosecution of this courageous fighter for Native Americans. There is no justice in the capitalist courts for class-war prisoners like Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Partisan Defense Committee reiterates its decades-long commitment to justice for Leonard Peltier. *Free him now!*■

Free Ohio 7 Prisoner Tom Manning!

Earlier this month, the Partisan Defense Committee added Tom Manning to the list of recipients of its monthly stipend as part of the PDC's class-war prisoners program. Support for class-war prisoners is not social work but an act of solidarity.

Tom Manning is part of the Ohio 7, leftist activists convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for "bank expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Manning is one of three remaining Ohio 7 activists still in prison and, if the U.S. government has its way, he will spend the rest of his life behind bars. As Tom states in "A Short Biography" posted on his Web site (www.geocities.com/tommanning), he was sentenced in 1985 to 53 years in federal prison:

> "for a series of bombings carried out as armed propaganda against apartheid in South Africa, U.S. imperialism in Latin and Central America, including a concerted campaign against Mobil Oil and U.S. military targets in solidarity with the FALN's [Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation] campaign for the release of the five Nationalist prisoners. And against racist, genocidal capitalism here in the belly of the beast. I'm also sentenced to 80 years...in New Jersey for the self-defense killing of a state trooper."

December 16th Committee

Like Ray Luc Levasseur, another member of the Ohio 7 who was released from prison last year, Manning grew up poor and working class and was sent to Vietnam, where he saw the atrocities of American imperialism up close. In the 1970s and '80s, he worked with other leftist radicals in community organizing, prisoner support and welfare advocacy. In a 7 June 1999 statement, Manning wrote: "I am a Freedom Fighter who took up arms to support and defend an International Movement for Human Rights, Self Determination, Justice and Dignity for all Peoples."

Manning spent years in continual lockdown in some of the worst hellholes of the prison system—USP Marion (Illinois) and USP Florence ADMAX (Colorado), a sensory deprivation unit of steel and concrete with no sound and minimal human contact, designed to break prisoners. Manning is currently at USP Leavenworth (Kansas). In 1999, he was moved to the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield (Missouri) for hip surgery and, even though he returned to Leavenworth in 2002, it took another two years for him to get back his legal and medical records.

From the standpoint of the working class, the actions of Manning and the other Ohio 7 activists are not crimes. We salute the courage and integrity of class-war prisoners like Manning, but we reject the strategy of "armed propaganda," as he puts it. This strategy substitutes isolated individual actions for the mobilization of the power of the proletariat. Instead, we seek to win the working class to the perspective of sweeping away the whole capitalist system through socialist revolution.

We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to write to Tom Manning and express their solidarity with him. Write to Tom Manning at: 10373-016, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048.■

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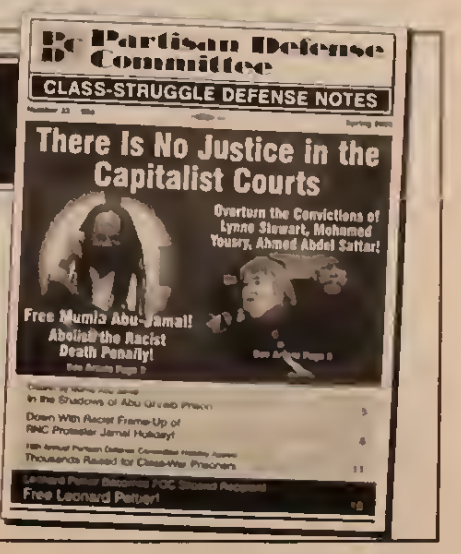

German Taaffeites Exclude Defenders of Michael Jackson

An Instance of Victorian Racism

We print below a translation of a leaflet published by our comrades of the Spartakist-Jugend, youth group of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League. The leaflet was distributed at the Berlin "Socialism Days" of March 25-27. This event was hosted by the Sozialistische Alternative Voran (SAV), the sister group of Socialist Alternative, which is associated with Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers' International.

The SAV leaders don't want revolutionary politics at their "Socialism Days" this year. They don't want any "impure" thoughts to pollute the virgin minds of their membership. So the SAV's leader Sascha Stanicic wrote us the following e-mail on March 23:

> "As we've already told you, you will not have the possibility this year of setting up an information stand at the Socialism Days. Your position of relativizing child abuse, which you defended last year at Socialism Days, led to great indignation among many participants. Many declared that they don't ever want to hear such positions again.
>
> "For years we have tolerated your untruths and distortion of the SAV's positions, because we assumed that those who attend our meetings could come to their own conclusions. The fact that no one who came to Socialism Days has ever joined your group confirms this assessment. However, with your behavior at the women's political event at Socialism Days last year, you have crossed a line, which we cannot tolerate.
>
> "We therefore inform you that you are excluded from the forum on the theme 'new sexism,' and that you are not allowed to have an information stand or to sell newspapers at the event."

The self-appointed "morality police" of the left lay it down: "Who's Bad?" Those who don't conform to the narrow, prudish and social-democratic worldview of the SAV leaders get banned. *No to this political censorship!*

The SAV leadership is hell-bent on defending the family values of their members and sympathizers against us communists. We reported in our article (under the seductive title, "Why the Rejection, SAV?") on the moralist "outrage" which greeted our comrade's intervention in the forum on "Globalization & the New Sexism" at "Socialism Days 2004" (*Spartakist* No. 155, Summer 2004). She attacked the SAV's prudish moralism and counterposed our Marxist position of opposition to state intervention in consensual sexual and other personal relations. That includes so-called pedophiles who are victims of state persecution for having sex with minors on the basis of *effective consent*—meaning consensual sex as opposed to being forced to do something you don't understand or don't want to do. SAV cadre flipped out over this and also over our defense of Michael Jackson—a black man being targeted yet again by the racist U.S. courts. We wrote:

> "While it is possible that Michael Jackson has been thoroughly asexual in his relationships with boys, as he steadfastly maintains, to us that is irrelevant. Jackson has been charged under part of the California penal code involving a 'lewd act upon a child.' It prohibits acts with the intention of arousing, appealing to, or gratifying the lust, passions or sexual desires of the person or the child. The state clearly and willfully does not distinguish between coerced and consensual acts."
>
> —"Stop Vendetta Against Michael Jackson!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 818, 23 January 2004

AFP

Michael Jackson with supporter at Santa Barbara County Superior Court during trial.

The SAV disgustingly slanders this position as "defense of rapists" or, as Stanicic now puts it, "relativizing child abuse." With this slander of Jackson, *the SAV leadership embraces the racist, reactionary values of the neoconservative fundamentulist Bush government, whose henchmen are witchhunting Jackson!*

Stanicic accuses us of spreading "untruths and distortions" to cover up the fact that the SAV is too cowardly to defend its own politics. Why else ban a group from selling its paper at their event? In fact, the SAV's "outrage" against and censorship of our revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois state's persecution of sexual minorities are further proof of what we have always said: they are social democrats (with a little militant rhetoric occasionally). The SAV's frenzy is not just cynical demagogy. The whole affair reflects a deep-seated backwardness on questions of personal—particularly sexual—freedom. This backwardness has everything to do with anti-communist Social Democracy, which the SAV currently subordinates itself to in the form of the "Electoral Alternative" ASG [Arbeit & soziale Gerechtigkeit—Work and Social Justice organization]. For the bourgeoisie and their political police in the workers movement, the Social Democracy, it is of course of elementary importance that the workers (and the rest of the population) be regimented by hypocritical bourgeois morality—church, "ethics" courses in school and family. The family—the central institution in class society for the oppression of women and children—serves to transmit this morality and regimentation to the next generation of workers. That is why every form of sex which questions the monogamous "norm"—homosexuality, pedophilia, etc.—is branded as "deviant" and "sinful."

And of course the highest principle of all social democrats is that the capitalist state, as protector of the "general welfare," plays the role of enforcing this hypocritical morality. The same state, guardian of private ownership of the means of production and the reactionary family, is the source of all the reactionary persecution of gays, lesbians and minorities in general. The ASG wants to support and build up this state, which means proving their ability to govern. That is the reason for their witchhunt against the SAV and other leftists who use socialist rhetoric. By using similar methods of censorship and exclusion against us, the SAV expresses its own narrow prudery and supports the state and its reactionary interference in people's private lives. In this way, they present themselves as respectable to the ASG bureaucrats. Here is an organization whose "Socialist Women's Program" calls for trade-union mobilizations against pornography! Pornography is *not* rape or violence against women, as the feminists and SAV preach. It is a private matter, exciting or interesting according to taste. The capitalist state criminalizes it in order more strictly to regiment people's lives. The SAV program for "trade-union censorship" amounts to a social-democratic call to turn the workers organizations into auxiliaries for the state's moral code. Such an outlook is opposed to the most basic socialist (and humanist) strivings for a society where *people can live in freedom.*

The first step to such a society—workers revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie—was made with the 1917 October Revolution. The new government of workers and soldiers soviets took a decidedly different view from the SAV:

> "Soviet legislation bases itself on the following principle:
>
> "*It declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters, so long as nobody is injured, and no one's interests are encroached upon....*
>
> "Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offences against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters."
>
> —*The Sexual Revolution in Russia*, Grigorii Batkis, director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene [1923], quoted in J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864-1935* (1974) [emphasis in original]

The decisive factor was Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which guided the revolution to success—a party which declared irreconcilable war on all aspects of capitalist oppression and every expression of state violence and arbitrariness against persecuted minorities. With their censorship and reactionary support for anti-sex prudery, the SAV shows once again that they have nothing to do with the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. We fight in this tradition, for the party of world socialist revolution to fully realize the hopes for human progress and freedom already awakened by the Russian Revolution. *Government out of the bedroom! Down with anti-communist exclusion at "Socialism Days"! No to the "morality police" of the left!* ■

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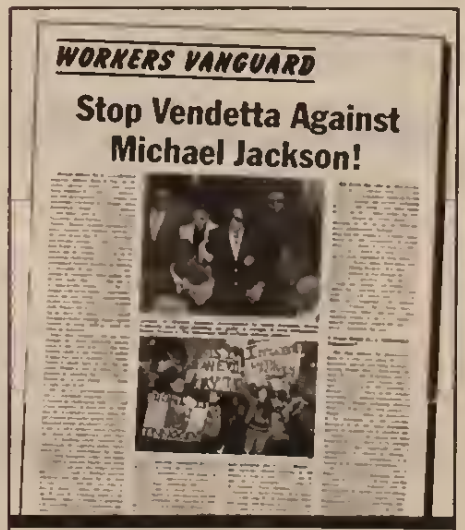

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Stop Racist Violence Against Immigrants, Blacks!

Long Island, NY

In recent years, Long Island has seen an outbreak of anti-immigrant and anti-black attacks. Anti-immigrant groups such as the Sachem Quality of Life Organization (SQL) in Farmingville have organized to force immigrants, primarily Mexican day laborers, out of their communities and the country. When SQL, along with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), defeated a resolution to provide a hiring hall for day laborers in 2001, fascist groups, such as the World Church of the Creator, took an interest in recruiting in Farmingville.

Fascist and racist thugs have been targeting immigrants in Long Island since before the hiring hall resolution. In September 2000, two Mexican immigrants were attacked with a knife and beaten with shovels and a posthole digger after racists, including one covered with racist tattoos, lured them from Farmingville with the promise of work. On 5 July 2003, five white racists used fireworks shot from a car to burn Mexican immigrants out of their home in Farmingville. The driver, one Kyle Mahler, had pictures of KKK members and anti-Latino literature in his car. Many of these racist attacks are documented in the 2004 film, *Farmingville: Welcome to the Suburbs, Home of the New Border Wars*.

Making it clear that anti-immigrant reaction and anti-black racism go hand in hand, last November fascists burned a cross outside the home of an integrated couple in Lake Grove. This was the latest in a string of racist attacks against black people in heavily segregated Long Island. In 1998, a black family in Amityville returned home from church to find a burning cross on the lawn. In 1994, the home of a black family moving into Nesconset, a predominantly white enclave west of Lake Grove, was burned down. In 1997, the KKK planned a recruitment rally at the Smith Haven Mall in Lake Grove.

Democrat Steve Levy, a member of the Suffolk County executive, has been in the forefront of the drive against immigrants in the area, proposing to grant police the power to jail anyone they arrest on other charges if the cops suspect them of being an "illegal" immigrant. He has also proposed to give police broader powers to enforce immigration laws and have them trained by the Department of Homeland Security.

At a March 30 showing of the *Farmingville* video in New York City organized by District Council 37—which organizes hospital, municipal and other workers—it was reported that Levy was forced to back down from his proposal. But Levy's objectives are being carried out under the cover of a campaign against "gangs" and "sexual predators." The code words for the racist campaign of mass black incarceration are now being used to deport immigrant day laborers. In recent months, cops in Nassau and Suffolk counties have arrested and slated for deportation dozens of Hispanic youth on sweeping criminal conspiracy charges, accusing them of being "gang members." Evidence in these cases can be as flimsy as wearing tattoos or bandanas of a certain color. Being deported to a country like El Salvador, where right-wing death squads have for years targeted accused gang members arriving from the U.S., can constitute a virtual death sentence. Suffolk County police signed an accord last fall with El Salvador's notorious national police, providing for joint training and sharing of information on deportees.

Kandel/Newsday

Mexican immigrant Sergio Perez outside his Farmingville home, which was firebombed by white racists, July 2003.

Meanwhile, George Graf, the new mayor of another suburb, Farmingdale, has increased fines against drivers who stop to pick up immigrant day laborers. His administration has also renewed a plan to spend $6 million to $14 million to buy the property from under homes where immigrants currently live. Once ownership is secured, they plan to raze these houses, throwing the inhabitants into the streets.

Immigrant day laborers are among the most vulnerable sections of the working class in this country. Many are undocumented, with few rights or social benefits, and live in constant fear of being rounded up and deported. That threat is a weapon in the hands of the employers to prevent unionization and drive down wages for all workers. Holding tenuous jobs as day laborers on small, suburban construction projects or as gardeners, cooks and chauffeurs for rich families, these workers lack much of the social power of the urban and industrial proletariat.

The fact that, as depicted in the *Farmingville* documentary, many working people on Long Island have voiced opposition to racist persecution of immigrant workers is important. It means these immigrants do not stand isolated and without allies. Unions in the New York metropolitan area should build on this and dispatch labor defense groups to Long Island to make it clear that the unionized workforce is prepared to provide whatever protection it can for foreign-born workers from bands of racist thugs and fascists.

The fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants* is a critical struggle that all labor must take up. Immigrant workers, bringing with them traditions of labor struggle in Latin America and elsewhere, can play a key role in revitalizing U.S. labor. The attacks on immigrant workers on Long Island are by no means isolated. Day laborers in Freehold, New Jersey are facing threats similar to those faced by Long Island workers. In Arizona, a group calling itself the "Minutemen" is organizing armed vigilante patrols at the U.S./Mexico border, targeting immigrants desperately seeking work in the U.S. Meanwhile, the capitalist media have been whipping up an anti-immigrant frenzy, complaining that immigrant workers are "stealing American jobs."

Instead of waging a real struggle for immigrant rights, the AFL-CIO tops have used the plight of immigrant workers to promote illusions in the Democratic Party, as they did with the 2003 Immigrant Worker Freedom Ride, which consisted of little more than election rallies for Democratic politicians courting the Hispanic vote. A 9 February 2002 labor-centered united-front mobilization in Oakland, called by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League, provides a modest example of the kind of struggle that the labor movement must lead. Over 300 people, including a large contingent of overwhelmingly black longshoremen, came out in defense of immigrant rights and against the government's "war on terror" legislation, which, in the first instance, targets immigrants but is ultimately aimed at black people and the entire labor movement.

The unions have failed to mobilize in defense of immigrant rights because the primary allegiance of their leaders is not to the proletariat but the capitalist system of exploitation. In upholding the supposed alliance of capital and labor, the union tops sacrifice the interests of labor to keep class peace. This means slavishly subordinating workers to the capitalists' anti-strike laws; wasting millions of hard-earned union dues to line the pockets of Democratic Party politicians rather than using the financial muscle of organized labor to support strikers and their families; abandoning effective means of class struggle in favor of building illusions that capitalist Democratic Party politicians are "friends of labor"; refusing to take on the task of confronting the racist open shop South with a hard-hitting union organizing drive. It means refusing to aggressively unionize immigrant labor.

The fight to build a labor leadership that recognizes that the interests of capital and the interests of labor are irreconcilable is critical to reversing the AFL-CIO's current disastrous course. The working class needs its own political party based on a program of socialist revolution, a party that will be the voice of all those oppressed by capitalist society.

Newsday

June 2001 protest by Latino day laborers against racist harassment by Farmingdale mayor Joseph Trudden, who was arrested in January 2005 on grand larceny and other charges.

Long Island: A Long History of Racism

Long Island is one of the most segregated suburbs in the U.S. Some 80 percent of blacks in Nassau County are concentrated in a mere 10 percent of the county. A recent report by Erase Racism, a Long Island advocacy group, noted that over the past decades, segregation patterns have changed little in the area. The only places more segregated than Long Island are cities like Detroit, where the segregation rate stands at about 85 percent of black people.

There have been black communities on Long Island going back to the early 19th-century settlements of black freedmen, a number of whom were landowners. Around the turn of the 20th century, the establishment of rich estates on the North Shore's "Gold Coast" and summer resorts on the South Shore brought some (woefully insecure and underpaid) employment opportunities for increasing numbers of blacks. The intersection of rural backwardness and haughty, upper-class enclaves underlay a nasty, racist climate in Long Island, exemplified in the mid '30s by "Camp Siegfried," the summer retreat of the Hitlerite Bund. There, in the heart of Suffolk County, tens of thousands of fascists paraded in Nazi regalia, sporting swastikas and giving stiff-armed salutes.

As large numbers of middle-class white families moved to the suburbs, especially following World War II, there was a determined drive on Long Island—as in cities and suburbs across the country—to demolish and relocate black communities in the name of "urban renewal." The black neighborhood of Freeport, a suburb of commuters and

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Northwest Airlines

Union President Suspended for Protesting Unsafe Planes

Horwich/Minnesota Public Radio

Ted Ludwig displays piece of a shattered brake part at March press conference.

On March 30, Northwest Airlines suspended the president of the Minneapolis/St. Paul local of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) for holding a press conference where he questioned the safety of third-party maintenance shops. Ted Ludwig must go 60 days without pay for holding up a few pieces of metal and saying: "These are parts off a brake that was overhauled by a third-party vendor.... This brake blew up when it was on taxi to the gate...pieces went into the engine" (Minnesota Public Radio online, 18 March). Labor and anyone who flies has an interest in fighting to overturn this suspension, which clearly shows that public safety is jeopardized by the airline bosses. ***Drop the suspension ond give Ted Ludwig oll lost poy!***

Airlines have increasingly looked to third-party maintenance shops both in the U.S. and abroad for cheap, non-union labor. When located in the U.S., often in the "open shop" South, such shops operate under little federal supervision and have just a few licensed mechanics to sign off repairs. In essence, customers are flying in planes maintained by auto mechanics, if that! The 1996 crash of ValuJet flight 592, which killed all 110 people on board, and a 2003 US Airways Express accident, were attributed to faulty maintenance from third-party shops.

Ted Ludwig is not the only worker the airline bosses have gone after for being concerned with passenger safety. In 1998, Northwest fired mechanic Thomas Regner, who kept tabs on safety issues cropping up in his shop by keeping a copy of the maintenance records that would normally he thrown out—so-called "blue cards." When serious maintenance problems kept recurring, he went to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) with his blue cards. Northwest accused him of a work slowdown; it took three and a half years of fighting in the courts for Regner to get his job back with all back pay. Now, Northwest requires the blue cards be placed into a locked box after use. In 2000, United Airlines mechanic George Davis was fired for writing up two mechanical problems. (He has since successfully fought for reinstatement.) Tim Hafer, a warranty coordinator with United, in charge of extracting information from United's Aircraft Maintenance Information System, was fired in 2001 after he submitted to the FAA a stack of evidence documenting numerous incidences of unlicensed persons at third-party contractors—often office workers —illegally signing off on repair work. And United mechanic Mark Sassman in Indianapolis was fired after he told the FAA that management distributed a letter there threatening "termination" of mechanics for "excessive write-ups" (CBS News, 16 June 2003).

The Northwest suspension of Ludwig comes amid a campaign by management to break the back of the union. In retaliation for the union's refusing to grant the company concessions, Northwest decided to lay off thousands of workers (3,700 mechanics alone since the end of 2000), retiring many planes but also sending much of the maintenance work to non-union third-party contractors. In response, AMFA began its current campaign of exposing the poor maintenance practices at these facilities. In July 2004, members of AMFA and the Professional Flight Attendants Association at Northwest held an "informational picket" against the outsourcing of maintenance. After learning of this, management distributed a memo which stated in part:

> "Disparagement of the safety, security, or quality of Northwest's operations, would constitute a violation of Northwest's longstanding Rules of Conduct.... Such conduct would, therefore, subject any Northwest employee responsible for that conduct to discipline up to and including discharge. The United States Supreme Court has upheld discharges under similar rules, finding that employees owe a duty of loyalty to their employer and are subject to discipline for disparagement of the products or services of their employer, or to hamper the business."
>
> —Letter to Jeff Mathews by Julie Hagen Showers, Vice President of Labor Relations for Northwest, 18 June 2004

Northwest has been seeking large concessions from its work force for upcoming contracts—currently $1.1 billion—and AMFA has so far refused to grant them any. On January 4, Northwest Airlines forced the issue, getting the National Mediation Board to declare an "impasse" in contract negotiations. This means that after a 30-day "cooling off" period imposed by the Railway Labor Act (RLA), the union can take a strike authorization vote; it also means that after the 30 days, the company can impose a contract on the union.

Airline bosses clearly care little for the safety of their workers or paying passengers; their main concern is that the profits keep flowing. For example, the National Transportation Safety Board ruled that the 31 January 2000 Alaska Airlines flight 261 crash, which killed all 88 aboard, was caused when a critical control mechanism driven by a defective jackscrew assembly broke apart in flight. A lead mechanic had ordered that the $60,000 jackscrew assembly be replaced in 1997, but the company did not change it.

More often than not, when the government and FAA intervene, they do so to protect the bosses and not safety. For example, following the ValuJet crash in '96, the inspector general of the Department of Transportation resigned after her scathing reports of the FAA ignoring massive safety violations were themselves ignored. The workers must understand that the capitalist government and state exist to defend the interests of the bourgeois rulers against working people. A clear example of that is the anti-labor RLA, which makes it extremely difficult for airline workers to strike. Safety lies in the hands of aviation workers. And their power to resist the diktats of management and the government, including the RLA, lies with their unions and, ultimately, with their ability to withdraw their labor power.

While noting the lack of federal oversight and the fact that the subcontractors are non-union, AMFA has also demonized these facilities for hiring "illegal" immigrants and for being located outside the country, including in countries "where terrorists are known to operate." Such America-first protectionism and anti-immigrant chauvinism, buoyed by the "united we stand," "war on terror" propaganda of the bosses, is the very opposite of what workers need to fight the bosses' attacks. It only serves to divide workers and create a false unity between American bosses and American workers. Against the increasingly vicious attacks of the airline bosses, what is needed is international labor solidarity. Organized labor must fight for ***full citizenship rights for oll inmigronts ond to unionize the third-party contractors and non-union oirlines like JetBlue!***

AMFA has gained popularity in recent years because of its posture as more militant and "democratic" than the IAM machinist and other AFL-CIO unions. But AMFA's craft-union orientation plays into the unceasing attempts by the bosses to set one work group against another. What airline workers need is a single industrial union of all workers—from baggage handlers and cleaners to pilots—at all companies. Such would facilitate united, industry-wide strike action to defend jobs and extend hard-fought gains. For their part, passengers must realize that airline management and the government, left to their own devices, would ensure the skies won't remain so friendly. ■

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resort homes on the South Shore, was declared "the worst rural slum in the state" and was torn down in favor of a car dealership and U-Store-It rental units. Levittown, the celebrated archetype of postwar suburban housing developments, had covenants barring sales to non-whites.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The growth of Mexican immigration is evidence of the impoverishment of workers and farmers in Mexico as a result of imperialist "free trade" agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Capitalist politicians heralded NAFTA, which went into effect on 1 January 1994, as the means whereby "developing" nations would lift themselves out of poverty. However, in the first two years of NAFTA, more than 2.3 million Mexicans lost their jobs while the cost of basic necessities such as gas and electricity skyrocketed. During the ten years since "free trade" has gone into effect, Mexican workers who work minimum-wage jobs have lost 50 percent of their buying power. This has forced millions to face either starvation or migration.

As Marxists, we oppose NAFTA because it represents the free-trade rape of Mexico by the U.S. imperialists. However, many trade-union tops oppose NAFTA on the basis of protectionism, claiming that Mexican workers are "stealing American jobs." This protectionist poison serves to obscure the fact that workers in Mexico and the U.S. face a common capitalist enemy and therefore must be allies in the struggle against capitalist exploitation on both sides of the border.

The capitalist integration of the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian economies demands the organization of workers from the Yukon to the Yucatan. With Ford pickup trucks being assembled in Mexico, using engines from Ontario and transmissions from Ohio and Michigan, it is apparent that any significant labor action against a company like Ford requires the coordination of workers actions throughout North America. Anti-immigrant bigotry is deadly poison in the labor movement, and it stands as an obstacle to waging successful class struggle. Only the overturn of capitalist rule through socialist revolutions throughout the Americas can, through rational economic planning of production for human need rather than capitalist profit, provide jobs and decent living conditions for all.

The key to unlocking the power of labor in the U.S. is the fight for black liberation. The color bar is a fundamental dividing line in American society, a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. The united struggle of black, white and immigrant labor against race and class oppression across the North American continent can turn the tide of labor defeats and result in decisive victories. It is in the interests of the capitalist class to derail united struggle of this type by promoting the kind of anti-Mexican and racist filth as has erupted on Long Island. The fact that fascist groups like the KKK benefit from the growth of anti-immigrant chauvinism demonstrates the threat that this poison poses to black people.

Proclaiming that immigrants take jobs from black people, pro-capitalist black nationalist and Democratic Party demagogues have whipped up hostility to immigrants within the black population. However, the responsibility for disproportionately high black unemployment doesn't lie with the immigrant worker; it lies with the racist American capitalist class. Black workers must join with their immigrant class brothers and sisters in the struggle for ***jobs for all at unian wages!***

While black workers must break through anti-immigrant chauvinism in order to win future class battles, immigrant workers must break with all forms of anti-black racism. The struggle of the Mexican worker in the U.S. as well as in Mexico is increasingly linked to the struggle of all North American labor. As Karl Marx proclaimed more than 150 years ago: ***Warkers of oll countries, unite!*** ■

Spartacus Youth Club Video Showing

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LOS ANGELES

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

University in Illinois. The next year, the Chicago Spartacist League mobilized 200 people to successfully drive Hale off the Northwestern campus. These fascists are ***killers***. They can be defeated now, crushed in the egg by the workers movement while they are still small; they must not be ignored.

The Klan, Nazis and fascist skinheads are *not* ideologues of the David Horowitz variety, but action groups, who recruit on the basis of genocide and murder. President George Bush, though a reactionary bourgeois, is not a fascist. In "normal" times, when the bourgeoisie feels secure in its own class rule, it keeps its unruly fascist dogs on the leash. But in periods of deep social crisis, when open class warfare explodes, the bourgeoisie lets loose its fascist gangs to try to crush the workers movement with blood and terror. The fascists are the organized expression of the despair and fury of the petty bourgeoisie, hopelessly squeezed between the two classes with real social power, the capitalists and the working class.

These violent scum target black people; they are the poisonous and violent expression of the deep racism that characterizes American society. The 2004 presidential election was marked by the whipping up of terrorism hysteria, anti-immigrant bigotry and all kinds of religious and sexual backwardness by both Democrats and Republicans. In Boston, as elsewhere, the fascists have a symbiotic relationship with the crazed Christian fundamentalist and Catholic ranks who seek to ban gay marriage and shut down the few remaining abortion clinics.

When Hitler came to power in 1933 in Germany, the working class wanted to fight, but they were prevented from doing so by their leaders in the Social Democracy (SPD) and the Communist Party (CP). The CP leadership refused to make a united front with the SPD against the fascists until it was too late. The bitter price paid is well known: the Holocaust and the crushing of the workers movement in Germany for a generation. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky and his followers fought the rise of fascism tooth and nail, but were unable to win over the left and working class in time. Trotsky analyzed the reasons for Hitler's triumph:

> "The petty bourgeoisie swung over in its overwhelming majority to the side of National Socialism only because the proletariat, paralyzed from above, proved powerless to lead it along a different road. The absence of resistance on the part of the workers heightened the self-assurance of fascism.... The inevitable demoralization of the Communist detachment, increasingly isolated from the proletariat, rendered impossible even a partial resistance. Thus the triumphal procession of Hitler over the bones of the proletarian organizations was assured."
>
> —"The German Catastrophe: The Responsibility of the Leadership," 28 May 1933, in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* (Pathfinder Press, 1971)

Reformists and liberals today argue that we should rely on the institutions of the state to "ban the Klan" (the line of the Communist Party) or outlaw "hate speech," as though this could alter the poisonous social contradictions that give rise to fascist terror. The "fight the right" *Boston Antifascist* (June 2004) states that "while beat-downs may keep fascists in hiding for a little while, nothing can compare to a long prison sentence when it comes to keeping nazis off the street." The line that prison is the way to stop the fascists is another way of placing confidence in the capitalist state.

Our strategy is based on the understanding that the capitalist state is not neutral. It is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class, the capitalists, over another class, the proletariat. The bourgeois state at its core consists of armed bodies of men—the cops, the military, the prison system and the whole "justice system"—whose job is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists and to repress the workers. This state cannot be made to defend the interests of the oppressed, because it is a government of, by and for their oppressors. This is the same state that has a long, sordid history of aiding the fascists in terrorizing and murdering their victims, as in the 1963 Birmingham church bombings and the 1979 Greensboro massacre.

Racists, Liberals and the Battle for Boston Busing

You can't talk about racism and reaction in Boston today without understanding the explosive battles over busing in the 1970s, which marked the final defeat of the civil rights movement nationwide. The battle over school busing in the 1970s was a magnet for fascists. Then as now, the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan gathered in Boston, hoping to add muscle to the anti-busing movement centered on racist outfits like ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and the South Boston Marshals. A big obstacle to the Klan's ability to recruit in Boston was their historic terror against Catholic immigrants. Now some Klan organizations accept Catholic members. Moreover, many local Democratic Party politicians were *already* leading the anti-busing mobilizations and didn't care to cede that leadership to the fascists. Local politicians like Louise Day Hicks ("You know where I stand"), Billy Bulger (brother of notorious South Boston gangster "Whitey" Bulger, who was thick as thieves with the Boston FBI) and Ray Flynn, who later became mayor, built political careers presenting themselves as "populists" instead of the racists they were.

The violent mobs in the streets of Boston starting in the fall of 1974 were mobilized by racist demagogues to prevent black schoolchildren from being bused to urban schools in white areas like Southie (which were themselves about as run-down as the black ghettos). Meanwhile, the upper-class "Boston Brahmins," who occasionally prided themselves on their city's reputation as an abolitionist center before the American Civil War, saw this facade blown to pieces—while of course *their* children remained serenely undisturbed in their lily-white suburbs. But busing wasn't killed just by the racists. The truth is, it was the liberals, along with the racist mobs, who killed busing nationwide. When it came down to actually defending black schoolchildren in the streets, the liberals ran. When the politicians and courts, on which the liberals relied, turned from false friends to outright reactionary opponents, the liberals had no answer. And then, as now, those in the left and workers movement who capitulated to liberalism and preached reliance on the state share the blame.

Incredibly, there were leftists and self-proclaimed socialists who actually aped the same line as the white racists. Groups like the Revolutionary Communist Party (then called the "Revolutionary Union"), which followed Chairman Mao in claiming the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state, was "Soviet social imperialist" and sided with the American bourgeoisie against the USSR, also capitulated to the racist mobs. They headlined in their press: "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan" (*Revolution*, October 1974). The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Workers World Party—which today has taken over the role of the SWP as "best builder" of big antiwar demonstrations limited to reformist politics in order to appeal to liberal Democrats—were then doing the donkey work for local black Democrat Bill Owens. The WWP put out a pamphlet, *Busing and Self-Determination*, which stated: "Separation or Assimilation—It's Up to the Oppressed." So they simultaneously tailed the petty-bourgeois liberals of the NAACP and the separatist Black Muslims.

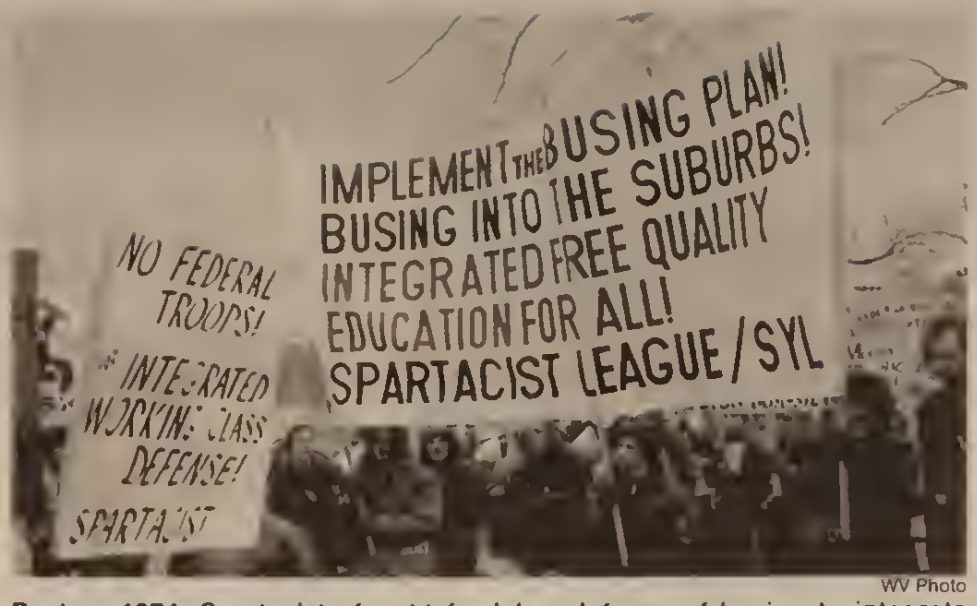
At that time, the Socialist Workers Party was calling for federal troops to Boston to implement busing. Along with Workers World, the SWP, then a somewhat more influential left group than it is today, organized mass demonstrations on behalf of the NAACP and black Democrats, who also made the demand for federal troops a major focus in Boston. The Spartacist League opposed this, pointing out that it created illusions that the state could serve the working class and that "by raising this demand, the reformists take the responsibility (whether they want it or not) for a possible invasion by the bourgeois authorities which would clamp martial law on the ghetto and prevent any independent mobilization" ("No Troops to Boston, For Labor/Black Defense!" *WV* supplement, December 1974).

We demanded the busing plan be implemented as an elementary democratic right of blacks to equal education. We made urgent appeals to the trade-union movement and black and socialist organizations to mobilize in mass demonstrations around the common slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children!" We were in the forefront of fighting for mass, integrated labor-black defense of black schoolchildren against the howling racist mobs in Southie. We also linked the struggle to defend busing to calls for low-rent, racially integrated public housing; we called for quality, integrated education for all, and for the extension of busing to the suburbs as minimal, albeit inadequate, steps toward black equality. Obviously, this didn't happen—in good part because the trade-union misleaders didn't lift a finger so as not to alienate the Democratic Party so-called "friends of labor" like Teddy Kennedy (who basically ducked the whole issue).

Our revolutionary strategy is to mobilize the power of the working class *independently* of the state and independently of its class enemies, the capitalist parties of racism and war, Democrats as well as Republicans. The working class needs to gain strength and self-confidence in organizing for its *own* interests, learning how, in action, it can lead all sectors of the oppressed in common struggle. We fight for burning necessities, like the need to smash racist segregation, in such a way as to show that the only genuine solution is the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a workers government. The role of liberalism has always been to keep the struggle for black social equality within capitalist bounds.

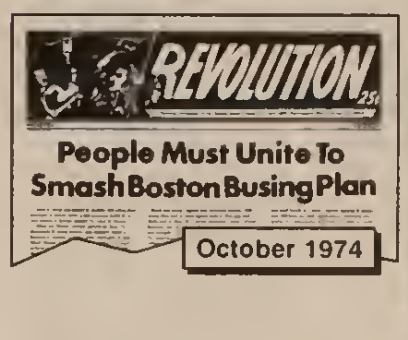
For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

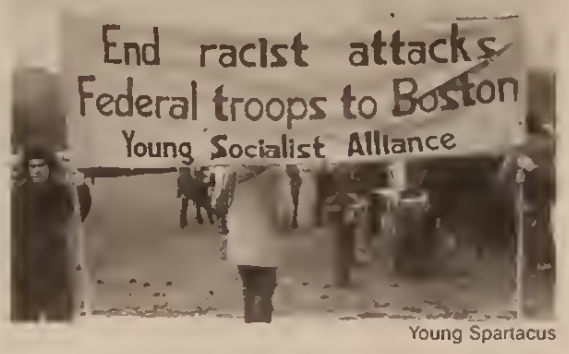
By the early 1980s in Boston, demoralized black parents were backing away from busing after a decade of attacks on their children. Boston's black people continued to face official cop terror, a crumbling economy and segregation that showed no sign of abating. In October 1982, "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson appeared on a Boston television station. During the show, members of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) rose from the audience and pelted Wilkinson's pinstriped suit with eggs, whereupon the humiliated KKK terrorists vowed to parade in downtown Boston in full regalia. PL is well known for such individualistic acts. But, however courageous individual PLers may be, PL rejects the strategic necessity of organizing the working class independently of the bourgeoisie and the need for united-front mobilizations.



WV Photo

Boston, 1974: Spartacists fought for labor defense of busing to integrate schools (above). RCP's predecessor, Revolutionary Union, blocked with racist anti-busing forces (below, left), while SWP youth group pushed reliance on federal troops.





Young Spartacus

WV Photo

Fascists (with flag in background) stage provocation at Palestinian rights protest, 9 June 2002. ANSWER marshals protect fascists from efforts by Spartacists and others to drive them out.

China...

(continued from page 1)

as a warning to the Soviet degenerated workers state. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, U.S. imperialism was responsible for the death of some three million Koreans. China's heroic sacrifices defended the North Korean deformed workers state and stopped U.S. forces—fighting under the flag of the United Nations—from grabbing the entire Korean peninsula and turning it into a neocolony of the U.S. During the Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, more than three million Vietnamese were murdered by U.S. imperialism's losing attempt to smash the social revolution there.

Many in China have illusions about the nature of U.S. imperialism because it fought against Japan in World War II. The Stalinists, presenting World War II as a "war against fascism," sided with the bourgeois-democratic imperialist powers—centrally the U.S. and Britain—against Germany, Italy and Japan.

In contrast, Trotskyists understood that the interimperialist slaughter in World War II was a conflict for redivision of the world's sources of cheap labor and raw materials in the interest of capitalist profits. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, basing itself on proletarian internationalism, fought for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it stood for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and championed the self-determination of the colonies against their subjugation by the Axis and Allied imperialists alike.

During the occupation of China by Japan beginning in the early 1930s, Trotskyists gave military support to the Chinese resistance forces, while politically opposing Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois Guomindang forces. With the entry of the U.S. into the Pacific War, the war effort of Chiang's Guomindang was decisively subordinated to the interests of U.S. imperialism, to the point that U.S. officials had the final say on how Guomindang forces were to be deployed.

UPI

Japanese war crimes in Nanjing, 1937: Chinese prisoners used for bayonet practice. New Japanese textbooks describe rape of Nanjing as an "incident."

Under these conditions, it became necessary to advocate a revolutionary defeatist position—for the defeat of both sides through proletarian class struggle—toward both the U.S./Guomindang and Japanese forces, while giving military support to Mao's Communist Party forces, which were ***not*** militarily subordinate to U.S. imperialism (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front'—The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

A central tenet of the Stalinist bureaucrats' nationalistic outlook is that workers in the advanced capitalist countries are so bought off by their exploiters that revolutionary class struggle there is a utopian (or Trotskyist) pipedream. Yet, in Japan there have been signs of opposition to resurgent militarism, including within the organized working class. In 2001, some 200 dock workers at Sasebo port in Nagasaki refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan. More recently, hundreds of teachers have been fired or otherwise disciplined for refusing to stand for the *Hinomaru* (national flag) and sing the *Kimigayo* (national anthem), symbols of Japanese militarism. These actions were taken in defiance of the pro-imperialist leaders of the three main trade-union federations—including those affiliated to the Japanese Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party—and are a direct challenge to the "national unity" appeals of the Japanese bourgeoisie.

With the outbreak of anti-Japan protests in China, the administration of Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi engaged in one anti-China provocation after another. Koizumi haughtily admonished the Chinese people to be "more grown up" and keep "a cool head" and echoed President Bush in successfully pressuring the European Union to retain the arms embargo of China.

The provocations by Japanese imperialism have been egged on by U.S. imperialism. Last summer, then-secretary of state Colin Powell declared U.S. support for Japan's bid to have a seat on the UN Security Council while noting that Article 9 of the U.S.-imposed constitution, which prohibits Japan from engaging in warfare abroad, "would have to be examined in that light" (AFP English edition, 13 August 2004). More recently, there has been a proposal to transfer the command headquarters of the U.S. Army's 1st Corps from the U.S. mainland to Yokohama, south of Tokyo, where, in the words of the London *Guardian* (19 April), "the primary focus of its forward deployment is likely to be the defence of Taiwan, regional challenges posed by China's military expansion, and the nuclear standoff with North Korea."

Right-wing chauvinists in Japan took the provocations by Japan and the protests in China as a green light to terrorize Chinese residents. Chinese diplomatic offices and other Chinese-related institutions were either attacked or vandalized. There were bomb threats at the Chinese Consul General in Fukuoka, an anthrax scare at the Chinese embassy in Tokyo and a spent bullet casing sent to the Chinese consulate in Osaka with a letter threatening violence against Chinese citizens. On April 10, shots were fired at a Bank of China branch office in Yokohama.

Finally, at the April 22 Asia-Africa summit meeting in Indonesia, Koizumi sought to defuse tensions with China by offering a vague apology for the "tremendous damage and suffering" caused by Japanese colonial rule. (The same day, a member of Koizumi's government joined 80 other politicians in a pilgrimage to the Yasukuni Shrine, a symbol of Japanese militarism where war criminals from World War II are among those enshrined.) Prominent voices in Japan had complained last week that continued tension would hurt Japanese business, while China's Ministry of Commerce declared that boycotts of Japanese goods would harm both countries' economic interests. China is now Japan's number one trading partner, and some 18,000 Japanese companies have set up operations in China. As the *New York Times* (23 April) put it, the "growing economic interdependence" between China and Japan "has mollified their positions in recent days."

Japanese imperialism is determined to throw off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome with which it emerged from World War II. To accomplish this, the ruling class seeks to impose a policy of economic austerity domestically, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the repressive apparatus needed to maintain capitalist law and order. The new defense guidelines not only target the Chinese and

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On only 24 hours' notice, the Boston Spartacist League and other leftists including the Workers World Party and PL launched counterdemonstrations to stop the Klan, all focused on the KKK's threatened march site. So when Wilkinson and his KKK terrorists appeared, they were routed by 1,500 protesters who ran the white-sheeted Klansmen off the streets (see "KKK Run Out!" *WV* No. 316, 29 October 1982). It was the first solid anti-racist stand after years of unrelieved racist terror for black people in Boston. Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, blacks from Roxbury and Mattapan, unionists and others stood together against the Klan that day.

The KKKers were shown on national television cringing and being whisked away by the Boston cops, who then rioted against the anti-fascist demonstrators and local press. For hundreds of anti-Klan protesters, the bloody cop riot—which nonetheless failed to disperse the protesters—was a useful lesson: the cops protected the Klan and tried to smash those who sought to resist. The cops were just doing their job for their capitalist bosses. This is a lesson that must not be forgotten today, when many leftists and even so-called socialists look to the state to stop the fascists.

The Klan tried again in 1991. That March, KKKer David Duke of Louisiana vowed to speak in the hallowed hall of Boston's Old South Meeting House. Behind Duke's "respectable" suit and surgically enhanced Aryan look was the fascist agenda of genocide for black people, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, Hispanics, Asians, gays, unionists, leftists. But if Duke thought he could goose-step into Boston unopposed, he was wrong. Boston is a large metropolitan area, and is best known as a student center. Though it has lost many industrial jobs, the urban transportation sector remains vital, even with the passing of the city's shipyards and machine shops. However, it is still the labor movement that is key to repelling fascist threats, because unions represent the unity of all working people against the fascist race-haters and because workers have tremendous social power as producers of the wealth of society.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, appealed to Boston labor as well as everyone else targeted by fascist terror. The PDC called a united-front demonstration to "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke," which was endorsed by a number of union officials, as well as the Vulcans Society, a group of black firefighters who also acted as marshals at the protest, and by minority groups and student organizations. The anti-Duke demonstration turned out 1,500 in protest outside the Old South Meeting House, while Duke, sweating and unnerved, spoke inside behind massive cop protection.

Among those who answered our call were large numbers of black and Latino youth from Boston schools and neighborhoods. One youth after another—from ACT UP, from the Haitian community, from black and women's groups—addressed the crowd. The demonstration was built as a genuine united front, based on unity around the main slogan for the action. We mobilized the many intended victims of the white-supremacist Klan—everybody from the Boston Unit of the Irish Northern Aid Committee to "Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Friends at MIT"—along with sectors of the labor movement, while allowing all participants the right to express their own views and debate others. This is the same strategy that the Spartacist League and PDC have used to successfully mobilize working-class power to stop the fascists from rearing their heads in many major metropolitan centers, from San Francisco to Detroit to New York City.

Today, because the class war on the working masses has been largely one-sided during the last three decades, many activists tend to see only the painful reality of the racism which pervades all sectors of society in "normal" times. But Boston today is a multiethnic "majority minority" city, where the potential exists for united class struggle against the whole system of racist capitalist oppression and race hatred that seeks to divide and conquer. The history of this country shows that when powerful social struggles erupt, racist ideology among working people will be pushed aside by the developing consciousness of shared class interest. As the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense wrote in greetings to our Boston anti-Duke protest:

> "We need labor/black mobilizations to clean out the fascists. David Duke deserves the kind of welcome that this city used to reserve for the 'fugitive slave' catchers before the Civil War. When those dreaded mercenaries tried to kidnap black people and drag them to slavery, the decent citizens of Boston drove them out of town! Mobilize the independent power of the labor movement. Then we could do something to address the unemployment, homelessness, education cut-backs and police terror that is capitalist America right now."■

WV Photo

Boston, 28 March 1991: Partisan Defense Committee rallied 1,500 against fascist David Duke.

China...

(continued from page 9)

North Korean deformed workers states but also strengthen the state's arsenal of repression against the workers movement. There is considerable anger among the working people of Japan and a real desire to fight against economic austerity, discrimination, increased state repression and war. This anger and militancy must be directed toward the huilding of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that would link the light for socialist revolution in Japan with the unconditional military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states.

China: For Workers Political Revolution!

Speaking for many in the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, Li Rui, a former secretary of Mao Zedong, made the following bald admission: "Nobody understands Marxism. It is ridiculous. The ideals of the past don't exist any more. So it is right to turn to nationalism. It is the means by which the party can maintain its system and ideology" (London *Observer*, 17 April). Along with the cynical defense of nationalism as an effective means for manipulating the masses, this statement reflects widespread misidentification of Marxism with Maoism. In reality, the sharp contrast that is commonly drawn between Mao's policies and those of his successor Deng Xiaoping is fundamentally false.

Within the nationalist framework of "socialism in one country," the regimes of Mao and Deng pursued different policies in different international contexts. Nonetheless, in one very important respect their policies were substantially identical: the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. That alliance was sealed in 1972 when U.S. president Richard Nixon embraced Chairman Mao at the very moment that U.S. warplanes were carpet bombing Vietnam. U.S. imperialism's rapprochement with the Maoist bureaucracy on the basis of shared hostility to the Soviet Union led to U.S. recognition of the People's Republic and a seat for China in the United Nations at the expense of Taiwan.

The alliance with the U.S. was continued and deepened under Deng. In 1979, Deng ordered the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to invade Vietnam, the main Soviet ally in East Asia, with the approval and encouragement of Washington. The Vietnamese resisted effectively and inflicted 20,000 casualties on the PLA, which retreated across the border. (Speaking of doctored history textbooks, this ignominious chapter has been virtually disappeared by the Chinese Stalinists.) During the final years of the Cold War in the 1980s, China bolstered American imperialism in weakening and undermining the Soviet Union—for example, giving aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan—thereby furthering the counterrevolutionary drive which wiped out the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

US News

Left: American imperialists turned Seoul, Korea into wasteland. Right: Chinese People's Volunteers capture American soldiers near Wonsan, 1951. China's intervention during Korean War was key to defense of North Korea.

Having destroyed the Soviet Union, homeland of the only successful workers revolution, the imperialists are today intent on restoring capitalism in China. To this end, they are pursuing a two-pronged strategy: economic penetration to build up the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution combined with military pressure and the threat of armed intervention. The Stalinist bureaucrats are in fact encouraging the imperialists through their policy of betrayal: allowing massive capitalist investment combined with a futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

But despite the bureaucracy's "market reforms," the core of the Chinese economy remains collectivized. Moreover, the economic policies of the Communist Party regime are still constrained by fear of social—especially working-class—unrest which could topple it. This came close to happening in 1989, when student-centered protests for political liberalization and against corruption triggered a spontaneous workers revolt that was then suppressed with great bloodshed by the regime.

Today, China is a tinderbox of social tensions waiting to explode. According to government statistics, the number of protests increased 15 percent last year to 58,000. Millions of impoverished farmers and urban workers have blocked roads, waged strikes or demonstrated against official corruption, land seizures, environmental destruction, layoffs and unemployment, miserable working conditions and the growing gap between urban wealth and rural poverty. In mid April residents of Dongyang in southeastern China, furious at the government's refusal to deal with the pollution from nearby factories, drove out 1,000 riot police and seized control of the city. At the same time, nearly 2,000 former PLA soldiers staged a series of protest demonstrations in Beijing against their meager retirement benefits. Most recently, some 10,000 workers at a Japanese-funded Uniden electronics factory in Shenzhen near Hong Kong went on strike demanding the right to unionize. By April 23, the strike ended. Revealing how the Chinese bureaucracy acts as a labor contractor for the imperialist bourgeoisies investing in China, one striker told the *Washington Post* (26 April), "Some labor officials told us we had to cooperate or else the investors might withdraw and move to other places to invest, and we would all get thrown out of work."

Through their policy of "market reforms," the Chinese bureaucracy is strengthening the forces of counterrevolution by allowing the imperialists to economically penetrate the workers state. At the same time, this policy is augmenting the social power of the industrial proletariat. The alternatives facing China are capitalist counterrevolution or proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with democratically elected workers and peasants Soviets, organs of proletarian rule. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed to provide Chinese workers with a revolutionary proletarian internationalist strategy. There is no nationally limited road to socialism in China. The modernization of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to the advanced technology and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires the international extension of socialist revolution, centrally to these imperialist powers, laying the basis for an internationally planned socialist economy. This requires the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International of world socialist revolution. ■

World Journal

Residents in Dongyang city in China's Zhejiang province walk past overturned police buses after successfully defending themselves from riot police during mass protests against stifling pollution.

Cops, Lies...

(continued from page 12)

shows, Jamal told the police who came on the scene, "He just ran over people." The next day, in standard police racial profiling, Holiday was picked up hy cops who claimed surveillance cameras showed him to be wearing the same clothing (a haseball cap and T-shirt) as an individual filmed kicking the undercover provocateur. With Holiday facing up to seven years in prison on assault charges, his bail was set at $250,000, in part because political literature was found in his home. Jamal Holiday spent seven months in Rikers Island, and after agreeing to a plea bargain, was finally released on probation under conditions of one year of "intensive supervision," but he still faces possible charges.

The camera "skills" of the NYPD have been in the news before. The NYPD VIPER Unit (Video Interactive Patrol Enhanced Response), equipped with infrared cameras, has been in place for surveillance for several years all over the streets of the city. The VIPER unit is particularly known to spy on and monitor the tenants in public housing. VIPER types were out in full force with their high-tech, heat-sensitive equipment during the RNC protests. One VIPER unit got caught out when they took a break from filming a Critical Mass bicycle protest where hundreds were arrested to zoom in repeatedly on a couple kissing on a roof.

More recently, on April 14, the City of New York settled—to the tune of $231,200—a contempt claim brought by 151 people detained by the cops. The city intentionally violated multiple court orders to release 560 people in order to prevent them from protesting while Bush was up on his imperial podium giving his acceptance speech.

The largely white, petty-bourgeois youth protesting the RNC got a small taste of what minority youth face every day in America's cities. For black and Latino youth in New York City, neighborhood arrest sweeps, police lies and brutality, frame-ups, detentions and prison are a daily fact of life. The racist capitalist state and its parties, the Republicans as well as the Democrats, are the class enemy of the working class and oppressed, from the picket lines to the ghettos.

Leading up to the convention, Bloomberg and the media whipped up "war on terror" hysteria against the protesters, most of whom were liberal Democratic Party supporters. The intention was to create a climate of so much fear of the "enemy within" that the cops could have free rein to use any means to suppress opposition to the festivities at the RNC. When the city outrageously denied a permit for a mass protest to be held in Central Park, the liberal United for Peace and Justice organizers did not even launch a fight against the ban. Their cowardly capitulation to this attack only emboldened the cops to go after the protesters more viciously.

The Parks Department is now proposing new rules on all gatherings of 50,000 or more people in Central Park that would effectively make sizable political rallies in Manhattan next to impossible. Fifth Avenue, the historic stage for political marches, is now off limits for any new permits. The Bloomberg administration has just refused a permit for a May Day march taking off from Union Square, a historic gathering place for workers and radicals. The demonstration is being built by the Million Worker March and the Troops Out Now Coalition, which is dominated by the pseudosocialist Workers World Party. According to the Troops Out Now Coalition, the rally and march will take place as scheduled.

While the American rulers wage their murderous, predatory wars around the world, their government wants to strangle protest and label all opponents "violent" and "terrorists"—categories that will provide the state a license to criminalize all political activity. Whatever rights we have under this oppressive capitalist order were won through tumultuous class and social struggle. The social power of the multiracial labor movement—welded to the struggles of black people, immigrants and defenders of civil liberties—must be mobilized in defense of our rights. ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 2)

unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and allies. We defend the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their fire against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. Every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed all over the world. At the same time, we are intransigent opponents of the murderous communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations oftentimes carried out by the very same forces waging attacks against the occupation armies.

The bottom line of Chris C.'s letter is that one should only stand for military defense of forces that are politically "progressive." But this is a very wrong way to approach the question. Take the case of the Italo-Ethiopian war of the 1930s, referenced by Chris C. Trotsky advocated military defense of Ethiopia under Haile Selassie against Italian imperialism, even though Ethiopia was a slave-owning country.

To take another example: Genuine Trotskyists stood for military victory of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FLN in the Algerian War of independence against French imperialism (1954-62), not because we considered the FLN "progressive" per se, but because colonial and neocolonial oppression obscures the class lines within any given society. The workers in an oppressor state cannot overthrow their bourgeoisie without opposing their rulers' subjugation of another nation. At the same time, the workers in an oppressed nation can be broken from nationalism and fundamentalism and won to communist internationalism only by a communist party that champions class unity with the working masses in the imperialist countries.

Dickinson College

Italian troops march into Ethiopia. Trotsky called for military defense of Ethiopia, where slavery was practiced, during 1930s Italo-Ethiopian war.

In his letter, Chris C. points out that since the destruction of the Soviet Union, "we have been thrown back into a situation of potential anti-capitalist social-politics that resembles the pre-1917 world." There is an important element of truth to that statement. The collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state was a world-historic defeat for the working class that has set back political consciousness, albeit in an uneven and contradictory way. In Iraq, those who are leading insurgencies against the occupation are largely Islamic reactionaries or former Ba'athists. Unlike the FLN or other anti-colonial movements of that period, there is no socialist rhetoric, no group claiming the mantle of secular nationalism, much less communism. The insurgency reveals a propensity to sharpen ethnic/religious divisions in Iraq—between Arabs and Kurds as well as Sunnis and Shi'ites—through, for example, communal terror attacks.

ABC News

Deadly communal violence: over 100 Shi'ite holiday worshippers were killed in bomb attacks in Karbala, March 2004.

In fact, the insurgencies in Iraq are a throwback to many anti-colonial struggles during the early part of the 20th century, when many colonial countries lacked even a working class, and religious forces dominated most anti-colonial movements, particularly in the Near East. Nonetheless, genuine revolutionaries defended these struggles against their colonial and imperialist oppressors. As Lenin put it in *Socialism and War*, written in 1915 before the Russian Revolution: "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory against the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

Today, it is in the interest of the international working class, particularly the American proletariat, to *militarily* defend those who take up arms against the occupation. To not do so would only serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists, whose ambitions mean *more* death and misery to the world's peoples. At the same time, the international proletariat must be *politically* hostile to the insurgency forces that have revealed themselves thus far. As we wrote in "The Left and the 'Iraqi Resistance'—U.S. Out of Iraq Now!" (*WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004):

> "We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials and warn that in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of one or another of the reactionary clerical forces is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism....
>
> "The so-called 'national resistance' in Iraq is a myth promoted by U.S. and Western imperialism and cynical leftists.... There isn't a unitary 'resistance' force in Iraq but rather disparate groupings organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces—and often against rival groupings and random civilians."

In his letter, Chris C. writes: "Any anti-capitalist social-political possibilities are not qualitatively reduced by U.S. occupation of Iraq (or of Iran...)." This is dead wrong. The U.S. occupation provides a military force ready to pounce on any struggle in the region that could challenge the capitalist framework or U.S. interests. More fundamentally, imperialist occupation strengthens all local forces of reaction, allowing them to pose as the real "anti-imperialists" for the embittered masses of the region.

At the same time, it should be noted that the insurgencies in Iraq have hampered—at least temporarily—the Bush administration's efforts to extend its war and occupation to countries such as Iran or Syria. Thus a military draft has been raised as a possibility, particularly by Democrats. Recruitment to the imperialist armed forces has been made more difficult, and the recruiters have lately not been able to meet their quotas. The Bush administration has had to institute a "back-door draft," forcing soldiers to serve beyond their service contracts. There is significant discontent among the military and their families, who are of a predominately working-class background, and disproportionately black and Latino. In the U.S., the working class and poor mainly pay the cost of the war and occupation, while social services are slashed.

Regarding Iran, Chris C. writes that in the event of a war between Iran and the U.S. we should not "defend or call for the defense of the mullah's clerical-fascist state." In the event of war between the U.S. and Iran, we would call for military defense of Iran, as we did with Iraq. Chris C.'s reference to "Islamic fascism" reveals both ignorance and a capitulation to U.S. imperialism. To speak of "Islamic fascism" in Iran serves a political purpose: painting "democratic" U.S. imperialism as somehow more "civilized." Iran is a theocratic state, not a fascist state. Fascism represents the ultimate and most virulent expression of nationalism in the epoch of imperialist decay. Islamic fundamentalism, which is certainly colored by the national terrain of each country, is a fundamentally transnational movement, a reaction to imperialist subjugation that harks back to 7th-century obscurantism. And, as Chris C. acknowledges, imperialism is "ultimately responsible" for Islamic reaction. U.S. imperialism directly promoted such forces, especially as allies against the Soviet Union, and imperialism as a system enforces the conditions of economic and social oppression that breed religious fanaticism.

As for nukes, Chris C.'s strange assertion that "Iran would be likely to use nuclear weapons on a 'first-strike' basis" seems based more on an acceptance of imperialist and Zionist propaganda than reality. It is the U.S. that has proclaimed its right to "pre-emptive" war, including the use of nuclear weapons. And in the Near East, the *only* state with a nuclear arsenal is Israel, and the Zionist rulers have had no compunction about threatening to unleash nuclear holocaust on the region. We reject any comparison between Mordechai Vanunu—the heroic Israeli nuclear technician who revealed the extent of Israel's existing nuclear arsenal, which was aimed as much at the USSR as at the Arab states—and the Mujahideen al-Khalq. Any group that actively provides "intelligence to the U.S. and European powers on the mullahs' nuclear weapons program" as the U.S. threatens war with Iran is highly dubious.

Ultimately, the solution to the suffering of U.S. imperialism's victims depends on the struggle of the American proletariat at home. We fight to instill in the working class the consciousness that the same profit-lusting rulers who smash their unions, drive down wages, destroy health care and education, massacre Iraqis in the interests of capital. To win the proletariat to that understanding requires a tenacious struggle against its misleaders in the labor movement, the trade-union tops who keep the working class chained to the capitalist system through an alliance with its political representatives, particularly the Democrats. As we wrote in "Marxism, War and the Fight for Socialist Revolution" (*WV* No. 795, 17 January 2003):

> "Capitalism, by its very exploitative nature, creates its own gravediggers in the proletariat, which alone has the social power to bring about the downfall of capitalism—by virtue of the fact that it has its hands directly on the means of production—and the objective class interests to do so. Military defeats abroad certainly help to bring about an extreme sharpening in the class contradictions of a particular country—war is the mother of revolutions. But it is fundamentally the working class that has the power to accomplish this historic task. We do not raise the call for class struggle at home with the pollyannaish belief that this particular war is going to meet its end in immediate social revolution in the U.S. We raise it in order to cut through the 'national unity' mongering of the ruling class, to bring the working class to the understanding that it alone has the power to defeat the American imperialist system through workers revolution. Out of working-class and social struggle and through the intervention of revolutionary Marxists, the workers party essential for workers to take power will emerge." ■

Spartacist Forums

Finish the Civil War!

Harriet Jacobs: A Black Woman's Fight to Smash Slavery

Speaker: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, May 21, 3 p.m.

L.A. Public Library, Cahuenga Branch
4591 Santa Monica Blvd. (1 block east of Vermont/Santa Monica Red Line station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

The Vietnamese Revolution: A Victory Against Imperialism

Saturday, May 14, 7 p.m.

U of T, OISE, Room 2212
252 Bloor Street West
(above St. George station)

For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

WORKERS VANGUARD

New York City: RNC Protesters Framed Up

Cops, Lies and Videotape

Last summer, the Republicans spent a week celebrating the prospect of another four years as the favored party of the bloody American ruling class. Outside on the streets, New York City cops were running rampant, sweeping up over 1,800 people who were there to protest, as well as others who were just trying to go about their business. Protesters were banned from rallying in virtually every public gathering place; they were rounded up, hound up in orange plastic webs throughout the city during the convention week. Hundreds were detained for days under filthy, hazardous conditions in makeshift cages at Pier 57.

After eight months, some of the arrestees finally had their day in court, and a few of the lies, dirty tricks and outright tearing up of constitutional rights that the state uses all the time to suppress dissent have come to light. Alexander Dunlop's case demonstrates to what lengths the police went to frame up people. Dunlop was arrested on his way to pick up some sushi during the RNC protests—i.e., he wasn't even protesting. He was handcuffed and hauled off to Pier 57. Later, he was informed that he was being slapped with four different charges, including resisting arrest. Dunlop's lawyer received a videotape from the district attorney's office, which the D.A. claimed was complete.

New York Times photos

New York prosecutors removed a section of videotape, including these frames, and pressed false charges of resisting arrest against Alexander Dunlop.

Eight months later, a member of "I-Witness Video," a project that assembled hundreds of videos during the convention week, received some police videotape for another, unrelated case and spotted Dunlop. It was the same footage that the lawyer had been given, but there was an additional sequence. This uncut version demonstrated that the charges against Dunlop were totally fabricated! All charges were dropped. On April 14, Dunlop's lawyer, Michael Conroy, told Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now!* that the tape he had received directly from the D.A.'s office was doctored to exclude the evidence of his innocence. The D.A.'s office claimed the tape was edited by "mistake" (i.e., they were caught). Who knows how many videos were spliced and diced by "mistake" by the prosecutor's office and given to defendants? This case shows how the courts and cops, the entire apparatus of the capitalist state, act in collusion as agents of repression for the ruling class. At least 162 arrestees have either pleaded guilty or were convicted after a trial, and dubious police videotapes have bolstered the cases in some.

The proliferation of video cameras in the hands of amateurs as well as the cops themselves has exposed a lot more than the cops ever banked on. Back in December, Dennis Kyne was the first to have his case taken to a jury trial on charges of inciting a riot and resisting arrest. A cop, lying through his teeth, testified that Kyne put up such a fight it took four police officers to subdue him. One day after the cop's graphic testimony, before the defense even made its case, the prosecution abruptly dropped all charges. What had happened? During a recess, a video of the arrest was played which showed that the charges were false, and the cop who testified was nowhere to be seen in the footage.

Yusuke Joshua Banno, a college student from Arizona, was arrested on August 29, charged with assault and reckless endangerment, accused of igniting a papier-mâché dragon. He faced seven years in prison. After months of battling the city, he fortunately came across time-sequence photos taken by a newspaper photographer showing him far from where the fire occurred. All charges were dropped. However, Banno has lost a semester at school, and his family has spent some $30,000 for bail, legal fees and other expenses.

Jamal Holiday is a young black man arrested during the RNC protests. On August 30, Holiday was part of the Poor People's March when a plainclothes cop drove an unmarked motor scooter into the crowd of demonstrators, striking at least one woman. The protesters reacted in defense against the apparently crazed individual. As the video of the incident

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Boston: Reformist Left Ignores Fascist Danger

For a Working-Class Strategy to Fight Fascist Provocations

Fascists from the World Church of the Creator, the National Alliance, Volksfront, White Revolution and various racist skinhead groups have been emerging recently from their rat holes in the Boston area. This past November, the neo-Nazi terrorists of the National Socialist Movement announced the "official creation of the Boston chapter, led by local resident John Gray" (*Phoenix*, 10-16 Decemher 2004). Over the past several years, these latter-day little Hitlers have attempted to harass or even insert themselves into leftist rallies. At past events sponsored by ANSWER, including a demonstration last year in support of gay marriage rights and a rally on Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday this January, fascists showed up. They have also been seen next to pro-Palestinian demonstrations and lurking around antiwar rallies. But the organizers of these rallies have refused to take this threat, a very real physical danger, seriously—in fact, they have tried to ignore these deadly scum.

At the July 25 "National March on the Democratic Convention/Bring the Troops Home Now!" rally called by the Workers World Party-initiated ANSWER coalition on the Boston Common, a crazed anti-abortion, anti-gay bigot raised a sign with a graphic photo of a fetus and a putrid anti-gay slogan on the other side. When our comrades mobilized with other leftists to drive this pig away from the demonstration, a fascist skinhead rushed to his defense, and was correctly repelled (see "Anti-Ahortion Bigot Driven Out; Fascist Provocation Spiked" *WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004).

The fascists, though few today, must not be ignored. They must be stopped—driven away through mass labor/black mobilizations of all the fascists' intended victims, centrally relying on the power of the working class. This perspective, which the Spartacist League has fought for, has successfully kept the fascists from gaining ground in a number of metropolitan areas. Our strategy has repeatedly faced obstacles from liberals and reformist leftists, in Boston and elsewhere, who preach reliance on the capitalists' cops to protect them against fascists or else try to ignore the race-terrorists.

In Boston, organizers of events where fascist skinheads have appeared have repeatedly refused to take on this menace. This was quite obvious at the May 17 gay rights demonstration sponsored by ANSWER last year, when organizers packed up and left a half hour early after fascists showed up, leaving them to unfurl a World Church of the Creator flag.

The Deadly Nature of Fascism

For some time now, residents of Boston neighborhoods and suburbs like Roslindale, Arlington, Newbury and Lowell have awakened to find swastikas spray-painted around their homes, fascist literature in their mailboxes or leaflets around the area. During Black History Month last year, flyers portrayed a white man holding a smoking rifle next to a caricature of Martin Luther King Jr. Working-class black people have been especially targeted: at Newton's Bowen Elementary School, west of Boston, racists have defaced black staffers' cars with obscenities and the school has been spray-painted with "KKK" and "White Power" and "kill n----rs." After enduring months of racial epithets and death threats while working on overhauling the Boston Edison plant in Everett, several black construction workers finally sued their employer, the Washington Group. Leaflets signed "KKK" and vowing bodily harm to the workers' families were left at their joh sites while supervisors threatened these hlack workers with firing.

This past December, white-supremacist Dimitri Long was arrested for a brutal attack on a white Norwood man who dated a black woman. Long and two others kidnapped the victim and taunted him as a "disgrace to his race," then beat, burned, stabbed and stoned the poor man. They drew a swastika on his forehead and left him unconscious on train tracks to be run over. Fortunately, he regained consciousness and escaped.

Others have not heen so lucky. A supporter of the World Church of the Creator, whose founder Matthew Hale is now in prison, went on a deadly rampage in 1999, wounding nine people and killing a South Korean student and a black former hasketball coach from Northwestern

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 848 | C-701 | 13 May 2005

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mobilize Labor Power to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

On April 23, some 350 workers, students, socialists, fighters for black rights and opponents of the racist death penalty turned out in Harlem in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Commemorating Jamal's 51st birthday (24th behind bars), the demonstration was initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ), the NYC Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, and the International Action Center (IAC). A similar protest was held in the Bay Area.

The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues participated in the April 23 protests. In New York City, we marched with a 50-strong Revolutionary Contingent under the Partisan Defense Committee banner: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" As the leaflet building for our contingent underlined:

> "The notorious frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the barbaric, racist death penalty is all about in capitalist America. The capitalist forces of 'law and order,' represented by both the

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WV Photo

Revolutionary Contingent marches at April 23 Harlem demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

No to Capitalist European Union and Its Constitution!

MAY 10—On May 29, French voters will go to the polls to decide whether France will approve the proposed Constitution of the European Union (EU). For weeks, opinion polls had been running strongly in favor of a "no" vote, though in recent days the "yes" vote has been gaining. An electoral defeat would be a considerable embarrassment for conservative president Jacques Chirac and for the French ruling class, which has been heavily involved in negotiating this latest move toward greater European capitalist integration.

Against the backdrop of this referendum, much of the left is working feverishly to put together a new class-collaborationist alliance to pose as an alternative to Chirac's discredited neo-Gaullist government. This alliance is being brokered by the Communist Party (PCF), with Alain Krivine's pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in tow.

Underlying the strong sentiment for a "no" vote is an increasingly combative mood in the working class in recent months. On February 5 and March 10, there were significant "days of action," with strikes and demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers. At the Citroën automobile plant in Aulnay, there was a week-long strike in early March, the first significant auto strike in France in many years—and it won. A national holiday on May 16 was cancelled by the government, supposedly to pay for health care for the elderly, but now it looks as if it may become, despite the moderation preached by the trade-union leaders, a de facto one-day general strike.

Reuters

Paris: Trade unionists march in February, protesting proposed European Union Constitution and changes in 35-hour workweek.

Hoping to diffuse working-class resistance, the bourgeoisie seeks to use racism to turn French workers of European origin against their dark-skinned class brothers from the former colonial world. New racist campaigns are constantly being devised. Amnesty International recently denounced the "de facto immunity" that exists for rampant police violence (*Le Monde*, 7 April). Deportations of asylum-seekers are on the rise. On April 15, at least 24 people died in a fire in a Paris hostel, victims of the inhuman conditions in which many asylum-seekers and their families are forced to live.

Many workers view a "no" vote on the European Constitution as a way to register their opposition to the current French government and to other attacks on workers' gains, such as through privatizations and the Bolkestein Directive. This European Union directive, which was endorsed last year by the French members of the European Commission—including by Socialist Party (PS) member Pascal Lamy, who is now scheduled to lead the World Trade Organization—would enable companies in West Europe to hire East European workers for pitifully low wages and benefits.

The Bolkestein Directive was the target of a huge Europe-wide demonstration by nearly 100,000 workers on March 19 in Brussels. The demonstration

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Defend Professor Joseph Massad!

New York Times Calls for Political Purge at Columbia

As active participants in the fight to defend Columbia University professor Joseph Massad from a Zionist crusade to drive him and all defenders of the Palestinian people out of academia, we've grown accustomed to the racist howls of New York City's gutter press. But it is a considerable escalation when the grande dame of American publishing, the self-important "paper of record," the *New York Times*, argues with studied dispassion for a political witchhunt.

Under the headline "Intimidation at Columbia" (7 April), the *Times* fumes that Columbia University "botched the handling of this emotionally charged issue from the start." The *Times* is roiled that a panel appointed to investigate charges of intimidation by professors in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures department (MEALAC) included "three members who had expressed anti-Israel views." The better to wrap its bias in the cloak of evenhandedness, the *Times* acknowledges that the targeted professors also have "legitimate complaints": "Their classes were infiltrated by hecklers and surreptitious monitors, and they received hate mail and death threats."

For the *Times*, Middle East studies at Columbia is "out of control," and the paper applauds the university administration's decision to strip the department of power to appoint and promote faculty on the pretext of "strengthening its scholarship." The *Times* editorial retails as fact the claim of one student, which the investigative panel found "credible," that Massad kicked her out of class for denying Israeli atrocities—without even noting that Massad denies the incident took place. In fact, a 3 May letter to Columbia president Bollinger signed by 20 former students of Massad states that the accusations by the student "are unequivocally false and that the findings of the Ad Hoc Committee pertaining to them are incorrect."

The *Times* editorial goes on by concluding with a call to vet professors on the basis of their political views—*a political purge*:

> "But in the end, the report is deeply unsatisfactory because the panel's mandate was so limited. Most student complaints were not really about intimidation, but about allegations of stridently pro-Palestinian, anti-Israeli bias on the part of several professors. The panel had no mandate to examine the quality and fairness of teaching. That leaves the university to follow up on complaints about politicized courses and a lack of scholarly rigor as part of its effort to upgrade the department. One can only hope that Columbia will proceed with more determination and care than it has heretofore."

Jason Bello/Columbia Spectator

Columbia University professor Joseph Massad, victim of ongoing Zionist witchhunt.

The conservative *New York Sun*, which had been leading the pack of tabloids howling for Professor Massad's blood, greeted the *Times* editorial with its own, headlined: "Welcome to the Fight." The Web site for the misnamed "Students for Academic Freedom"—campus shock troops for racist neocon David Horowitz—crowed that the *Times* editorial "suggests that the crisis caused by politically-biased radical teaching in the universities (especially in the Humanities and Social Sciences) has now become so pervasive and so obvious that even the mainstream media organs are expressing alarm" ("The Crisis in the Universities Goes Mainstream," 18 April).

And then there's the liberal *Nation*. In a piece that was supposed to be sympathetic to the witchhunted professors, Scott Sherman manages to give credence to the witchhunters (see "The Mideast Comes to Columbia," *Nation*, 4 April). He paints Massad as a "dogmatic" man "who traffics in absolutes" and who frequently unleashes "a steady stream of inflammatory anti-Zionist rhetoric." As Massad noted in a reply to the *Nation* (16 May): "Would calling the United States during segregation or South Africa during apartheid racist countries also be considered 'inflammatory' anti-American or anti-South African rhetoric?" Meanwhile, Sherman goes after Columbia professor Hamid Dabashi for "shrill and careless writing" because of a passage recounting the hell Dabashi went through in an Israeli airport, claiming that the passage "can easily be construed as anti-Semitic" (see "For a Fistful of Dust: A Passage to Palestine" by Hamid Dabashi, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 23-29 September 2004). Dabashi's reply to the *Nation* stands up well:

> "Accusing me of 'shrill' writing at a time when from Boston to Phitadelphia, from New York to Jerusalem, and from the United States to Israel, militant mobs like the one organized at Columbia

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

April 30 marked the 30th anniversary of the military victory of Vietnam's workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism and its South Vietnamese puppet forces. This was a victory for the exploited and oppressed internationally, serving for years to stay the hand of American imperialism around the world. In celebration of this anniversary, we print below excerpts from our statement hailing the entry of the North Vietnamese military and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front into Saigon. After 1975, in its drive to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution, U.S. imperialism subjected devastated Vietnam to an imperialist embargo. Washington helped arm Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia after his ouster from power by Vietnamese forces in 1979, which ended a reign—marked by mass murder and wholesale destruction of urban areas—that proved to be not even the most deformed type of workers state (see "Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!" WV No. 338, 23 September 1983).

MAY 4—On April 30 the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) rode triumphantly into Saigon as leaders of the defeated puppet regime and the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie fled the country by every available means. The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with international proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders.

The victory in Vietnam, like that in Cambodia two weeks earlier when the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, belongs to the heroic worker and peasant fighters in Indochina who have struggled resourcefully and tenaciously for decades in order to break the grip of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation on the peninsula. But while a victorious social revolution has occurred, the struggle to establish revolutionary and internationalist workers states in the region is far from over....

What has been created in South Vietnam and Cambodia are *deformed workers states*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated workers state which emerged in Russia with the consolidation of the Stalin-led bureaucracy. The ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states are narrowly nationalist in outlook, attempting to balance precariously between imperialism and the working class. Based on the property forms of a workers state, they occasionally put up a limited and distorted defense of the social conquests achieved by the overthrow of capitalism in order to preserve their own privileged position.

But because their rule is based on the political expropriation of the working class, these petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes are incapable of mobilizing the proletarian masses for an international revolutionary assault on the bastions of world capitalism, since it would simultaneously mean their own demise. The Stalinist rulers in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh must be overthrown by a workers' political revolution led by a Trotskyist party in order to establish the organs of proletarian democracy and open the road to socialism. All Indochina Must Go Communist!

—"Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!"
WV No. 68, 9 May 1975

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

This cablegram was sent on the day the U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam were begun.

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam:

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

* * * * *

Havana, Cuba

We would like to thank you for the copy of your telegram to President Ho-chi-Minh that you kindly sent us.

We, South Vietnamese, specially are deeply moved by the heroic and powerful movement of American Negroes, students, workers, employees and personalities demanding the end of the aggressive war of US imperialism in South Vietnam and of the US attacks against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and supporting the just struggle of our people.

We would like to [take] this opportunity to express [to] you our deepest thanks and to send you our best greetings.

Ly-van-Sáu,
[South Vietnam National Liberation Front]

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@trac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 10 May

No. 848 **13 May 2005**

Boston Holocaust Memorial

Police Ensure Vile Fascist Provocation

On May 8, the 60th anniversary of the day the Soviet Red Army smashed Hitlerite fascism, a heavy police mobilization protected a dozen neo-Nazi "White Revolution" scum and attacked leftist anti-fascist protesters. The action took place outside Boston's Faneuil Hall where a Holocaust (Shoah) memorial event was taking place. Protected by scores of riot cops, mounted police and motorcycle cops, the fascists paraded for genocide, raising blood-chilling signs like "Six Million Lies" and "There's No Business Like Shoah Business!"

The police savagely bloodied anti-fascist protesters and arrested one young black man, Jerome Higins, after he was assaulted by a rabid white supremacist. The Partisan Defense Committee offered to help post bail for Higins and issued a protest letter demanding that "the outrageous charges of affray and disturbing the peace be dropped and that Jerome Higins be released immediately."

Our non-sectarian class solidarity with anti-fascist victims of police violence in no way lessens our political differences about how to fight the fascists. On May 8, we mobilized supporters and joined a de facto united-front protest of a few hundred people with Progressive Labor (PL), Workers World (WWP), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and others in a picket line outside Faneuil Hall. As Marxists, we fight against illusions pushed by the reformist left to rely on the capitalist state to outlaw the fascists, and we also oppose a strategy of bravado, of losing confrontations between small groups of protesters and overwhelming police force. Both false strategies spring from the same source: a denial of the critical importance of mobilizing the social power of the working class in struggle, and a touching faith in, or indifference to, the murderous force of capitalist state repression.

The Yom HaShoah commemoration in Faneuil Hall was sponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC), a Zionist coalition that includes the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith International and the American Jewish Congress. The stated purpose of JCRC is to build "a broad network of support for Israel in its quest for a secure and lasting peace." This political purpose meshes with the perspectives of the Bush administration and the current interests of the U.S. ruling class. The Massachusetts governor, the Boston mayor, a Massachusetts Congressional delegation, and Israeli and German consulate officials were in attendance.

Given this confluence of interests between the memorial organizers and the government, and given the massive deployment of police force to protect this event—and the fascists outside it—there was no opportunity to stop the neo-Nazis in the street. Thus, we did not join in the false heroics of a small number of leftists who went directly up against riot police escorting the fascists down Congress Street.

The capitalist media played its role in preventing an outpouring of opposition to the fascists with a press blackout on the Nazi provocation that was lifted only two days before the event. Similarly, they blacked out the location of the fascists' rally the day before in nearby Somerville, which forced the closure of a public library there.

Criminally, the Zionist organizers of the Holocaust commemoration equated the neo-Nazis with anti-fascist protesters. The JCRC's "special update and instructions for Sunday" stated, "Sadly, we expect protests at this event by a neo-Nazi organization and counter protests by an anarchist anti-fascist group.... ***Please do not engage or acknowledge the demonstrators in any way. Any engagement will help give the protesters the very publicity that they want*** and help them circulate their message of hate" (emphasis in original).

This equation of neo-Nazis with their intended victims obscenely mocks the message of the moving New England Holocaust Memorial monument, where the May 8 commemoration concluded. Six glass towers, etched with six million numbers representing numbers tattooed on the arms of six million Jews killed in the Nazi Holocaust, rise from a walkway indicating the names of the death camps and recalling the facts about the Jews, communists, Gypsies, homosexuals and others who perished in the Holocaust. Smoke rises from embers. Quotes from Holocaust survivors are displayed, including this, from Alexander Pechersky, a captured Soviet Red Army soldier, who led the prisoner revolt at Sobibor camp:

> "From our barracks we could see the gas chambers. A heart-rending cry of women and children reached us there. We were overcome by a feeling of helplessness. There we were, watching and unable to do anything. We had already worked out a plan of escape. But at that moment I decided—*We must not simply escape. We must destroy the fascists and the camp.*"

For these Zionists to attack the communists, anarchists and other anti-fascists is to ignore the message history delivered, as attested to eloquently by German Lutheran Pastor Niemöller. His words are inscribed on the Holocaust Memorial monument: "They came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up."

Zionist neocons help map policy for the Christian fundamentalist Bush regime in support of Israeli policy, from oppression of the Palestinians to the occupation of Iraq. At home, these racist Zionists view struggles for black rights as some kind of local *intifada* to be met with state repression. We have warned that this Zionist alliance with profoundly anti-Semitic Christian fundamentalist forces in America will redound against the Jewish people—as fascist Billy Roper's "White Revolution" neo-Nazi provocation in Boston revealed.

In the days leading up to the protest, our Boston comrades widely distributed the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* with its article, "Boston: Reformist Left Ignores Fascist Danger—For a Working-Class Strategy to Fight Fascist Provocations" (*WV* No. 847, 29 April). As the article stated: "The fascists, though few today, must not be ignored. They must be stopped—driven away through mass labor/black mobilizations of all the fascists' intended victims, centrally relying on the power of the working class. This perspective, which the Spartacist League has fought for, has successfully kept the fascists from gaining ground in a number of metropolitan areas." Key to this strategy is the Marxist understanding that it is the power of the organized working class that can neutralize the forces of the state in the struggle against the fascists.

Our comrades chanted outside Faneuil Hall: "Defeat of busing paved the way for fascist Nazis and the KKK!" Since the defeat of busing in the 1970s, black people, gays, Arabs, Asians, and Jews have faced an escalation of racist attacks in Boston. In recent years there, the fascists have felt emboldened enough to wade into leftist demonstrations called in defense of Palestinians, gay rights and against the occupation of Iraq.

On May 8, we insisted on political debate within the framework of anti-fascist unity on the picket-line protest. At one point, Workers World led the chant: "Fascism—Shut it down! Racism—Shut it down!" When they continued, "Zionism—shut it down!"—***in a context where the Nazis were threatening a Holocaust memorial event***—we countered, "No Nazi final solution! For Arab-Hebrew workers revolution!" and "Auschwitz—we will not forget!" Our supporters also raised placards and chanted in defense of the Palestinian people and demanded "Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!" This was too much for Progressive Labor, which denies the national rights of the oppressed Palestinians. They dispatched a honcho to warn us (to no avail) that we would have to leave the protest if we continued to "disrupt"!

Our placard, "Genocide is not debatable!" took aim at the false view that the fascists are like right-wing ideologues. *No!* They are action groups that "speak" with the lynch rope and recruit to a program of genocide and racist terror. In "normal" times, when the bourgeoisie feels secure in its class rule, it keeps its unruly fascist dogs on the leash. But in periods of deep social crisis, when open class warfare explodes, the bourgeoisie lets loose its fascist gangs to try to crush the workers movement with blood and terror. The fascists are the organized expression of the despair and fury of the petty bourgeoisie, hopelessly squeezed between the two classes with real social power, the capitalists and the working class.

For its part, the ISO promoted the lie that: "In 1994, the last time Nazis tried to hold a demonstration here, hundreds of activists ran them out of town" (Socialist Worker Online, 6 May). The truth is that fascist would-be führer Richard Barrett rallied and succeeded in recruiting about a score of white racist youth to join him on the steps of South Boston High School, under the protection of an army of riot cops, SWAT teams and federal marshals, while the reformist left willingly went into police pens. On 23 October 1999 in New York City, the ISO opposed our successful mass labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan. Instead, they built a "demonstration for tolerance" with Latino cops and Democratic Party politician Scott Stringer, who offered to get the KKK a permit!

As last Sunday's events make clear, it is necessary to see clearly the role of the state, and its relationship to the fascists. As we wrote in our last issue:

> "Our revolutionary strategy is to mobilize the power of the working class ***independently*** of the state and independently of its class enemies, the capitalist parties of racism and war, Democrats as well as Republicans. The working class needs to gain strength and self-confidence in organizing for its *own* interests, learning how, in action, it can lead all sectors of the oppressed in common struggle. We fight for burning necessities, like the need to smash racist segregation, in such a way as to show that the only genuine solution is the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a workers government." ■

WV Photo

Dowbrigade

May 8: Anti-fascist picket at Faneuil Hall (left). Heavy cop mobilization protects fascists (right).

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

SYC Leads Protest Against ROTC

ISO Missing in Action

On April 16, while halfway across the world U.S. imperialism continued its brutal neocolonial occupation of Iraq, dozens of people came out to protest the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) at UC Berkeley. On hand for Cal Day, UC Berkeley's annual open house, thousands of prospective students and parents filled the campus and saw a loud and visible protest

UC Berkeley

built under the demands "ROTC/Military Recruiters Off Campus!", "All U.S. Troops Out of Iraq, Now!", "Down With Anti-Gay Discrimination in the Military!"

Energetic protesters marched in front of ROTC's tables chanting "ROTC recruiters, imperialist looters, off campus now!" as observers cheered in solidarity. A spokesman for the Spartacus Youth Club, which initiated the demonstration, explained why ROTC deserved the hostile reception:

> "Military recruiters and ROTC are direct appendages of the military machine that exists to defend the American imperialist ruling class. ROTC recruits are the next generation of military officers who oversee and direct U.S. invasions and occupations, like Iraq and Afghanistan.... The Spartacus Youth Club opposes the extension of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state onto college campuses and high schools.... We say: ROTC, military recruiters off campus now!"

Anyone who opposes the occupation of Iraq should oppose ROTC and military recruiters on college campuses. The U.S. ruling class has sent tens of thousands of young men and women to kill and die to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism in Iraq. ROTC is the military's program on college campuses to convert students into military officers, enticing prospective students by promising to pay off a good chunk of their school fees.

The international working class must take a side with the Iraqi peoples. Insofar as the opposition forces aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys—and not in criminal sectarian violence against other sectors of the population in Iraq—we stand for their military defense. At the same time, we are intransigent political opponents of the bourgeois-nationalist and reactionary woman-hating clerical forces that are behind much of the so-called Iraqi resistance. We stand for the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in their predatory wars against neocolonial countries like Iraq and fight for class struggle against U.S. imperialism at home. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and their allies! Down with the colonial occupation!

In addition to some onlookers and a few students met by SYCers while supporting the AFSCME service workers strike a few days earlier, some activists with the Berkeley Stop the War Coalition (BSTW) joined the protest. Notably ***absent*** was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which did everything it could to demobilize the protest.

A week before the protest, the SYC intervened sharply into the April 9 regional Counter-Recruitment Conference of the Campus Antiwar Network (CAN) calling on CAN (in which the ISO is centrally involved) to endorse and help build the anti-ROTC mobilization—a concrete step that students could take against the imperialist war machine. Because the imperialist military upholds the exploitation and oppression of working people across the world, student protests against military recruiters and ROTC point to the need for students to mobilize behind the power of labor, which alone can uproot the capitalist system that gives rise to imperialist war.

Faced with an anti-imperialist motivation for protesting ROTC, at the CAN conference the ISO took a course of action that perfectly befits its reformist politics. They maneuvered, unsuccessfully, to keep our motion from being presented to the body and gave a steady cascade of lame excuses as to why they couldn't endorse, participate in or build the protest. Then, when they saw that we had rallied real support for the action, they tried to save face by voting in favor of our proposal! Their unsavory arguments included that we were going over BSTW's head (though BSTW had already endorsed a Cal Day anti-ROTC action at a February meeting); that resources were too tight to even send out an e-mail; and that some are "uncomfortable" working with us. Ultimately, our proposal, though it failed to achieve a majority, split the conference delegates, with five in favor, five opposed, and four abstaining.

Behind the ISO's inane excuses lies their hostility to revolutionary truth-tellers like the SYC—they're right that we make some people uncomfortable. We make those who simply want to refurbish the sullied image of U.S. imperialism uncomfortable because we point out that this system can't be made to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed through mass pressure and false "unity," but needs to be destroyed and replaced

Columbia Students Protest

Walker/NY Times — Young Spartacus

Spartacists at 1965 Columbia University rally against ROTC (left). Spartacus Youth Club at May 6 protest against proposed return of ROTC to Columbia (right). From Vietnam to Iraq, Spartacists have opposed military recruiters on campus as part of struggle against U.S. imperialism.

University Senate Votes Against ROTC

MAY 6—The Spartacus Youth Club joined nearly a hundred students today in protesting the proposed return of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) to Columbia University. The speakout and rally took place in response to a University Senate meeting scheduled to vote a resolution recommending the reinstatement of ROTC on the campus. In a small but important victory, the Senate voted overwhelmingly against the recommendation.

ROTC was kicked off Columbia University in 1969, while the U.S. was waging its losing war against the Vietnamese Revolution and following militant student protest and campus occupations against the war and for black rights. The intersection of the struggle against racist U.S. imperialism and the fight against the racial oppression of black people is exemplified on the campus by the Black Students Organization's Malcolm X Lounge—the former ROTC lounge which was occupied and renamed by black students in 1968.

Pro-imperialist forces at Columbia have been lobbying hard for several years to bring back ROTC. In March 2004, the University Senate established a student-faculty Task Force on ROTC to study a student proposal to restore ROTC. The Task Force was evenly split on whether ROTC should return to Columbia University by the 2006/7 school year, but was almost unanimous in favoring ROTC's return if there were no longer discrimination against gays in the military. In counterposition to the liberals who have argued that ROTC would be acceptable if not for the military's anti-gay discrimination, the SYC has sought to rally students in opposition to ROTC on the basis of opposition to bloody U.S. imperialism and its military. By its very nature, the imperialist military reflects in concentrated form all the social oppression intrinsic to the capitalist class rule it defends—racist, sexist and anti-gay.

The Spartacus Youth Club addressed today's rally, receiving cheers and applause for the following remarks:

"ROTC is a direct appendage of the bloody U.S. imperialist military machine, recruiting officers to oversee imperialist slaughter of the kind being carried out under the brutal neocolonial occupation of Iraq. The Spartacus Youth Club opposes the direct use of the university by the imperialist military and urges students to protest ROTC and military recruiters as part of the struggle to defend the Iraqi people against the U.S. occupiers. Down with the colonial occupation of Iraq! All U.S. troops out of Iraq now! While we oppose all forms of racial and sexual discrimination in society, including in the military, we know that no amount of reform is going to change the fundamental purpose of the bloody, imperialist U.S. military—to uphold the capitalist system of racism, exploitation and war. That system cannot be reformed to be made more humane or democratic. That's an illusion that organizations like the International Socialist Organization promote, including by welcoming Democratic Party politicians, capitalist politicians, onto the platforms of their antiwar demonstrations, preaching unity with the enemy of working people, and unity with the very class whose system breeds war and racism. We say: Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war! And only the working class fighting independently of the capitalist class enemy can destroy imperialism once and for all! Break with the Democratic Party! Build a revolutionary workers party! ROTC off campus now!"■

with a socialist society. The ISO tried to sabotage the anti-ROTC protest because its heavy dose of revolutionary, working-class-centered politics was a ***threat*** to their attempts to keep things "comfortable" for bourgeois liberals.

For years at Berkeley (and elsewhere), the ISO has not considered it a priority to protest military recruiters on campus; they have boycotted every SYC anti-ROTC united-front protest for the last five years. However, coming off last November's court ruling overturning the Solomon Amendment, which denied federal funding to colleges that don't allow military recruiters, and growing student activism on this issue, the ISO has now found a movement "pointing the way forward for the antiwar movement as a whole" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). Of special appeal to the ISO is the legalistic strategy of getting military recruiters banned on the basis of their anti-gay discrimination. This was laid out by the ISO's Elizabeth Wrigley-Field in her *Report on the Youth Anti-War Movement*: "Before the [Solomon Amendment] court ruling, activists could drive recruiters away ...by surrounding the recruitment table and chanting against it—but they could not get the military banned as policy" (www.lefthook.org, 13 December 2004).

The ISO has thus sought to rally students around a "realistic" campaign—the BSTW coalition, in which the ISO is heavily involved, issued a "classroom announcement paragraph" that makes their reformist program clear: "The military's 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' policy violates the Campus' anti-discrimination policy. This provides us with an opportunity to pressure our administration to do the right thing and get the military recruiters off our campus." The ISO and BSTW place their faith in the same university administrations that run the campuses in the interests of the capitalist system. This role is demonstrated by the increasingly frequent administration attacks against leftists, including the ISO, such as at San Francisco State University (see *WV* No. 846, "No Reprisals Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!").

Young Spartacus

SYC-led protest against ROTC at UC Berkeley, April 16.

We fight against all anti-gay discrimination, including in the military. However, the point is not to clean up the image of the imperialist military, but to fight to destroy it along with the system of war, racism and exploitation it defends. We say: Not one man or woman, gay or straight, for the imperialist military! By focusing their campaign on the narrow terrain of anti-gay discrimination, the ISO helps feed illusions in the possibility of a reformed, more democratic military, just as the antiwar movement they helped build sowed illusions in a more "humane" imperialism.

The ISO's self-declared goal is to "influence Congress" by building "a confident, coherent and growing opposition to the Iraq occupation" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). In other words, the ISO strategy is to amass enough people to get a wing of the ruling class, in particular liberal Democrats, to turn against the occupation. The ISO is building a vehicle that ties working people to the very class in whose interests imperialist wars are waged, seeking a potential "defeatist" wing of the bourgeoisie which feels that the interests of the ruling class could be best served through a different policy on Iraq. Reformists like the ISO, who preach "unity" with representatives of the Democratic Party of racism and war, help prevent the emergence of the kind of antiwar movement that would challenge capitalist rule.

We in the SYC understand that the fight against ROTC and military recruiters on campus must be linked to the struggle against the system of capitalism itself. We seek to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class, radical youth and all the oppressed in the fight for a socialist world. Join us!■

European Union...

(continued from page 1)

was called by the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), following an initial call by the European Social Forum (ESF) last October in London. That ESF, like those before it, was a popular front, a class-collaborationist confab featuring trade-union bureaucrats and representatives of various reformist workers parties, as well as bourgeois liberals, Islamic clerics, a speaker from the Iraqi puppet government, and so on. It was funded by London's Labour government. ETUC general secretary John Monks recently declared: "We are very much in favour of the Constitution."

While most French trade-union bureaucrats who mobilized for the Brussels demonstration saw it as a platform to promote a "no" vote on the Constitution, they fundamentally share Monks' vision of a "social Europe" under capitalist rule. They would also have no quarrel with his chauvinist statement at the Brussels demonstration that, "We don't want Europe to become America." Attacks such as the Bolkestein Directive—which has now been put on hold until after the French referendum—were devised before the European Constitution, and others will follow, whatever the outcome of the referendum in France. The key to stopping them lies through class struggle by the working class.

As our comrades noted in *Le Bolchévik* (March 2005):

> "Today the bourgeoisies of West Europe seek to dismantle what remains of the welfare state, a series of concessions—such as national health insurance, retirement pensions and public services—that were instituted in order to calm working-class militancy in the period following the Soviet victory of 1945. The bourgeoisie is hardly predisposed to spend money on improving the condition of the masses unless it is forced to, and, since the counterrevolution in 1991-1992 which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state, it has been seeking to take back these concessions in order to increase its competitiveness against its rivals. It is necessary to fight tooth and nail against these attacks. As long as capitalism exists, the fight to win reforms and to prevent their dismantling will remain permanently on the agenda. The task of a revolutionary party is, starting from the relentless struggle to defend the gains and social conquests of the workers and oppressed, to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity for workers revolution."

We print below a translation of an article published in *Le Bolchévik* No. 171 (March 2005), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.

LE BOLCHEVIK

Last June, the heads of state of the European Union agreed on a draft European Constitution. Chirac announced that on May 29 he would hold a referendum on it, hoping through a plebiscite to consolidate his authority, which has been damaged by three years of savage attacks against workers and minorities and by rivalries within [Chirac's] UMP. The PS and the Greens, hoping to be re-elected to government in 2007, have called for a "yes" vote to show their respectability and loyalty to the basic foreign policy choices of the French bourgeoisie.

Against this new joint campaign by the PS, the Greens and Chirac, we call for a "no" vote because we are against the capitalist EU, an alliance centered on the main European imperialist powers to improve their competitiveness against their American and Japanese rivals. Such an alliance can ***only*** be at the expense of the multiethnic working class in Europe and of those under the boot of neocolonialism.

Our principled opposition to capitalist Europe differentiates us from the French "left." Disregarding the bourgeois party led by Chevènement, some ultrachauvinist sectors of the PCF and Pierre Lambert's Parti des Travailleurs (PT—known particularly for its "defense of the Republic," that is, French imperialism), most opponents of the draft Constitution swear that they are not against capitalist Europe per se. The PCF and the LCR, who are practically running a joint campaign for a "no," insist that they are for (capitalist) Europe but against the "neoliberal" Europe of "Giscard's Constitution" [referring to the former French president who helped negotiate it]. These reformists propagate the myth that there is a "good" European capitalism, a "social and democratic" one for which it is necessary to fight, and a "bad, neoliberal" capitalism.

Likewise, Lutte Ouvrière (LO) has for years supported capitalist Europe. They abstained on the 1992 referendum on the Maastricht Treaty [which laid the basis for a common European currency]. This time, they are voting "no" while continuing to praise European capitalist unification. In a recent article, LO wrote (*Lutte de Classe*, February 2005):

> "We are for European unification.... Even as is, on a capitalist basis, with all the accompanying injustices and insufficiencies, the European Union represents progress in a certain number of areas. If only for the end of the economic partitioning and customs barriers, as well as freedom of circulation for people on part of the continent, this represents an appreciable advantage compared to [immigration] controls and barbed wire, although this freedom is not fully recognized for immigrants who live and work in the EU."

In this eight-page article, LO simply disappears the rivalries between Europe and the U.S. and among the European imperialist powers themselves. They paint an idyllic picture of the EU to cover their support to the imperialist EU. "Freedom of circulation"? Go tell the Roma [Gypsies] fleeing pogroms in Romania, the Balkans or Slovakia (which is part of the EU) and who are harassed by cops everywhere. An "advantage compared to barbed wire"? An estimated 4,000 Africans drowned in the past few years trying to cross the Straits of Gibraltar in order to enter this racist fortress, the European Union. The EU ministers are openly discussing setting up EU-financed *concentration camps* in Libya—or elsewhere, but in any case far from LO's chaste gaze. A Moroccan worker, who manages to obtain legal status in Spain, has the right

continued on page 6

Reuters

Racist "Fortress Europe": Immigrants drowned while crossing Strait of Gibraltar, January 2003.

SYC Class Series

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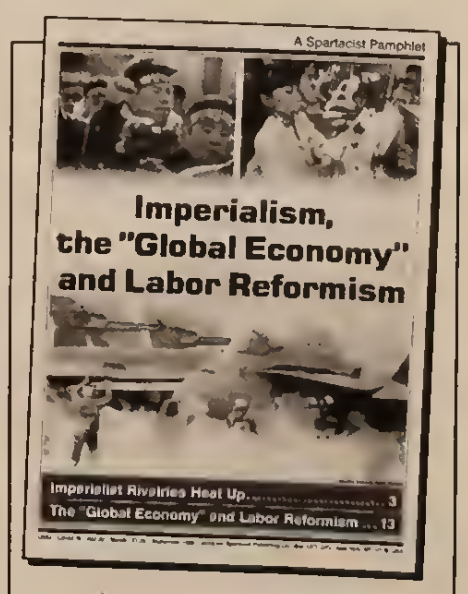

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European Union...

(continued from page 5)

to "travel" in France—as long as he never stops, because he has no right to stay here.

We consider that the European Union is a reactionary imperialist consortium, and we recall Lenin's prescient words in August 1915:

> "Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists...but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America."

The European Union: From an Anti-Soviet Alliance to an Imperialist Consortium

The origins of the European Union go back to the 1950s when the West European imperialists, led by the U.S., sought, through improved economic cohesion, to consolidate their alliance against the Soviet Union. In spite of its degeneration, as a parasitic bureaucratic caste led by Stalin appropriated political power starting in 1924, the Soviet Union remained a workers state based on the expropriation of the capitalists and the collectivization of the means of production, resulting from the October 1917 Revolution. That is why we Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union, and it is why the imperialists wanted to destroy it in order to regain unlimited access for their investment capital throughout East Europe.

Our principled opposition to both NATO, which was a military alliance against the Soviet Union, and to its economic corollary, the European Economic Community [forerunner of the EU], flowed from our defense of the Soviet Union. The character of the European Union changed with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. France and Germany, two separate imperialist powers with two distinct and rival bourgeoisies, are seeking to improve their joint coordination—and are maneuvering with capitalist Russia, among others—with the sole aim of pursuing their respective interests. Obviously, Germany, which is stronger than France, is the dominant partner in this relationship. In December 1989, only a month after the fall of the Berlin wall, [French president] Mitterrand negotiated with German chancellor Kohl a deepening of economic relations between Germany and France, the two main West European powers, through an agreement, in principle, to create a common currency. This was supposed to become a weapon in a monetary war against the international hegemony of the dollar. It became the euro.

However, under the pressure of the American imperialists, whose economy is considerably more dynamic and whose military power is incomparably greater, this alliance has evolved in contradictory ways. The U.S., with the active help of Britain, is seeking to put the brakes on the construction of a rival imperialist pole, and the dollar continues to be the international currency of reference. Furthermore, the European Union is undermined from within by rivalries among its various constituent powers, including France and Germany, as can be seen from a number of industrial disputes. [The pharmaceutical giant] Aventis, a "model" Franco-German company, was swallowed up by the French company, Sanofi-Synthélabo, while [the French heavy engineering firm] Alstom is fighting desperately against being absorbed by the German company, Siemens. Even the "success stories" of Europe, like Airbus, which is now defying Boeing, are not without tensions. The Airbus A380 was launched only after endless bargaining over the distribution of tasks (and profits) between Toulouse and Hamburg.

The draft European "Constitution" is not really that because it is not a question of creating a European capitalist state, even a federated one. It is a treaty between states by which they relinquish some sovereignty in order to define the rules of competition between the various national capitalist classes of Europe, to improve their competitiveness vis-à-vis the U.S. and other rivals, and to strengthen their attacks against European workers, and immigrant workers in particular. When Chirac or German chancellor Schröder speak of a multipolar world, they simply mean that they want to ally their forces and rein in their own rivalries in order to better confront their more powerful common rivals, the U.S. and Japan.

In such alliances between some imperialists against others, there is nothing that the workers can support, nothing that protects their gains! The whole history of the European Union, even before the Maastricht Treaty, has shown that improving "European competitiveness" means taking from the workers to give to the bosses in order to reinforce the latter in their struggle against their American and Japanese competitors. When reformists pretend that the workers' interest is in a strong, "social and democratic" Europe, they once again act to tie the working class to its own bourgeoisie. They propagate the lie that European imperialists are less ruthless than their American or Japanese rivals. Twenty years ago, the PCF was raising the call to "produce French"; now they call for a "social Europe." But they are still tying the workers to their own exploiters—and strengthening the latter. This is what Marxists call class collaboration. On the contrary, workers of all countries must unite against the bourgeoisies of all countries.

The attempts to create an imperialist pole in Europe to compete with the U.S. are accompanied by efforts to rearm militarily—discussions to set up integrated European arms manufacturers, attempts to be independent from American intelligence systems by creating a network of satellites that can be used for military purposes (Galileo), sending European military units that are now policing the Balkans, etc. There is justified hatred and anger against American militarism on the part of the working masses, but, if this opposition to American militarism is not based on proletarian internationalism, it will inevitably be sidetracked into strengthening the military power of the capitalist state here. Indeed, the PCF, far from opposing this rearming, is worried about these military means being dependent on the U.S. via NATO, instead of being independent! And Besancenot—the LCR's "little postal worker"—adds his two cents by whining in a February 9 statement to AFP [news agency] that "future European defense will be in the framework of NATO, that is, under the boot of George Bush Junior." The anti-Americanism of the LCR is an obstacle to anti-imperialist proletarian internationalism.

Spartakist

AP

Labor struggle in Europe. Rotterdam, September 2003: Police charge 8,000 dockers protesting EU anti-union attacks (top). Below, protesters in Athens this March hosed by cops during 24-hour strike for higher wages and against spending cuts.

Why Internationalist Marxists Oppose the Extension of the EU

LO correctly noted that, with the extension of the EU to 25 countries, not only imperialist countries or intermediate countries but also very poor countries now coexist in the EU. These countries have experienced the capitalist counterrevolution that devastated the East European economies and reduced them to semicolonial status under the domination of, especially, German, Austrian and French capitalism, whose penetration into these countries is greatly facilitated by the extension of the EU. Yet LO supports the extension of the EU! Just like its own bourgeoisie. And just like its own bourgeoisie, LO supported the capitalist reunification of Germany 15 years ago and, more generally, supported counterrevolution throughout the ex-Soviet bloc. For example, LO declared in *Lutte de Classe* (December 1989): "Even if this reunification [of Germany] is carried out entirely under capitalist rule, communist revolutionaries have no reason to oppose it."

Regarding the extension of the EU, it is useful to consider the creation, in the early 1990s, of NAFTA, which is an economic treaty between the U.S., Canada and Mexico. At the time, our American, Canadian and Mexican comrades published a joint declaration against NAFTA (*Workers Vanguard* No. 530, 5 July 1991). Calling on American, Canadian and Mexican workers to unite in class struggle against this "Free Trade Agreement" (FTA), the declaration stated:

> "Overall the stronger U.S. economy would have the upper hand. In addition, American capitalists want to use the FTA to gut labor and environmental regulations on both sides of the border. Yankee imperialism wants to turn Mexico into a giant *maquiladora*, or free trade zone—'free' of unions, and 'free' for capital.
>
> "Far from 'freeing' trade internationally, the pact is aimed at setting up a private hunting preserve for the American imperialist bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class."

That is exactly what happened. Against the devastation that this agreement meant

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TORONTO

for them, the Mexican peasants of Chiapas arose on 1 January 1994, the day NAFTA went into effect. At the time, the entire French left, and the LCR in particular, solidarized with the Zapatista uprising against NAFTA.

Today, these same leftists—who, at times, still cynically call themselves "Zapatistas"—are expressing their satisfaction that Poland is joining the EU and are demanding that Turkey do the same! NAFTA is not the EU, but the inclusion of Poland—and, in the future, Romania and possibly Turkey—will deepen the oppression of workers and peasants in those countries. As our German comrades of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands declared (*Spartakist* No. 156, Fall 2004):

> "During the negotiations over joining the EU, the European imperialists raised a series of criteria for entry that represented a program of brutal social attacks. For example, in Poland the mining sector was 'rendered competitive,' that is, miners were laid off *en masse* and pits were closed. Unemployment compensation is so low that it is insufficient for survival. Today, in the historically important mining region of Jelenia Góra (where the unemployment rate is above 40 percent), one can find many mines in the forest which were dug by laid-off miners digging with spades in search of coal.... This is the result of the counterrevolution, which was led by Solidarność in Poland."

However, it is the question of Turkey which, above all, has triggered hysterical protests. [The fascist] Le Pen, [the far-rightist] De Villiers, [the neo-Gaullist] Sarkozy, [the Socialist] Fabius and their ilk go berserk at the idea of 70 million Turkish and Kurdish Muslims being able to enter the EU. In fact, people of Muslim and North African origin in France are also targeted by this rotten racist campaign. But this is not a reason to be for Turkey's entry into the EU, as is claimed by LO and the LCR, who find themselves in a bloc on this question...with Chirac and the French PCF. Alain Bocquet, the head of the PCF parliamentary fraction in the National Assembly, repeating Chirac's arguments, clearly expressed the reasons why the chauvinist PCF is for Turkey's entry:

> "In the view of Europe preferred by the Communists, proceeding along this road is better than having an isolated Turkey at the doors of Europe. Otherwise, Turkey will be prey to several possible outcomes. The first one is the rise of Islamic fundamentalism—recall in this regard that Turkey, a mainly Muslim society, is, as far as its institutions are concerned, a secular state. A second possibility is intensified militarism—the army is an important pillar of Turkish society, providing a means for social advancement. And the third possibility is the danger of a pro-Atlantic shift, since the U.S. still considers the maintenance of Turkey within the framework of NATO as a strategic objective of the first order."
>
> —*L'Humanité*, 9 February

When French leftists take up the idea that the European Union will bring freedom to the Kurds and democracy to Turkish workers, they only demonstrate their profound illusions in the supposedly progressive character of their own bourgeoisie. Such illusions disarm the working class and prevent it from waging revolutionary class struggle. Bocquet's declaration goes to the heart of the question of Turkey's entry into the EU—countering American supremacy in the region. While the left declares itself pro-Europe and internationalist, even voting "no" on the draft Constitution, they actually serve as a left cover for French chauvinism. They simply have a different approach on how to strengthen their own bourgeoisie, while hoping to get a few crumbs for the French working class.

Apparently, many Kurdish workers and peasants imagine that the European Union will bring an end to age-old national oppression. Nothing could be more mistaken. Not only will the European Union not accept the partition of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran for the purpose of forming an independent Kurdish republic, but even in the most advanced countries of the European Union, the national question has not been resolved. Irish Catholics are oppressed in Northern Ireland, as are Basques in Spain and France, not to mention the Corsicans and the colonial oppression in Guadeloupe and elsewhere. As for Greece, an EU member for nearly 25 years, it continues to oppress Turks, Slavo-Macedonians, Albanians, Roma and a multitude of other minorities.

Factory Relations and the Fight Against Racism and Chauvinism

Today many workers feel threatened by plant closures by companies seeking to move their operations to East Europe, Turkey, the Chinese deformed workers state or elsewhere. Since the union bureaucrats accept the capitalists' viewpoint, they necessarily buy into the need for their own national enterprises to increase their competitiveness on the world market. They thus sign deal after deal dismantling hard-won gains in terms of wages, hours and working conditions.

The capitalists seek to turn the workers' anger against their class brothers of other nationalities abroad and within their own country. That is why we insist that the fight against these attacks by the bourgeoisie, including factory closings in the name of increased competitiveness, can only be carried out if accompanied by an uncompromising fight against racist terror and chauvinism. ***Full citizenship rights for everyone in this country!*** As our German comrades wrote (*Spartakist* No. 157, Winter 2004-2005):

> "As a result of capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR and East Europe, the German bourgeoisie today has at its disposal a vast reservoir of unemployed skilled workers, and it is trying to export unskilled jobs to countries where the rate of profit is significantly higher. The Turkish and Kurdish workers remain a large strategic component of the working class in Germany, but the racist German leaders have less and less economic need for a large part of the Turkish and Kurdish population, particularly the second and third generation, for whom there are no jobs. They are viewed by the ruling class with racist contempt as well as fear as the tinder for a social explosion."

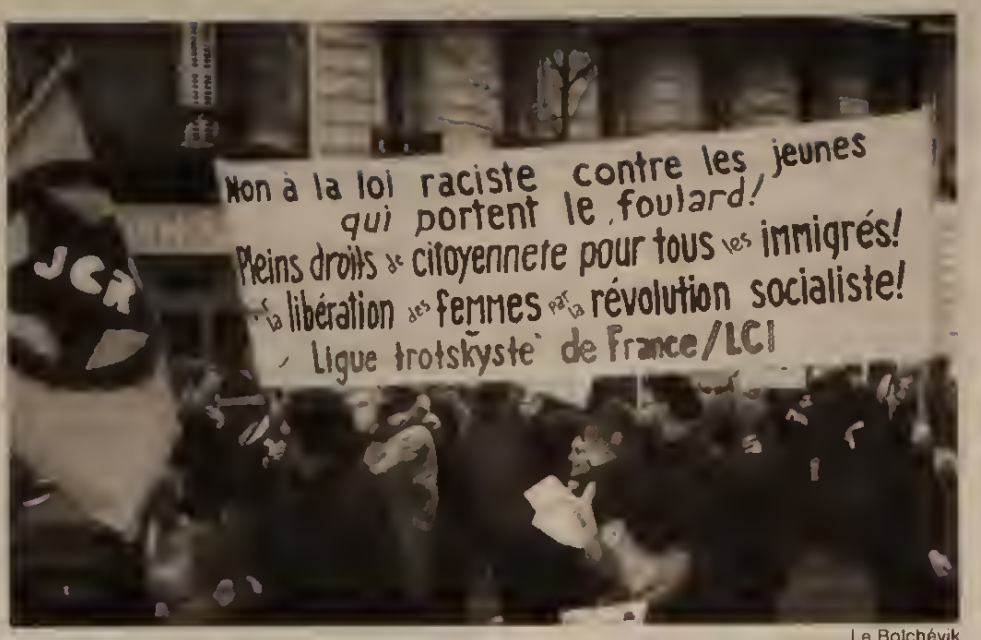
During last October's powerful Opel-Bochum strike in the industrial bastion of the Ruhr, our German comrades reported in the same *Spartakist*:

> "There are also a lot of discussions about the Opel factory in Gliwice, Poland. We did not hear any open anti-Polish chauvinism. Nevertheless, there was a mood of 'We couldn't compete with the wages that they have over there.' And why should they? Workers in Germany must help workers in Poland to fight for decent wages and working conditions against the greed for capitalist profits which was unleashed by the counterrevolution. For this, a revolutionary party is necessary, based on a program of internationalist class struggle. Ultimately, only a planned economy under the control of the working class can eliminate the glaring economic and social differences between various countries."

It is on the basis of this perspective that we raise our slogan of a *Socialist United States of Europe*. Only by overthrowing the bourgeoisies of Europe through workers revolutions is it possible to proceed toward a socialist society, superseding the framework of nation-states.

AP

Basque demonstrators demand, "No to the arrest warrants." For the right of self-determination for the Basque people, in both Spain and France!



Le Bolchévik

LTF contingent in 14 February 2004 demonstration against Chirac's banning headscarves in schools. Banners read: "No to Racist Law Against Youth Who Wear the Headscarf! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

The LCR and the PCF Rehabilitate the Social Democrats

The joint campaign by the PCF and the LCR for a "no" vote is the LCR's contribution to restoring the image of French social democracy, which has been seriously tarnished—particularly in the case of the PCF—by its five years of dirty work in the [PS-led] Jospin government. They manage to rehabilitate Laurent Fabius, spokesman within the PS for a "no" vote, who has long personified "neoliberalism" in the PS thanks to his savage attacks on the working class when he was Mitterrand's prime minister in the 1980s. In the 1986 legislative elections (which he lost to Chirac), Fabius even bragged that, "It's our turn to do the 'dirty work'" (supplement to *Le Bolchévik* No. 68, 8 December 1986)! However, *Red* (January 2005), the newspaper of the LCR's youth group, the JCR, relates the following fable about the anti-Constitution "reformists" (obviously including Fabius):

> "This Constitution divides the former 'Plural Left' [the name of the Jospin government's popular-front coalition] between the social-liberals who are in favor of it and the reformists, who understand that with this Constitution there will no longer be any room for any social policy. The task of revolutionaries is thus to further this contradiction in order to trigger a movement of political reorganization which we, from the side of the revolutionaries, will try to draw toward the radical left."

In fact, the PCF and the LCR are counting on a large number of "no" votes in order to negotiate with the PS, after the referendum, a better distribution of seats in the next "left" alliance for the 2007 elections in view of entering the capitalist government. A Fabius-Buffet government emerging out of a victory for a "no" vote would be as fiercely anti-working-class as its predecessors. This would be true even if it had the LCR's Krivine as a government minister (or, more likely, an undersecretary) and even with a member of the JCR as secretary of youth and sports (their comrade Miguel Rossetto has already been a capitalist minister in Brazil for two years), whatever the good intentions (or in any case, the fine words) of these reformists.

There is no other way to administer capitalism than to attack the workers. What is needed is a fight to overthrow the whole capitalist system through workers revolution.

We are voting "no" on this referendum, but, above all, we warn the workers against the maneuvers by the LCR and the PCF to reconstitute a new "Plural Left" governmental coalition. ***Down with class collaboration! Join our fight for a truly internationalist communist party in France, section of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International!*** ■

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Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

> Democratic and Republican Parties, want Mumia dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression."

The demonstration was followed by an indoor rally where some 350 people gathered. Speakers at the indoor rally included Pam Africa of ICFFMAJ; Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the PDC; black Democratic Party politician and former New York City mayor David Dinkins; Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME DC 1707; New York City councilman Bill Perkins; and Larry Holmes of the Workers World Party's IAC.

Many of those at the indoor rally were looking for a way forward to fight for Jamal's freedom. What was unique about this event was the all-too-rare clash of political views and strategies on precisely this question. On one pole was the open embrace of trust in the justice of the American court system promoted by Dinkins and the IAC; on the other was the class-struggle perspective offered by Wolkenstein, the PDC and the SL. As our leaflet stated: "In our defense of Mumia we have supported pursuing all available legal avenues open to fight for his freedom and against the death penalty. But we have always promoted the understanding that the fight to free Mumia must be independent of the racist capitalist state, which has worked for years to frame him up. It is this Marxist understanding that differentiates our program from those who rely on a legalistic strategy, building illusions that the capitalist courts are fair."

Pam Africa introduced Wolkenstein, citing her efforts in obtaining evidence of Mumia's innocence and, speaking of the PDC, emphasized: "For years their position has been one that Mumia is innocent and to hell with a trial." Africa added, "That's absolutely true, but we have people who are not ready to move that way." She encouraged rally participants to obtain the PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!*, containing affidavits by Wolkenstein, Mumia, his brother William Cook and Arnold Beverly, in which Beverly admits that he, not Jamal, killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. That day, we sold 109 copies of the pamphlet and another 150 pieces of Marxist literature.

Wolkenstein's speech was greeted with applause and a standing ovation because it struck a chord with the predominantly black audience, many of whom were longtime political activists. It underlined that it is necessary to mobilize the social power of the working class on behalf of Jamal, independently of all capitalist parties. She explained the role of the capitalist state as an institution that exists to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist class against working people and the oppressed, and why it is so dangerous to peddle illusions in the state. As our flyer stated: "The courts, the cops, the prosecutors and the military make up the state

WV Photo

International Action Center raises call for "New Trial" at April 23 march. We say: There is no justice in the capitalist courts.

apparatus which uses bourgeois law and force to protect the profit system. The state is not neutral and does not function in the interests of black people, the working class, immigrants or other oppressed minorities. Without this understanding, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle to free Mumia."

Wolkenstein also laid bare the evidence of Mumia's innocence, centered on Beverly's confessions and mounds of supporting evidence. This evidence was suppressed by Jamal's former lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and his "legal strategist," Daniel Williams. The pursuit of this evidence on the one hand and its suppression on the other reflected within the legal team the clash of strategies over what social forces must be mobilized to free Jamal: reliance on the good graces of the capitalist courts embodied in the call for a "new trial for Mumia" or reliance on the social power of the working class, including through protest actions based on the multiracial labor movement.

A report on the April 23 rally posted on the Workers World Party's Web site (27 April) was entitled "Harlem Says 'Free Mumia'," just as one side of the signs they carried at the protest called to free Mumia. However, their real program was displayed on the other side of the sign—as seen in the photograph accompanying their article—which called for a "new trial." Workers World and the IAC are trying to corral those who want to fight for Jamal's freedom behind a call that reinforces illusions in the state. The WWP article motivates the rally by citing the "urgent need to continue building broad, mass pressure on the repressive judicial system to grant Abu-Jamal a new trial."

We are fighting to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement not only to free Mumia, but to get rid of this barbaric and murderous capitalist system of hunger, imperialist war, poverty, racist cop terror and vicious attacks on workers, women, gays and immigrants. Since our inception we have fought for integrated class struggle and for the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, combatting every manifestation of discrimination against black people and fighting to eliminate the oppression of blacks—which is the bedrock of American capitalist society—through a proletarian socialist revolution. Our program of black liberation through socialist revolution is based on the fact that the capitalist rulers have fomented anti-black racism historically not only to keep black people in their so-called "place" but to prevent revolutionary unity of the working class against the capitalists.

In her remarks at the indoor rally, Brenda Stokely expressed solidarity from the Million Worker March, New York City Labor Against the War and District Council 1707, vowing: "We will continue this fight until none of us has a breath to continue fighting." Such proclamations by trade-union leaders cannot be mere words. The social power of labor must be mobilized in action, on the streets, to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. If undertaken through the mobilization of labor, the struggle to free Mumia would represent a big step in the struggle to overturn this whole racist, capitalist system.

The April 23 rally took place a few months after a presidential election accompanied by an escalating assault on democratic rights. The Democrats have moved even further to the right as they compete with "family values" bigots who are working overtime to sell Jesus and gut abortion rights. For years, there has been a dearth of class struggle in the U.S., primary responsibility for which rests with the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which ties the working class to its capitalist class enemy through the Democratic Party. At the same time, the workers have shown no lack of will to struggle, as during the 2003-04 UFCW grocery workers strike, which was sold out by the labor tops. What is necessary is a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions, a fight to break workers from illusions in the Democrats as "friends of labor," a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party fighting for all the oppressed and for a workers government.

In his presentation, Dinkins—who left an event at Columbia University honoring the Nigerian Nobel laureate, author and former political prisoner, Wole Soyinka, to attend the Mumia rally—declared: "I believe now very deeply he [Mumia] not only hasn't had a fair trial, he's innocent in the first damn place." However, Dinkins also referred to the racist vendetta in which the capitalist courts have kept Jamal imprisoned in a 9 by 12 foot dungeon as a series of "misguided decisions."

A million black people are locked behind bars, largely as a result of the racist "war on drugs." Of the nearly 3,500 on death row, over half are black and Hispanic. Yet, Dinkins referred to the "issue of abuse of police power, the issue of a blind system of criminal justice and the death penalty issue" by proclaiming that such incidents "have been much less since the system first turned a blind eye toward Mumia Abu-Jamal." According to Dinkins, "We have to remember that the justice system of this country belongs to those who would honor its principles, not those who would abuse them. And we must take it back." The justice system Dinkins wants to "take back" is the "justice system" that declared in the infamous 1857 *Dred Scott* case that black people "have no rights which the white man is bound to respect"; that ordered the legal lynching of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927; that affirmed the internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II; and that, in the 1987 *McCleskey* decision, both acknowledged and deemed irrelevant racial disparity in the criminal justice system.

Later in the program, Larry Holmes of the IAC continued Dinkins' theme by calling for: "More unity, sisters and brothers. More unity. Whatever our differences are, it's always more that unites us." But unity with whom, against whom, and for what? We fight for united-front action to struggle for Mumia's freedom—i.e., unity in action and freedom for all political tendencies to express their views. What Holmes has in mind is the kind of "unity" based on accommodation to "progressive" capitalist politicians, the kind of "unity" where the call for Mumia's freedom is subordinated to the demand for a "new trial" and agnosticism on Mumia's innocence. The liberals' interest in the Mumia case is to refurbish the image of the American justice system. This is not unity but treachery.

Steve Wilson

Stewart/Bethel

Left: Mumia speaking in 1969 at Philadelphia memorial for slain Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. Black militant Panthers were targeted for death by racist capitalist state.

Beginning in 1989, the PDC has organized united-front rallies for Mumia, and they have included participation by black elected officials, community organizations, union officials and left organizations whose programs and worldviews were quite distant from ours. But in contrast to the reformists, we never tailored our demands to what the liberals found acceptable, nor did we censor our criticisms of the Democratic Party, our explication of the function of the capitalist state, the treacherous role of the trade-union bureaucracy, and the need for workers to have their own party, a workers party that fights for socialist revolution. As Wolkenstein underlined in her speech, while capitalist politicians like Dinkins are welcome to voice their support for Jamal, the movement must not be tailored to accommodate them.

Our united-front approach demonstrates a powerful political point: it is possible to bring effective, worldwide united action across a spectrum of political beliefs while assuring everyone's right to have his own say. Within that framework, we fight to win activists to the understanding that the fight for Mumia's freedom must be based on a class-struggle perspective.

This is the strategy we have pursued since we first took up Jamal's case in 1987. When a death warrant was signed in 1995, millions around the world mobilized in defense of Jamal. Mumia's name must be made known again the way it was in 1995, so that unions from South Africa, France, Brazil and elsewhere mobilize on the streets in the fight for his freedom. The fight to free Mumia must become a cause taken up by the labor movement around the world, especially in the U.S.

For Mumia's birthday in 1999, tens

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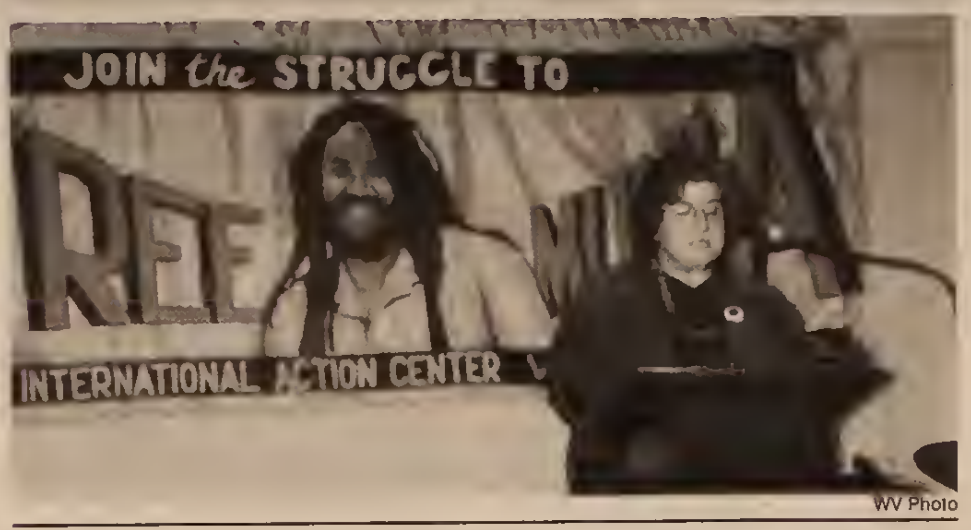

WV Photo

We print here the speech delivered by Rachel Walkenstein of the Partisan Defense Cammittee at the April 23 Harlem indaar rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal called by the Internatianal Concerned Fanily and Friends af Mumia Abu-Jamal, the NYC Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalitian and the International Actian Center, among others.

I really want to thank especially Pam Africa for the invitation to speak here and expose the truth about Mumia's legal case, to speak of the dangers that face us.

In three weeks it will be 20 years since the racist murder of MOVE members and five MOVE children when a bomb was dropped on their Osage Avenue homc in Philadelphia. The bomb was dropped by the FBI, the ATF and the Philadelphia police. The May 13, 1985 Mother's Day message to MOVE by the capitalist state was: "Attention, MOVE. This is America." Thc criminals in the government got away with their murder, with not even a slap on the wrist. Ramona Africa went to jail for years for the crime of surviving the racist holocaust. This is not unrelated to Mumia's case, because when the state locked up Mumia on death row in 1982, they took off the street a powerful defender of the MOVE organization.

It was imprisoned MOVE members who in 1987 asked the Partisan Defense Committee to take up Mumia's defense. Nine MOVE members had been found guilty for the killing of a Stakeout police officer during the August 1978 police attack on the MOVE Powelton Village commune, but the cop was killed by police crossfire. The MOVE members were sentenced to 30 to 100 years, and their legal challenges have been thrown out of court. These cases, as well as Mumia's, speak to the hasic truth that there is no justice in the capitalist courts [applause]. Capitalist justice means "just us."

I was part of Mumia's legal defense team from 1995 through June 1999, in charge of the defense investigation. It was this investigation that led to finding Arnold Beverly and obtaining his confession that he shot and killed police officer Daniel Faulkner on December 9, 1981. I resigned from the legal team along with Jon Piper when his lead attorney, Mumia's lead attorney at the time, Leonard Weinglass, and co-counsel Dan Williams precluded Mumia from presenting this evidence of Mumia's innocence in the courts. The facts of this investigation, as Pam said, are in my affidavit. I will highlight those things in a moment.

My work fighting for Mumia's freedom did not begin with the legal team, but started years before, in 1987, as part of the PDC fight to free class-war prisoners including Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). It's important to understand that our principles, our work, is based on principles of non-sectarian, class-struggle united-front defense in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We place all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatsoever in the so-called "justice" of the courts [applause].

We initiated a worldwide campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. On principle, we do not accord the state the right to determine who shall live or who shall die. The death penalty is the ultimate form of institutionalized state terror and murder, and it's used to intimidate or eliminate any who would challenge racist American capitalism. In the U.S. the death penalty is Jim Crow lynch law made legal [audience: "right," applause]. Mumia's case demonstrates what the death penalty is all about.

It is Mumia's 51st birthday tomorrow; he has spent the last 23 years on death row. The cops, the prosecutors, the entire "criminal justice system" have colluded to kill this man. His crime? His crime was being eloquent, and an effective critic of the racist oppression that exists in this country. Mumia says he's "fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means total change." To the American capitalist state that means that Mumia is a dead man on leave.

Mumia is in danger. He faces the vengeance of the capitalist state. It is necessary now and urgent, more than ever now, as Mumia's case moves into the last stages of legal proceedings, to mobilize on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man. He never should have been arrested, never tried, never convicted [applause]. Our fight is to free Mumia!

The danger faced by Mumia today began back in 1969 when he was a 15-year-old Black Panther Party member, when he was targeted hy the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign which left 38 Panthers dead in their beds and on the street and hundreds in jail on frame-up charges. The message to the Black Panther Party by then-FBI director [J. Edgar] Hoover was: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This was the policy of Democratic Party president Lyndon Johnson and his attorney general, Ramsey Clark.

The FBI's COINTELPRO operation did not succeed then in framing Mumia up or murdering him. But he remained a target of the capitalist state—followed over the next ten years as he became one of the pre-eminent journalists in Philly—the "voice of the voiceless." He told the truth about the government's persecution of MOVE and gave, as he said, the Africas' side of the story. It was the long arm of COINTELPRO carried forward until the Philly police seized the opportunity to shoot and beat him on the street on December 9, 1981. The state and its courts have tried to finish the job for over two decades of racist frame-up legal proceedings.

Mumia's case is a textbook of police frame-up. It's an object lesson in the class nature of the state, which is not neutral. The state is the instrumentality of violence, organized violence by one class, the capitalist class, defending the profit system, against working people, against minorities. In the U.S. the forcible subjugation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of society is key. This state violence is expressed in terror and frame-ups carried out by the racist, brutal, corrupt cops. You know those examples: Panthers like Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba bin Wahad; immigrants like Amadou Diallo, to even protesters at the Repuhlican Party Convention. Every protest against the Iraq war and occupation, every one of these—it is very clear that there is a crazed and demented president in the White House [applause]. But the post-September 11 so-called anti-terrorism campaign is supported whole hog as well by the Democratic Party. And Mumia is in all of their gun sights [applause].

I'm talking about this because we need to understand this and act on this understanding. It's the only way forward to victory—for Mumia's freedom. While all legal proceedings and legal remedies must be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions in or reliance on the capitalist courts, nor in bourgeois politicians, whether they're black or white, he they Democratic, Repuhlican or Green. The fight to free Mumia must he mohilized independent of the racist capitalist state. While support for Mumia's cause from bourgeois politicians like Mayor Dinkins is welcome, the campaign mobilization cannot be tailored for their acceptability—with arguments that the capitalist injustice system can he made fair or reformable. It will take the social power of organized labor and its allies to create the type of pressure we need to obtain Mumia's freedom—a mass movement centrally bascd on the power of the working class, the power to withhold labor—to strike. Like the members of the AFSCME union that Brenda Stokely represents. Like the transit workers who are now here in the room. Imagine what it would mean if New York transit went on strike on behalf of Mumia [applause].

Demands for a new trial will never lead to Mumia's freedom. Not only should it he clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a "fair trial" only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were *political*, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom [applause]. The fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight for black equality in America, which itself is part of the broader fight against the capitalist system.

The Frame-Up of Mumia

That truth has been shown over *two decades* of court proceedings appeals. Mumia's case has been through the Pennsylvania courts to the U.S. Supreme Court three times, including three post-conviction evidentiary hearings. His case is now in the federal appeals court. Each and every court has rejected evidence of Mumia's innocence, evidence of police and prosecutorial lies, threatening witnesses into falsifying testimony, fabricating Mumia's confession, botched ballistics. Judge Dembe in Philadelphia has denied Mumia a hearing on the new evidence that's there. And over the past three years, the courts—federal and state—refused to consider the confession of Arnold Beverly. Federal court judge Yohn overturned Mumia's death sentence over three years ago. But while the government appeals, Mumia is still on death row, 23 hours a day in solitary in a cell which he has described as like living in a toilet.

What is the Beverly evidence? I'm going to ask your indulgence for a little more time [audience: "yes," applause]. This evidence of Mumia's innocence is more than Beverly's confession or the lie detector test he passed. Beverly states that he and another man were hired by the police in cooperation with the mob to murder police officer Faulkner. Faulkner was a problem for the corrupt police and the mob because he interfered with graft and payoffs. Weinglass rejected this evidence as too hot and unbelievable, and Williams said that to put this forward would lead to arguing that the police knowingly framed up an innocent man! Imagine that [laughter]. This is not only believable, but the reality of the cops and the courts. In Philly during the 1995 Mumia hearings, exposés of cop frame-ups of blacks on false drug charges shared thc daily front page news—some 300 cases overturned. There's the L.A. Ramparts case, the Boston cop with mob ties, and now in the news, two New York homicide detectives [prosecuted] for murdering while in uniform [on the force] and on Mafia payroll.

Other evidence supports Beverly; the affidavit of Mumia's brother, William Cook, states there was another man on the scene at the time of Faulkner's killing, Ken Freeman, who also said that there was a hit planned on Faulkner. The affidavit of Donald Hersing, an FBI informant,

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of thousands took to the streets in Philadelphia and the Bay Area in rallies to demand a new trial. Sadly the turnout this year was a fraction of what it was six years ago. In remarks following Wolkenstein's presentation at the April 23 rally, Pam Afriea observed, "The only thing they could do to divert the energy of the people was to come out and say they were overturning Mumia's sentencing from death to life in prison." Pam Africa was referring to the December 2001 ruling by federal court judge William Yohn overturning the death sentence but affirming the conviction; the prosecutors appealed seeking to reinstate the death sentence, while Mumia appealed seeking to overturn the conviction. In 1976, professional boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, framed up on false murder charges in the mid 1960s because of his advocacy of the right of black armed self-defense, finally won a new trial after an international protest campaign. When he was convicted anew, the liberals fled his eause and Carter spent another decade in prison for a crime he did not commit. Today, many of the liberals to whom the reformists appealed have fled the case, while the workers, blacks and youth who were the foot soldiers for Jamal are politically demobilized. The central reason for the demobilization of Mumia's supporters rests with the fact that reformists like Workers World and Socialist Action rejected a class-struggle fight for Jamal, instead organizing activists on the basis that justice could he obtained from the capitalist courts.

As Wolkenstein noted in her speech:

> "Not only should it be clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a 'fair trial' only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were ***political***, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom."

No illusions in the courts! Free Mumia now!■

Mumia Is Innocent...

(continued from page 9)

confirms that at the time of Faulkner's shooting, the commanding officer of the police division, the chief of the homicide division and one Inspector Alfonzo Giordano were all under investigation on federal corruption charges. Not coincidently, these cops were the chain of command in Faulkner's case. And Giordano knew who Mumia was. More on this in a bit. Those cops were worried about possible police informants. Three federal investigations into police corruption, including the mob, were underway at the time Faulkner was murdered. Police working as FBI informants were victims of hits in the early '80s. A federal prosecutor acknowledged to us that they had a police informant, one whose brother was also a cop, like Faulkner. These federal investigations also mean that the FBI has plenty of knowledge of what happened in Philadelphia Center City on December 9—information they have refused to release.

Beverly states there were undercover cops and others in uniform at the location to make sure the hit happened and to help Beverly make his getaway. This confirms the testimony of William Singletary that cops were immediately on the scene. Marcus Cannon, another witness, said two undercover cops were on the scene during the shooting. Again, confirmation of Beverly.

Inspector Giordano: ranking officer on the scene, central witness against Mumia at the preliminary hearing after the arrest. He not only was one of the cops under investigation for corruption, but he was Frank Rizzo's man, right-hand man, involved in the daily surveillance of the Black Panther Party members in the '60s and early '70s, and he led the police Stakeout team in the 1970s attack on the Philly Black Panther Party. Giordano was police supervisor of the year-long siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. He knew just who Mumia was. He was the cop who first reported that Mumia's gun was found on the street, some 12 minutes after cops were already there. He arranged the supposed identification of Mumia by the cab driver, Robert Chobert, who was promised favors and protected by the police. Giordano is the cop who beat Mumia in the police van and said that Mumia had confessed there to shooting Faulkner. Giordano never testified at Mumia's trial. In fact, he resigned from the police force the day after Mumia's trial was over. In 1986 he copped a plea on federal charges based on his receiving tens of thousands of dollars in illegal payoffs during the 1979-80 period and didn't spend any time in jail.

Beverly states that Faulkner was first shot in the back, and then he shot Faulkner in the head before Mumia ever got on the scene. Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer, Beverly says. Homicide cops on the scene told the medical examiner's office that Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer. Beverly states he had a .22 calibre. The available ballistics and blood evidence at the scene is contrary to the prosecution's frame-up version. The trajectories are wrong. It supports more than one shooter of Faulkner, that a gun other than Faulkner's or Mumia's was used, that the bullets and bullet jackets found do not fit the prosecution's story. Mumia's wounds do not fit with him being shot by Faulkner. The Stakeout officer who purportedly found Mumia's gun testified at trial that the bullets in Mumia's gun were a different make than listed on the ballistics report.

Beverly said that he was wearing a green army jacket that night. William Singletary had said that the shooter used what sounded like a .22 and that the shooter was wearing a green army jacket. Billy Cook said Freeman was wearing a green army jacket and he ran away from the scene. Additionally, two police officers at the time said that the shooter was wearing a green army jacket, as did another civilian witness. But Mumia wore a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes, and Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. This evidence—Singletary's, Beverly's—could also confirm that the shooter ran away, and it was a shooter in a green army jacket.

Young Spartacus

New York City, August 1995: Partisan Defense Committee initiated emergency united-front protest in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal after death warrant was signed.

Beverly and Hersing's statements also support the testimony of Pamela Jenkins and now Yvette Williams that key prosecution witness Cynthia White was both threatened and accorded favors to lie on the witness stand and say she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner.

There is more, much more. What is the significance of the Beverly evidence and *why* has it been suppressed? There is a simple answer—that it exposes the fraud that the American legal system can provide justice. It demonstrates that there's a unity of purpose of the cops, prosecution and courts to uphold the capitalist rulers' interests. It makes it clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, or prosecutor, or judge, but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice [applause]. Williams' book, *Executing Justice*, denouncing this evidence, has been used by the D.A. and the bourgeois courts to reject evidence of Beverly's confession and the supporting evidence. That book, and that book alone, has been used to deny this evidence.

This should make clear to all of us here what we need to do to free Mumia. That the courts will not move, whether on the grounds of a racially biased jury selection, which was true, or that he wasn't allowed to represent himself in violation of his constitutional rights, which was true, or in the face of the prosecutorial misconduct, which is enormous. And what I've said to you, and what you know already, is only the tip of the iceberg. None of this will happen, the courts will not move without the force of an international mobilization of the masses, and centrally based on the labor movement.

That Mumia is innocent is ***the truth***. That the capitalist state has spent decades framing him up is the truth. Putting its lying, corrupt class- and race-biased forces to see Mumia dead is what they're all about. But we need to use the truth about Mumia's case, only some of which I and other people have been able to talk to you about, to bring out more power, social power, to fight for victory and free Mumia. Free Mumia! [Applause.]■

Massad...

(continued from page 2)

> Business School: multimillion-dollar establishments like Hillel at Columbia; complicitous presidents like Bollinger and Shapiro, supported by their boards of trustees and militant millionaire clubs among the Columbia and Barnard alumni; advocates of torture like Alan Dershowitz; racist propagandists like Daniel Pipes; anti-intellectual vigilantes like Martin Kramer; organized cells at Columbia medical, business and law schools; a bagful of tabloids in Manhattan; Jack-the-Ripper journalists like Douglas Feiden and Jacob Gershman; a deceitful propaganda machine like the Goliath Project; a minister and his ministry in Israel; city, state and federal politicians seeking higher office here in the United States are all ganging up and calling for the heads of two Arabs and a Muslim in post-9/11 New York is quite an achievement for *The Nation*, one that I will not forget or forgive."

Academic Freedom and McCarthyite Witchhunts

A perceptive article by Juan Cole, a professor of Middle Eastern and South Asian history at the University of Michigan, stripped the veneer off the 7 April editorial in the *Times*:

> "The New York Times editorial is among the more dangerous documents threatening higher education in America to have appeared in a major newspaper since the McCarthy period, when professors were fired for their views on economics.... The Times' invocation of 'scholarly rigor' is really a thinly veiled demand that professors follow what it defines as an acceptable, 'fair' pedagogical line.
>
> "But as soon as the 'fairness' of views is made the criterion for retaining a teacher, the door is opened to witch hunts and chaos. No two students will agree on what is a 'fair' view of a controversial issue."
>
> —"The New McCarthyism," www.truthout.org, 22 April

Bollinger, an "expert" on the First Amendment, stated at a faculty meeting last October, "The First Amendment does not apply to the university because it is a private institution" (*London Review of Books*, 17 February). This statement received little publicity. But it had best be noted. ***Democratic rights must be faught far.*** In the struggle at Columbia today, the Spartacus Youth Club has fought against reliance on the university administration.

Archreactionaries and racists view the *New York Times* as some kind of "commie" paper, while Zionists denounce it as "pro-Arab" because it occasionally reports an Israeli atrocity. By emboldening the neocons screaming for Arab blood at Columbia, the *Times* may well find itself a future target of these very same forces.

Yet it is precisely now—and historically—that a paper like the *Times* is valuable to different wings of the ruling class because of the aura of respectability it lends a witchhunt. Although Joseph McCarthy's coarseness offended then-*Times* publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Sulzberger hated communism more, and so emphasized "the need for the orderly administration of loyalty oaths and other procedures" (Susan E. Tiff and Alex S. Jones, *The Trust* [1999]). The *Times* even refused to run a paid ad demanding commutation of the death sentences for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The *Times* fired employees who exercised their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination during the witchhunt.

More recently, the *Times* was running articles about how the paper was fooled by the Bush administration's claims of "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq. The *Times* went along with these claims because, notwithstanding its political differences with the neocons and Bush administration, the *Times* shares with them the same bourgeois class interests. Even now, the *Times* whitewashes U.S. war crimes in Iraq, crowing that in Falluja, a city devastated by American bombardment last year, "things are almost back to normal" (26 March)!

In 1977, when the Spartacus Youth League initiated a united-front campaign to keep imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger from a teaching post at Columbia, the *Times* editorialized against anti-Kissinger students and faculty. The response by the SYL in a letter to the *Times* (which they didn't print but which we produced as a leaflet) stands up well today with regard to defense of Professor Joseph Massad. We wrote, "While smearing the anti-Kissinger forces at Columbia as witchhunters, your editorial advocates a neo-McCarthyite 'loyalty oath' as the sole political criterion for university professors!" At issue is not an abstract conception of "freedom," but a struggle on behalf of class interests. As we stated in "Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus" (*WV* No. 842, 18 February):

> "The attempted castration of intellectual dissent is an attack on ***all*** opposition to the ruling-class agenda. Today it is particularly aimed at those who oppose the bloody occupation of Iraq and voice outrage at the genocidal 'collective punishment' of the Palestinian people by Israel's Zionist rulers. Middle East studies departments, including distinguished scholars, are among the prime targets of campus witchhunts. But the same forces that would like to see campuses inhabited solely by white frat boys in khakis also want to see a union-free workforce that they can more brutally exploit. They seek a docile, regimented society, all the better to send the sons and daughters of the working people to serve as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars abroad while ripping up even the most minimal gains of previous class and social struggles at home."

Stop the witchhunt! Defend Professor Massad!■

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MOVE...

(continued from page 12)

decision all over again, knowing what I know now, I would make the same decision because I think we cannot permit any terrorist group, any revolutionary group in this city, to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage."

We communists forthrightly said that Wilson Goode was a black front man for Reagan racism. We pointed out: "The liberals now apologize for this calculated obliteration of a black neighborhood—to do otherwise requires a break from the whole myth of the 'new black power' at the voting booth, organized through the Democratic Party of George Wallace and Jesse Jackson. That is why we are now witnessing the obscene spectacle of the black establishment supporting Goode amid the screams of black babies" ("Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!" *WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985). As for Jesse Jackson, he saw in the charred remains of people's lives a chance to push a little black capitalism. Jackson called on Goode to ensure that black contractors got a share of the rebuilding of the homes destroyed! As we wrote in our 31 May 1985 article:

> "Wilson Goode and the firebombing of West Philadelphia are the ultimate proof that the black Democratic mayors are the front men for Reagan's war on black people. In the 1960s as the ghettos burned with black rage and frustration, black mayors were installed in many of America's big cities to put out the fires. But LBJ's firemen are now Reagan's arsonists. It is left to the communists to give organized expression to the felt outrage of the black people in the face of this bloody cop massacre and to fight for the elementary right of black self-defense against the racist terrorists."

In contrast to the reformists, the Spartacist League sought a way to ensure that MOVE would not be made into isolated non-persons and to ensure that they would be defended. Though we did not have a branch in Philadelphia, when we heard that there was to be a demonstration there on 30 May 1985, we sought to mobilize a hundred of our supporters in solidarity with the MOVE victims. But at the last minute, we pulled out when the MOVE organization, for utterly justifiable reasons, said it would not attend. A liberal/left lash-up, involving the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the bourgeois Consumer Party, called the "Citizens' Committee for Justice and Humanity," arrogantly and outrageously debated whether or not to even allow MOVE survivors to be present at their so-called protest! By keeping MOVE out, they were doing Goode's and the cops' work trying to head off a real protest against the gruesome atrocity.

Much to the outrage of the SWP et al., we issued a statement, which the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 May 1985) accurately described: "The Spartacist League, for one, put out a news release from New York City announcing that it would not attend because there was no indication that 'MOVE will be defended or given the respect their martyrdom demands'."

The small demonstration was a travesty. One Shafik Abu-Tahir, who introduced the speakers, said that organizers "wanted it to be made very clear to the city administration and the City of Philadelphia that we are not marching today in support of MOVE" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 31 May 1985).

The ultrareformist U.S. Communist Party labeled MOVE an "anti-social cult group" that "obviously had become a menace to the community," as it bemoaned some of the extreme measures taken against them. The SWP for its part was allied with spokesmen for the pro-Goode types who were shocked by the "excessive" force and concerned for the "respectable" residents whose houses were destroyed. These reformists sat on their hands when Goode appeared before the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Later, at a meeting for Puerto Rican rights, after the chair called for a moment of silence for MOVE, Goode got up and made a sniveling statement which the *Militant* printed without comment.

UPI

In vendetta against MOVE, nearly 600 Philadelphia police besieged their Powelton Village commune in 1978.

Workers World Party also rushed to alibi Goode; their then-leader Sam Marcy wished to assure everyone that "Mayor Goode was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans." This was a lie. Goode was an active participant in the more than year-long planning. He gave the phone authorization for dropping the bomb on May 13 after pausing for 30 seconds. Later, Workers World and its front groups organized a Philly "March Against Racism" whose call did not mention MOVE at all and had not the slightest criticism of Goode.

WV Photo

Ramona Africa, survivor of 1985 MOVE massacre.

The motive of all these political cowards was to minimize the massacre and therefore the complicity of black Democrat Goode. The Philly firebombing was a warning to all black people, and not just black people: don't get out of line, you could be next!

The reformists flinched in the face of the blasts of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive; most so-called leftists ran for cover as Reagan ran Cold War II, and so ended up in the camp of the equally anti-Soviet Democratic Party. The capitulation of these forces that pretended to speak for socialism had important negative consequences. Instead of crystallizing inchoate anger and horror over the atrocity into an indictment of the actual government killers, the fake leftists let the killers off the hook and contributed to an atmosphere where white mobs chanting "MOVE! MOVE!" could rampage through segregated Southwest Philly and then firebomb the homes of a black and integrated couple.

A few left groups, notably the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Progressive Labor (PL), did take a stand in defense of MOVE at the time. In her compelling book, published in 1987, *Attention Move! This Is America!*, Margot Harry, a staff writer for the RCP's paper, makes a convincing case that MOVE members including children were shot by cops while trying to escape and were later dragged into the inferno. PL, for its part, announced a demonstration in Philly on May 18. But when we offered to build and participate in it, PL characteristically refused and had a little sectarian demonstration entirely of their own. (They were later self-critical in *Challenge* about how insignificant it was.)

The Spartacist League exposed the MOVE massacre at a New York City forum on 11 July 1985, where we gave a platform to spokesmen who were then supporters of MOVE to speak of their bitterness at the murder of their family members. This forum upheld the Leninist mandate that the party of the proletariat must be a tribune of the people, leaders who can give a voice to all the oppressed. But even here we were confronted with opposition from supposed leftists. A speaker from the minuscule League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) rose to denounce the meeting as a "sham" and "disgusting" because it didn't polemicize against the victims! About what?! These were courageous people whose families were slaughtered, whose homes were destroyed, whose brothers and sisters were already imprisoned, and who in the midst of their agony were being shunned by the "respectable" sellouts. In any case, who could have thought Marxists had much in common politically with a back-to-nature group like MOVE? To attack them would have been obscene. But that's what the LRP did. They went into print grotesquely reflecting Goode's animus against MOVE, writing that its "lifestyle understandably alienated many neighbors" and that "MOVE's isolation opened it up for a police siege" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Summer 1985). The equally tiny Bolshevik Tendency rushed to solidarize not with MOVE but with the LRP, intimating vilely that the *victims* of racist cop terror were in collusion with the cops! Their revolting article on the July forum was entitled, "SL's Cop-Baiting Celebrity—'Powerful Testimony'...to the Police."

Eight years after the MOVE massacre, on 19 April 1993, Democratic president Bill Clinton and his attorney general, Janet Reno, unleashed the BATF against the integrated Branch Davidian religious group near Waco, Texas. Like MOVE, the Texas group upheld the right of citizens to armed self-defense. Reno ordered the slaughter of 86 innocent men, women and children. If the MOVE massacre was the signature of the Reagan years, the Waco massacre was the bloody mark of Democrat Bill Clinton. The flames of Waco illuminated the basic truth that the capitalist state, whether run by Republicans or Democrats, is a deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed.

A Conspiracy of Terror

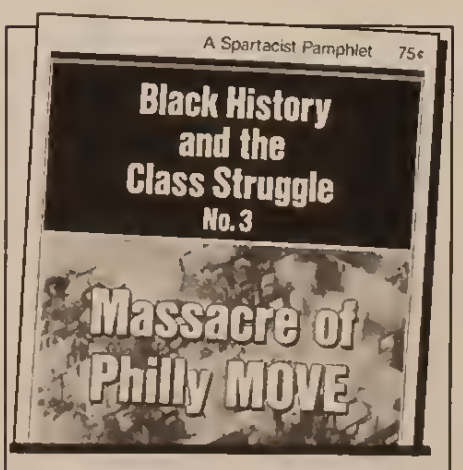
The MOVE bombing had a precedent: on 31 May 1921, the heart of black Tulsa, Oklahoma was obliterated by police bombs dropped from airplanes. The police killed at least 75, mostly black people, and over 4,000 black people were thrown into concentration camps. This was part of a wave of ruling-class racist terror that sought to crush militant black soldiers returning from World War I, who were ready to defend themselves against lynch law while seeking social equality. American capitalism feared such a movement, especially the real possibility that it could link up with Communists inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Decades later that same capitalist hatred of the possibility of blacks and Reds linking struggles also drove much of the government's relentless assault against the Black Panther Party and other radicals in the 1960s.

The capitalist state, including its black-robed "justices," consists at its core of armed bodies of men whose job is to enforce the property rights of the ruling class. In Philadelphia, which has the largest concentration of black people in a very white state, and where palpable racism predates the American Civil War, this truth comes home with a vengeance. The Philadelphia police have a history of racist bonapartism under Frank Rizzo. They focused on smashing black radicalism, especially the Black Panthers, MOVE and the eloquent black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The infamous Stakeout unit which played a prominent role in the cop assault on MOVE in 1985 was fashioned in the turbulent '60s by then-deputy police commissioner and future mayor Frank Rizzo in response to the 1964 eruption of the city's huge black ghetto. This mobile unit of sharpshooters and the political police in the Civil Defense Unit (renamed the Civil Affairs Unit) staged a 1970 raid on the Black Panthers' offices. The same Stakeout unit surrounded the Powelton Village MOVE house during the months of siege prior to August 1978. They saw Mumia as he entered the compound to conduct radio interviews. They seethed with hatred for his sympathetic coverage of the victims of their brutal policies. When the MOVE 9 were sentenced for the death of a cop killed by the police crossfire, it was Mumia who exposed the gross injustice. Several days after the verdict, the presiding judge, Edwin Malmed, was on a local radio show. Mumia called in and asked the judge, "Who shot James Ramp?" Malmed replied, "I haven't the faintest idea."

It was important for the cops' vendetta against MOVE to have Mumia silenced. On the night of 9 December 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal was shot, arrested and framed up on false charges of killing policeman Daniel Faulkner. The first cops to arrive on the scene were Stakeout squad members; the highest ranking officer was Inspector Alfonzo Giordano, a former Stakeout commander. They knew exactly who Mumia was; they had been trying to get him for years, as we have meticulously documented in many articles (see, for example, "Philly Cops' Reign of Terror," *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, August 1998). Six months later, in a kangaroo court presided over by the notoriously racist judge Albert Sabo, Mumia was sentenced to death—and despite massive evidence of his innocence, he remains on death row.

We continue to fight to make sure the workers movement understands the atrocity of Osage Avenue on 13 May 1985. Like the KKK killing of five leftists in Greensboro in 1979, the murders of eleven MOVE members including their children must not be forgotten. We fight for revolutionary struggle based on the independent mobilization of the exploited and oppressed against all wings of the racist rulers to avenge the MOVE martyrs and win black freedom. All the MOVE prisoners and Mumia Abu-Jamal must be freed! Black liberation through socialist revolution!■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Government Bombed Black Philadelphia

"Attention, MOVE. This is America." This ultimatum hoomed through a Philadelphia police bullhorn at dawn on 13 May 1985, opening a hideous siege and the mass murder of eleven members of the MOVE commune, including five children. MOVE, a mostly black back-to-nature group, had been in the Philly cops' gun sights for years. The cops bombed MOVE's home 20 years ago, burning down the neat Osage Avenue neighborhood of black homeowners and torching over 60 densely packed row houses, leaving hundreds homeless. It was a crime worthy of the U.S. imperialists or Nazi SS during World War II.

Ronald Reagan, fresh from saluting Nazi SS graves in Bitburg, his attorney general Edwin Meese, the FBI, the Philly cops and black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode were all responsible. "Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists—Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!" we headlined (*WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985). Today, 20 years later, the state continues its vendetta against MOVE and its most eloquent defender, Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up and sent to death row in 1982. We must keep alive the memory of what happened—the surviving victims are still being punished, and the criminals in government are still terrorizing black America.

The Philadelphia police's targeting of MOVE goes back to the mid '70s. Beginning in early 1978, the police besieged MOVE's Powelton Village commune, launching, in August, a 600-strong police attack. In the barrage of police gunfire, one member of the Philadelphia Police Department's notorious "Stakeout" squad was killed by crossfire. The vicious police brutality captured on tape and the frame-up trial of MOVE members for that death kept the city on edge for months. Nine MOVE members were sentenced to 30 to 100 years. MOVE continued to vociferously protest this frame-up over the years, while the cops were still out for blood.

On 13 May 1985, at 5:27 p.m., the head of the Philadelphia Bomb Disposal Unit dropped a large satchel charge from a helicopter onto the roof of the MOVE home at 6221 Osage Avenue, ending the siege that had begun 12 hours earlier. The bomb, a powerful mixture of Tovex and the controlled military plastic explosive known as C-4, set off a heat blast of 7,200 degrees Fahrenheit, turning roof tar into flammable liquid, wood splinters into flying debris, and shattering windows a half block away. Despite the presence of 150 firefighters manning 37 pieces of equipment, the huge fire was allowed to rage out of control. As the flames raced through the MOVE residence, some of the hundreds of heavily armed cops on the scene were seen laughing and joking. When those trapped inside tried to flee the inferno, they were met with automatic weapons fire designed to force them back into the fire. The fire was not declared under control until after midnight, after it had gutted or destroyed 61 row homes, more than an entire block.

The murderous assault on MOVE capped off an entire day of kill-crazed police mobilization by hundreds of cops. Fifteen minutes after Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor's dawn ultimatum, the cops began launching tear gas and smoke containers into the house and pumping nearly 640,000 gallons of water at the roof to dislodge a defensive bunker MOVE had constructed there. Then came a furious fusillade as cops opened up on the house with fire from a powerful arsenal which included M-16s, 12-gauge shotguns, Browning automatic rifles and .357 Magnums, along with Uzi submachine guns, M-60 machine guns, a .45 calibre Thompson submachine gun and a 20mm antitank gun. Over 10,000 rounds of ammunition were poured into the house. The cop assault also included two "insertion" teams which attempted to blast their way into the MOVE house by setting off explosions from adjoining houses.

Collusion between Reagan's Justice Department and Philadelphia officials became clear as the smoke cleared. Sambor and his aides went over plans for the assault in the days before May 13 with FBI agents and according to Sambor, "The FBI found the plan sound." It was also revealed that a portion of the heavy-duty weaponry used in the attack came from an agent of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), the same bureau one of whose agents had helped organize a Klan/Nazi attack killing five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. It was revealed that the FBI had supplied Philadelphia cops with *38 pounds* of the extremely powerful military explosive C-4.

The five children killed were Tomaso Africa, Katricia "Tree" Dotson, Zenetta Dotson, Delicia Africa and Phil Africa, ranging in age from nine to 15. The adults killed were Conrad Africa, Theresa Africa, Raymond Africa, Rhonda Africa, Frank Africa and John Africa, the inspirational leader of MOVE (members took the last name "Africa").

13 May 1985 MOVE Massacre

Barger/WCAU-TV

May 1985: Police helicopter drops bomb on MOVE home in black neighborhood. Eleven MOVE members, including five children, were killed, and 61 homes were destroyed.

UPI

Ramona Africa: Convicted for Surviving

Ramona Africa was the sole adult survivor of the firebombing. In January 1986, in the fashion of bourgeois justice, the victim was criminalized. Ramona was charged with aggravated assault, reckless endangerment, conspiracy and riot. Acting as her own lawyer, Ramona stated that the charges should be brought against her accusers: "You know a bomb was dropped on me and my family. Police officers have acknowledged that they have fired 10,000 rounds of ammunition on me and my family. If that's not assault, if that's not reckless endangering, if that's not, in fact, murder, even according to the description you have of aggravated assault and conspiracy, I don't know what is."

The prosecution sought to rule out any evidence of the police firebombing, and jurors were specifically told not to consider any of the events after the early morning of the assault. Prosecutors were eager to rule out testimony about attempts that MOVE members made to surrender as the assault proceeded. The only MOVE child to survive, Birdie Africa, testified that before he passed out he saw Tree and Phil Africa running down the back alley toward Cohhs Creek Parkway. Yet their remains were found in the burned-out building. This gives another sinister twist to the decision to let the building burn: the cops may well have been trying to destroy the evidence of clear racist homicide. It also underlies the ghoulish use by the cops of a demolition crane that purposefully mangled the corpses in the smoldering rubble.

Throughout her trial, Ramona Africa defiantly attempted to turn the tables on the real criminals. When black mayor Wilson Goode himself was forced to testify, Ramona asked him pointblank, "Are you a liar?" Though her only "crime" was surviving the massacre, Ramona Africa was nonetheless convicted of "riot" and "conspiracy" and sentenced to 16 months to seven years. She served every day of the maximum sentence in Pennsylvania's Muncy prison, where she joined other MOVE women, including the mothers of the children killed on May 13.

In an interview in early May this year with *Workers Vanguard*, Ramona Africa noted that she was put away for years, but not one single public official responsible for the multiple MOVE murders has spent even a day in jail. She challenged the government's lie that they were acting on complaints of neighhors: "Since when has the government cared about black people complaining ahout their neighbors? That ought to show you this whole thing was a fraud.... They had only one agenda: the extermination of MOVE."

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, sent monthly stipends to Ramona Africa throughout her incarceration. The PDC took up the cause of the nine MOVE members already imprisoned as a result of the 1978 Powelton Village police attack. The PDC today continues to send monthly stipends to those still in prison: Debbie Africa, Janine Africa, Janet Africa, Delbert Africa, Chuck Africa, Eddie Africa, Mike Africa and Phil Africa. We do not forget that Merle Africa died in prison having spent almost two decades in the racist, overcrowded dungeons of Pennsylvania.

Reformist Left Tailed Black Democrats, Abandoned MOVE

Rarely does a historical event demonstrate with such crystalline clarity the dividing lines of this racist, oppressive society. The MOVE massacre was an acid test for all who claimed to represent the interests of the working class and the cause of black liberation. And it was a test that was failed spectacularly hy the liberals, as well as the reformists and centrists who were tailing the black Democrats running many of America's big cities. They didn't want to embarrass Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's first hlack Democratic Party mayor, who was up to his neck in the MOVE massacre. The day after the slaughter, Goode, who had monitored the killing on TV, and was consulted throughout the attack, took full responsibility: "If I had to make the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 849 C-701 27 May 2005

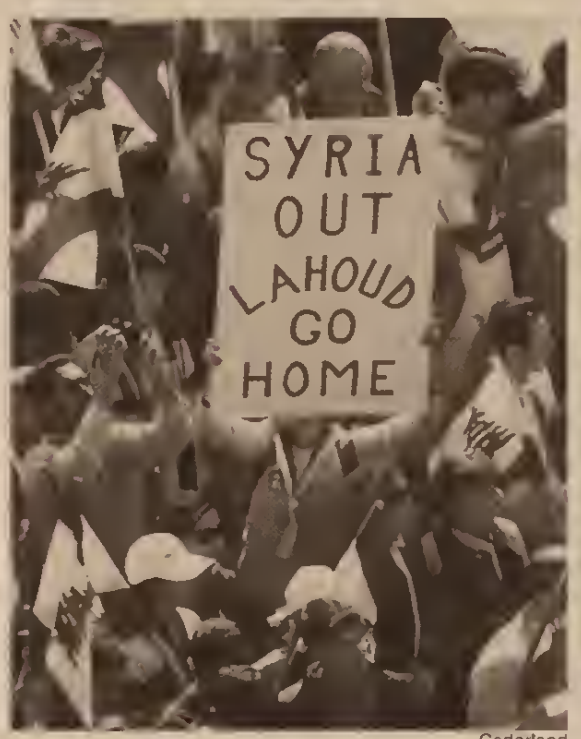
U.S. Hands Off Syria!

Lebanon: Imperialist Intrigues and the Spectre of Civil War

Since the assassination of former prime minister Rafik al-Hariri in a massive explosion on the streets of Beirut on February 14, Lebanon has been in the grip of political turmoil. American imperialists and the anti-Syrian "opposition" in Lebanon immediately pointed fingers at Syria. Not to be left out of the spoils this time, French imperialism, Syria and Lebanon's former colonial ruler, joined in to call for withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon. In September of last year, France and the U.S. jointly sponsored a UN resolution (1559) demanding the disarming of the Hezbollah militia and the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon. Seizing upon al-Hariri's assassination, the so-called opposition, led by factions of the Christian Maronites, Druze and Sunni Muslims, organized demonstrations protesting the presence of Syrian forces. The Shi'ite Hezbollah countered with its own demonstrations that denounced U.S. meddling in Lebanon and expressed "gratitude" for Syrian troops in the country (though, notably, they did not call for the Syrian troops to stay).

In a false, made-for-television display of "national unity," both pro- and anti-Syrian demonstrators wrapped themselves in the Lebanese flag, abandoned their distinctive sectarian military fatigues and sang the national anthem. However, behind the thin façade of unity lie deep communal fissures fueled by centuries-old mutual hatred. In Lebanon, which has never been an integrated, united country, allegiance is first and foremost to the communal or religious sect. On Martyrs' Square, where the opposition pitched a tent city, each group kept to its own tent. As Moustafa Bayoumi wrote (*London Review of Books*, 5 May): "Unity is called for over and over again at the camp, but its geography demonstrates the confessional divisions that exist in the country itself." It was no accident that the Christians kept to the east of the square and Muslims to the west. "The crowds were meeting on the front lines that had separated the Lebanese during the civil war," wrote Robert Fisk, "indeed, on the very location of the Christian-Muslim trenches of that conflict" (London *Independent*, 9 March).

Syria's troops have pulled out. And now, with legislative elections set to begin on May 29, the opposition is breaking apart and a new lineup is forming of various Muslim groupings on one side and Christians on the other. Behind everything happening in Lebanon today stands the ghost of the brutal civil war that haunted that country for 15 years beginning in 1975. More than 150,000 people were killed and at least another 100,000 were wounded. Beirut, one of the most beautiful cities in the Near East, was turned into a pile of rubble.



Cedarland

AP

Left: March 14 Beirut protest by "opposition" mobilized over one million people demanding withdrawal of Syrian troops. Right: At March 8 protest organized by Hezbollah, demonstrators carry picture of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad, denounce U.S. meddling in Lebanon.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The opposition's campaign against Syria has fomented chauvinist attacks against the estimated half million migrant Syrian workers in the country. According to Amnesty International, dozens of Syrian workers have been killed and scores of others beaten, shot, threatened or robbed in Lebanon since the assassination of al-Hariri. Thousands have left the country. Tents and temporary housings were set on fire. The aftermath of the assassination also saw a series of criminal bombings in predominantly Christian neighborhoods and shopping areas, evoking the memory of the civil war.

Bubbling with glee over the anti-Syrian demonstrations, Western bourgeois media hailed them with such grandiose names as "cedar revolution," "people power," "mini Ukraine," etc. Some Beirut residents aptly called them the "Gucci revolution" because so "many of those waving the Lebanese flag on the street are really very unlikely protesters," a BBC correspondent reported. He went on:

> "There are girls in tight skirts and high heels, carrying expensive leather bags, as well as men in business suits or trendy tennis shoes. And in one unforgettable scene an elderly lady, her hair all done up, was demonstrating alongside her Sri Lankan domestic helper, telling her to wave the flag and teaching her the Arabic words of the slogans."

What is taking place in Lebanon is a falling-out among equally corrupt gangs of warlords and robber barons. Those who call themselves the opposition today, for years worked hand in glove with the brutal Syrian regime. The leaders of the myriad religious and communal groups have every one of them been in treacherous, murderous shifting alliances against every other one. The essence of Lebanon's political scene was aptly captured by the Levant correspondent for the London *Economist* (5 November 1983). Reporting on the "national reconciliation" conference held in Geneva in the fall of 1983 in the midst of the civil war, he wrote:

> "To compare this week's conference of Lebanese faction bosses in Geneva with a gathering of Mafia godfathers might be unfair to the Mafia, because it has never eliminated several hundred victims in a single day. There can seldom have been so many delegates around a table who were directly and personally responsible for killing the followers of fellow delegates."

The bourgeois press declares that al-Hariri had a "vision of prosperous Lebanon." However, the wealth generated by his opulent downtown Beirut construction projects following the civil war did not trickle down to the desperately impoverished Shi'ites in the south, the slum dwellers of Beirut's Belt of Misery, the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees and Syrian migrant workers whom he exploited. Nor did it reach the mass of Lebanese working people, down whose throats al-Hariri shoved IMF-imposed austerity measures. When workers went on strike and took to the streets protesting high prices and demanding wage increases, al-Hariri unleashed his gendarmes on them. In May of last year, his troops shot at striking workers in the Shi'ite suburb of Hay al-Sellom, killing five people. It was not the first time that al-Hariri's security forces attacked demonstrators. In 1993, the army shot at demonstrators protesting the Oslo agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, killing more than a dozen.

The real estate magnate al-Hariri built his fortune through shady connections with the parasitic Saudi royal family, which rules on the basis of Wahabism, an extreme version of Sunni Islam. The Saudis granted al-Hariri citizenship, a privilege denied millions of Arabs and Asians toiling in the kingdom for decades. He maintained longtime close friendships with the likes of Iyad Allawi, the American puppet in Baghdad, and French imperialist president Jacques Chirac.

Whoever was behind the assassination of al-Hariri (whether the CIA, the Israeli

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Defend the Cuban Revolution!

Extradite *Gusano* Terrorist to Havana!

Last week the American government finally "captured" an actual terrorist in the U.S. On May 17, weeks after he waltzed across the U.S. border and announced he would seek asylum, counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusano* (worm) Luis Posada Carriles was arrested by officials of the Department of Homeland Security—not on terrorism charges, but for entering the country in violation of immigration laws. That same day, before his detention was announced, hundreds of thousands marched in Havana demanding Posada's arrest. For the Bush administration, which routinely calls headline-grabbing press conferences to announce the latest triumph in the "war on terror"—such as the closing of charities which donated to hospitals and schools in the Near East or the New York City arrest of teenage girls alleged to be suicide bombers—Posada's "arrest" was no cause for celebration. This bloodthirsty killer was one of their own, a former CIA employee with a four-decade résumé of terrorism which includes the downing of a civilian airliner and the bombing of a Havana hotel. We say: Send Posada back to Cuba to be tried by his victims!

Chapman/Miami Herald

Counterrevolutionary terrorist Luis Posada Carriles at Florida news conference before his arrest.

On New Year's Day 1959, a peasant guerrilla army led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara overthrew the U.S. puppet dictator Batista in Cuba. Over the next year and a half, largely in response to imperialist provocations, the Cuban government expropriated the capitalist and foreign imperialist holdings, consolidating a deformed workers state by the fall of 1960. Ever since then, U.S. imperialism has been waging 'a terrorist war against the tiny island state of Cuba. Posada, a Cuban exile, enlisted with the CIA before the 1961 invasion of the Cuban Bay of Pigs during the Democratic Kennedy administration. He later joined the Venezuelan intelligence service in 1969 and, according to declassified U.S. government documents, left it in 1974. Posada spent nine years in a Venezuelan prison for the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner (during George Bush Sr.'s reign as CIA director) in which 73 people were killed. Among the victims were teenage members of the Cuban fencing team. Posada "escaped" from prison in 1985 after his *gusano* friends in Miami paid the warden $28,000, and he then joined a CIA operation in El Salvador to assist Oliver North's operation arming the Nicaraguan contra murderers who carried out their own war of terror against the Sandinistas in Nicaragua—blowing up bridges, power plants and schools, attacking hospitals and burning crops.

Though he denies taking part in the 1976 airplane bombing, FBI documents place Posada at two meetings at which the attack was planned, and an FBI report a day after the bombing records a source who "all but admitted that Posada and [Orlando] Bosch had engineered the bombing of the airline." Posada has admitted masterminding bombings of tourist spots in Havana in 1997 that killed an Italian businessman. Posada and three others linked to the terrorist Omega 7 outfit were arrested and imprisoned for plotting the assassination of Castro at a regional summit meeting in Panama in 2000; they were pardoned by the outgoing Panamanian president last August.

In a 1998 interview, Posada bragged about his years of work with the Company: "The CIA taught us everything—everything. They taught us explosives, how to kill, bomb, trained us in acts of sabotage. When the Cubans were working for the CIA, they were called patriots. 'Acciones de sabotage' was the term they used to classify this type of operation. Now they call it terrorism. The times have changed."

Well, let's not jump to conclusions. Posada's presence in the U.S. has been a public secret for weeks, evoking fears among sectors of the ruling class that harboring this known killer would expose the hypocrisy of the U.S. rulers' "war on terror," which in reality is a war on immigrants, blacks and labor and any country that Washington wants to run roughshod over. In a letter to Homeland Security secretary Michael Chertoff, Democratic Congressman William Delahunt wrote, "Our sudden timidity with regard to a particular terrorist threatens to undermine the fundamental credibility of our global effort." Delahunt's chief of staff Steven Schwadron added, "Mr. Posada does not belong in the United States."

It is conceivable that the U.S. may deport Posada to a friendly government that will allow him to live out his life in ease and comfort. But, if the U.S. rulers have their way, it is unlikely that Posada will ever be called to account for his crimes. Posada's partner in terror, Orlando Bosch, today soaks up the sun in Miami. Imprisoned in Venezuela with Posada, Bosch was released in 1987 after the intervention by U.S. ambassador Otto Reich and flown to the U.S. where he was arrested. Over FBI objections, the first president Bush pardoned Bosch in 1990. Two years later, he was granted permanent residency. The Venezuelan government of Hugo Chávez has sought Posada's extradition to face outstanding charges of homicide, treason and possession and manufacture of weapons of war. A statement issued by the Department of Homeland Security said it "does not generally remove people to Cuba" or "to countries believed to be acting on Cuba's behalf," a clear reference to the close relationship between Venezuela and Cuba.

While counterrevolutionary *gusano* scum like Bosch plot further acts of terror against Cuba, five courageous Cuban citizens are imprisoned in the U.S. for terms of 15 years to life on bogus charges of espionage and murder. Arrested by Democratic president Bill Clinton's FBI in 1998, the "crime" of the Miami Five was to monitor and infiltrate *gusano* exile groups in Florida in order to report on their plans, as well as those of the U.S. military, for attacks and other provocations against Cuba. In a message to the American people issued shortly after their conviction in 2001, the Miami Five proudly asserted that Cuba, which "has heroically survived four decades of aggressions and threats to its national security, of subversive plans, sabotages and destabilization, has every right to defend itself from its enemies who keep using the U.S. territory to plan, organize and finance terrorist actions." We demand: *Free the Miami Five!*

Cuba has provided refuge to American black activists who have found themselves in the gun sights of the racist kill-crazy cops. In early May, the FBI increased the bounty on the head of Assata Shakur, former member of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army, to $1 million. Shakur has been in Cuba since she escaped prison in 1979, sentenced to life on frame-up charges of killing a New Jersey state trooper. On 22 May 1973, Shakur, Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli were flagged down by state troopers, who immediately began blazing away with their guns, killing Zayd Shakur. One of the troopers was killed in the crossfire—with a bullet from a police revolver. Assata Shakur, shot by the cops while sitting in the back of the car with her hands over her head, nearly died from the wounds. In a classic example of racist capitalist "justice," the two black militants who survived were convicted on charges of killing the cop and their own comrade! Acoli remains in a prison hell over 30 years later. *Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli!*

For 45 years, American administrations, Democratic as well as Republican, have tried to crush the gains of the Cuban Revolution by a combination of military encirclement, a starvation embargo and an unbroken series of terrorist attacks. The smashing of capitalist class rule and creation of a workers state, albeit deformed under the rule of the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy, brought tremendous gains to the Cuban population, from free medical care to jobs, housing and education. We fight for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution, and call for a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. Key to the defense of the Cuban Revolution is our fight to forge a revolutionary workers party in the U.S. that can lead the American proletariat to victory in the struggle to sweep away capitalist rule in the U.S. *Extradite Posada to Cuba to face justice!* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Revolutionary Struggle Against Imperialism and War

Groups claiming to be socialist have built the movement against the Iraq war and occupation around a pacifist program designed to appeal to "antiwar" bourgeois politicians. Writing in 1935, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained how such pacifist, class-less appeals to "unity" perpetuate the capitalist system by reinforcing illusions that it can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. In fighting to forge the Fourth International in the years leading up to World War II, Trotsky stressed that only workers revolution can put an end to imperialist war.

The war danger, which is a life and death question for the people, is the supreme test for all the groupings and tendencies within the working class. "The struggle for peace," "the struggle against war," "war on war," and similar slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle. The only way to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The only way to overthrow the bourgeoisie is by a revolutionary assault....

Marxists irreconcilably reject the pacifist slogans of "disarmament," "arbitration," and "amity between peoples" (i.e., between capitalist governments), etc., as opium for the popular masses. The combinations between working class organizations and petty-bourgeois pacifists...render the best service to imperialism by distracting the attention of the working class from reality with its grave struggles and beguiling them instead with impotent parades.

The struggle against war and imperialism cannot be the task of any sort of special "committees." The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution, that is to say, the task of working class parties and of the International. Marxists pose this great task before the proletarian vanguard, without any frills....

The initiative of a conscious minority, a scientific program, bold and ceaseless agitation in the name of clearly formulated aims, merciless criticism of all ambiguity—those are some of the most important factors for the victory of the proletariat. Without a fused and steeled revolutionary party a socialist revolution is inconceivable.

—Leon Trotsky, "Open Letter for the Fourth International," Spring 1935

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 24 May.

No. 849 **27 May 2005**

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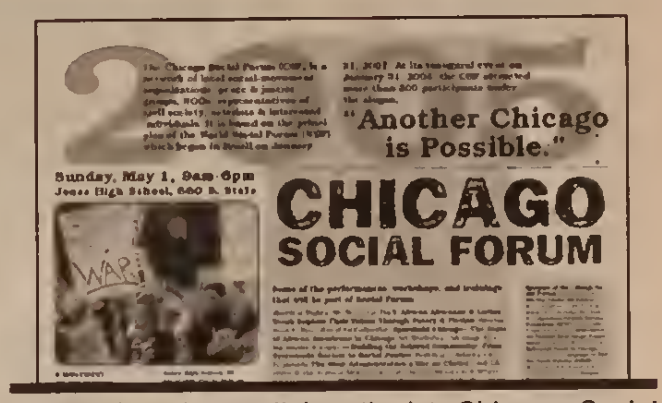
Spartacists Intervene at Chicago Social Forum

Ford Foundation, CIA and the Social Forums



Leaflet for class-collaborationist Chicago Social Forum, based on "principles" of World Social Forum.

What do the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), French premier Jacques Chirac and the Ford Foundation, front men for the CIA, have in common? They are all snuggled up together in the Social Forum movement...and it's not a pretty sight. On May 1, the ISO, RCP and a smorgasbord of liberals, community groups and leftists hosted the second annual Chicago Social Forum (CSF) under the theme "Another Chicago is Possible." Our comrades from the Chicago Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Club attended and aggressively intervened to oppose and expose the social forums as nothing more than an expression of class collaboration, putting forward our program of revolutionary struggle against capitalism. We sold 50 copies of *Workers Vanguard* to the 300 CSF participants, particularly to youth interested in revolutionary Marxism.

The social forums have a pretense of fighting against poverty and oppression. But far from offering any solution to the enormous miseries of world capitalism, the World Social Forum (WSF) was set up in the aftermath of the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle, and subsequent mass protests against the WTO and IMF internationally, in order to ensure that those who oppose the depredations of capitalism do not challenge the capitalist system itself. An article titled "Economics and Politics of the World Social Forum" in *Aspects of India's Economy* (September 2003) described this process:

> "Attempts by the ruling circles of those countries to suppress this movement met with no success; indeed, the movement grew. It was in this context that the WSF was initiated by ATTAC, a French NGO (non-governmental organisation) platform devoted to lobbying international financial institutions to reform and humanise themselves, and by the Brazilian Workers Party, whose leftist image and 'participatory' techniques of government have not prevented it from scrupulously implementing the stipulations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)."

This insightful article details a calculated strategy to prevent struggle that might challenge the framework of capitalism by creating a modern day popular front: a class-collaborationist political bloc of working-class parties with capitalist parties in which the politics of the working-class component of the bloc are subordinated to the politics of the bourgeoisie, to the defense of the bourgeois state and capitalism. As then-Trotskyist leader James Burnham pointed out in his 1937 pamphlet, "The People's Front, the New Betrayal":

> "For the proletariat, through its parties, to give up its own independent program means to give up its independent functioning as a class. And this is precisely the meaning of the People's Front. In the People's Front the proletariat renounces its *class* independence, gives up its *class* aims—the *only* aims, as Marxism teaches, which can serve its interests. By accepting the program of the People's Front, it thereby accepts the aims of another section of society; it accepts the aim of the defense of capitalism when all history demonstrates that the interests of the proletariat can be served only by the overthrow of capitalism."

The *Aspects* article further details:

> "While several political forces fighting for a change of the system have been excluded from the WSF meets, droves of political leaders of the imperialist countries have been attending. Not only does the WSF as a body receive funds from agencies which are tied to imperialist interests and operations, but innumerable bodies participating in the WSF too are dependent on such agencies. The implications of this can be seen from the history of one such agency, Ford Foundation, which has closely collaborated with the US Central Intelligence Agency internationally, and in India has helped to shape the government's policies in favour of American interests."

As the article notes: "One indeed does not have to be a Marxist to understand that 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'." Thus, ATTAC leader Susan George opposes calls to replace or abolish the IMF, while ATTAC affirms that "the right to capitalist property includes the right to hire and fire. The question is knowing up to what point." And these are the forces with which avowed socialists like the ISO have joined in an attempt to rope young people into dead-end attempts to reform capitalism rather than fighting to destroy it.

AP

Simone Bruno

Left: Brazilian cops attack landless workers movement (MST) protesters in Brasilia, May 17. Right: Lula, head of Brazilian popular-front government, speaking at World Social Forum in Porto Alegre earlier this year.

For the Political Independence of the Working Class!

Popular fronts have historically issued out of mass working-class and social upheavals and have been called on specifically to crush with muscle and deception any potential for workers revolution. A classic, tragic example is that of Chile in 1973, where Salvador Allende and his fellow reformists led the revolutionary-minded working class into a coalition government with their class enemies, the capitalists. Allende vowed not to challenge the capitalist order or the state; he put an end to peasants seizing land, workers seizing factories. Aided by U.S. imperialism, the Chilean bourgeoisie then turned to General Augusto Pinochet to attack the working class and its leaders (including Allende) at the cost of at least 30,000 lives, imposing a savage military dictatorship.

Today, popular fronts are called upon by the rulers to sell austerity to the workers more effectively than the discredited bourgeois parties can. The Brazilian government is the quintessential example of this today, where, as head of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT), Luis Inácio Lula da Silva now sits as President. His "fiscal orthodoxy" imposed upon the impoverished Brazilian working class has earned Lula the praise of the IMF and the World Bank. At the last WSF earlier this year, Lula was roundly hooed by many of the attendees. Many may oppose Lula's open pandering to and collaboration with the IMF and World Bank. But the truth is that Lula represents the politics and program of the WSF on the level of state power.

The fundamental dividing line in capitalist society is between the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalists own the means of production—the factories, mines, means of transport, etc. —and derive their profit through the exploitation of the workers. The potential social power of the working class is derived from the fact that it has its hands directly on these means of production. The interests of the workers and the capitalists are irreconcilable. Only the working class has the social power and objective interest to sweep away the capitalist order and its state, seize the means of production and establish a planned, collectivized economy, which, on a world scale, lays the basis for the elimination of scarcity, social classes and all forms of oppression.

In "The People's Front, the New Betrayal," Burnham explained:

> "Marxism always approaches every social, political, and historical question from the point of view of the class struggle. The basic conflict in modern society—capitalist society—is, according to Marxism, the conflict and struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This conflict must continue, and progressively deepen, until capitalism, on a world scale, is overthrown, and the bourgeoisie defeated, and liquidated as a class. Only the two basic classes of modern society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—are capable of independent historical action, and thus of formulating independent social and political programs. Reduced to simplest terms, the program of the bourgeoisie is the defense of the capitalist order; the program of the proletariat, its overthrow. The intermediary classes, however they may try to escape it, always in actuality support one side or another in the basic conflict."

Sellout Pays Tribute to Spartacists

The backdrop to the WSF is the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the subsequent proclamation by world capitalist rulers that "communism is dead." While never really standing for the program of socialist revolution, our opponents on the left used to give occasional lip service to the goal of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Today, however, imbued with "death of communism" ideology, they've largely dropped talk of socialism as a "pipe dream" and are latching onto forces increasingly distant from the working class. An RCPer at the Chicago Social Forum told us that they changed their paper's name from *Revolutionary Worker* to *Revolution* because there are "many other revolutionary forces." Another prominent RCP member proclaimed outright, "The proletariat can't save us."

As the *Aspects* article points out, while ensuring representation and attendance from capitalist governments, the WSF charter has a clause intended to "block certain 'undesirable' radical parties and

continued on page 8

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United...

(continued from page 12)

objected to United's getting another chance at a federal loan application last summer, in part to force United to eliminate its pensions so they could follow suit! The industrial unions, organized in the mass struggles of the 1930s, won defined-benefit pensions after the end of World War II. As a result, tens of millions of workers were able to enjoy a level of economic security in old age. Today, ever fewer are covered by such pensions, and now there is an increasing likelihood of the bosses scrapping them altogether. Hobbled by debt, the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC), the federal insurance agency responsible for taking over defaulted pensions, might itself go belly up, completely erasing even the reduced payments it offers retirees.

Going forward, United is replacing its pension plans with 401(k)s, mostly paid for by the workers themselves from their own paychecks, with the actual benefits dependent on the vagaries of Wall Street parasites. It is a shift in the onus of retirement security from the company to the individual worker, and parallels what Bush would like to do to Social Security.

It is telling that the bosses' government, through Democrats and Republicans alike, has hastened this shift to 401(k)s, while Congress still provides its own members with very generous defined-benefit pensions. Lawmakers can retire as young as 50 and collect in excess of $100,000 a year, with automatic cost-of-living adjustments. As for United CEO Glenn Tilton, his $4.5 million pension trust goes untouched.

Capitalism is marked by a relentless drive to wring more from the working class. Declaring bankruptcy, as United has done, is now a routine scam to turn the screws on labor and make the workers pay off the company's creditors. But while White House officials advise companies like Delta Airlines to file Chapter 11, Congress has imposed more than 100 new constraints on families facing bankruptcy. From single mothers sinking under a mountain of debt to the elderly trying to keep their homes, working people are to be sacrificed to the vultures at the banks.

"Employee Ownership": An ESOP Fable

Nowhere is this clearer than at United, where creditors like Citigroup and J.P. Morgan call the shots, not "employee owners." The myth of employee ownership dates from 1994, when union officials convinced workers to accept massive wage cuts in exchange for employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs) and three seats on the board of directors, promising that "ownership" would shield them against future layoffs.

The ESOPs epitomize the fraud of the partnership of labor and capital preached by the trade-union bureaucracy. Whether or not union representatives sit on the board of directors, the company must cut costs under the pressure of competition and the demands of investors for profit. We warned at the time that any such "partnerships" would only subordinate workers' interests to the company's bottom line:

> "Even if the workers had 100 percent, it wouldn't make a fundamental difference. Workers have no control whatsoever over the capitalist market, which is inherently anarchic. At the first financial difficulty they would be at the mercy of the banks.... To 'save jobs' by making one airline 'more competitive' is to drive down the living standards of all."
>
> —"Phony 'Worker Ownership' at United Airlines," (*WV* No. 593, 4 February 1994)

AP

May 10: United workers protest as airline's chief financial officer Jake Brace speaks with reporters following federal ruling axing workers' pensions.

United's bankruptcy wiped out the ESOPs; since this carrier's profits first took a nose dive five years ago, United has shrunk to 60 percent of its former size, slashing some 40,000 jobs, including half the mechanics. When management demanded concessions in 2002, the response of the union misleaders was to form a coalition, not to organize a fight against givebacks, but as a measure to achieve savings for the company; they eventually negotiated away $2.5 billion a year.

Now management wants more and has turned to the courts to tear up union contracts. Flight attendants, mechanics and fleet service workers, insulted and harassed, their livelihoods at stake, have overwhelmingly authorized strikes to fight these concessions. But struggle is anathema to the union tops, who keep coming back to the membership with rehashed concessionary contracts. Last week, Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) officials rolled over, agreeing to a tentative settlement largely indistinguishable from the one United mechanics voted down in January. For its part, the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) has hatched a campaign to pressure the board of directors into removing United CEO Tilton. It threatens job actions, not to fight for what workers need, but to get a new CEO who *might* rob them a little less!

Meanwhile, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) officials' deadline to sell out was extended to May 31 by the court. The treachery of the IAM leaders spurred United mechanics to vote in AMFA in 2003, a craft union trading on crass craft prejudice. AMFA leaders are known to show a contemptuous disregard for the unskilled, often immigrant, cleaners organized in the mechanic work groups they represent. This parochial unionism also finds expression in protectionist laments over the loss of "American jobs" as companies outsource more maintenance work to overseas contractors. Divisions by craft and company, which virtually all the union tops regularly reinforce, are a set-up for victimization. That AMFA is no "militant" alternative was shown when its national director advised United after its federal loan application was denied last summer: "You've got to gut the pension plans. I don't see any other way" (*New York Times*, 2 July 2004). Instead, airline workers need a single industry-wide union of all workers, from baggage handlers to pilots, to facilitate strike action. This would also assist in taking the pension money out of the hands of the companies and putting it under the union's control, as the mine workers once did with their health and welfare fund.

The future of the airline unions is on the line. The capitalists have their weapons: laws like the Railway Labor Act (RLA) and the state, embodied in the courts, the cops and ultimately the army, to enforce them. Workers have their own weapons based on their social power to shut down the industry. But rather than fight, the pro-capitalist union tops hide behind these anti-labor laws as an excuse to head off class struggle. In its place, they pursue government lobbying, which is nothing but an attempt to find common cause where there is none with the bosses' political representatives, especially those in the Democratic Party.

The Bush administration might take a sadistic pleasure in ratcheting up attacks on working people's living standards, but the Democrats are no friends of labor. It was Democrats like Ted Kennedy and then-president Jimmy Carter who unleashed the war on airline unions with deregulation in 1978. Bill Clinton invoked the RLA *14 times* to ban potential rail and airline strikes, including a 1997 walkout by American Airlines pilots. In fact, the airlines were given a green light in their attack on retirement benefits with last year's Pension Funding Equity Act, overwhelmingly supported by the Democrats. This legislation allowing airline and steel companies to defer pension payments was supported by many union tops at the time on the ludicrous assumption that it would convince companies not to terminate their plans. Break with the Democrats!

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

Workers at United, and more widely in the industry, are in a precarious situation. Mismanagement, high fuel prices and ruthless competition have put almost every company in the red. Companies may fold or merge, like US Airways and America West, throwing workers onto the streets. Yet as the votes rejecting concessions and authorizing strikes show, many airline workers want to take a stand. Fear that the company may go under is manipulated to intimidate workers into accepting devastating concessions. The best measure of protection is to fight together, as no single work group or even company workforce is likely to fend off the bosses on its own.

A hard-fought battle is necessary and could inspire a broader upsurge in class struggle—not fighting only assures greater misery in the future. The unions must make use of their weapons: their numbers, organization and collective muscle. The watchword should he "One out, all out; shut down the airports!" After all, the carriers cannot outsource everyone's job. Further, the crisis in the industry is worldwide; airline workers would find allies among unionized labor at their companies overseas and among those workers in struggle at foreign carriers. Organizing the unorganized at the non-union outfits like JetBlue and third-party contractors and fighting for equal pay for equal work at the carriers' regional affiliates are key.

Airline workers have enormous clout. Air transport is vital to a modern industrial economy, moving passengers, a significant volume of mail and highly time-sensitive cargo for businesses. While air freight is only a small fraction of the country's total trade when measured by volume, in dollar value, aircraft transport accounted for 26 percent of U.S. imports and exports in 2003. The U.S. military heavily relies on civilian airlines to move its troops and cargo rapidly during its war mobilizations, as in the imperialist attack against Iraq.

Due to the disruption to the economy it would cause, an airline strike would immediately come up against the capitalist state. United Airlines, for one, is now enforcing seldom-used rules and threatening to use the RLA to fire all who strike. This makes it critical for the unions to organize independently of the bosses' state and in defiance of its anti-labor laws.

When the smashing of PATCO opened a new era of union-busting, the AFL-CIO "labor lieutenants of capital" substituted an impotent consumer boycott for the effective strike action needed. In 1989 they betrayed the hugely popular Eastern Airlines strike by crawling to Congress and keeping the strike from spreading. The brutal givebacks and all-sided shredding of our rights today again pose point-blank the importance of having a class-struggle leadership. At the same time, the international crisis in this vital industry is an indictment of the anarchy and irrationality of capitalist production and screams out for centralized socialist economic planning. What's necessary is to forge a workers party to fight for a workers government and the expropriation of the capitalist class. ■

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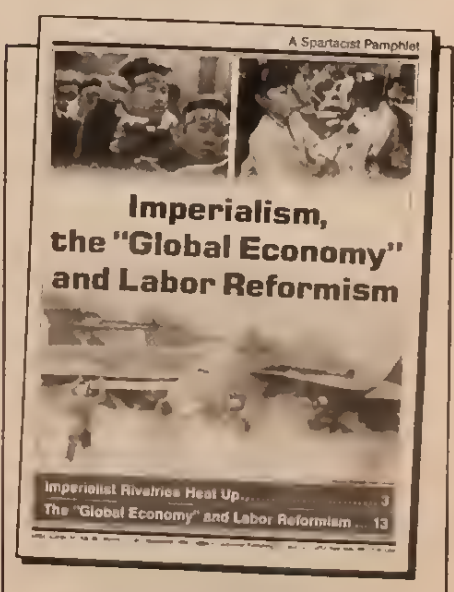

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Free the MOVE Prisoners! Free Mumia!

MOVE Massacre: We Will Not Forget!

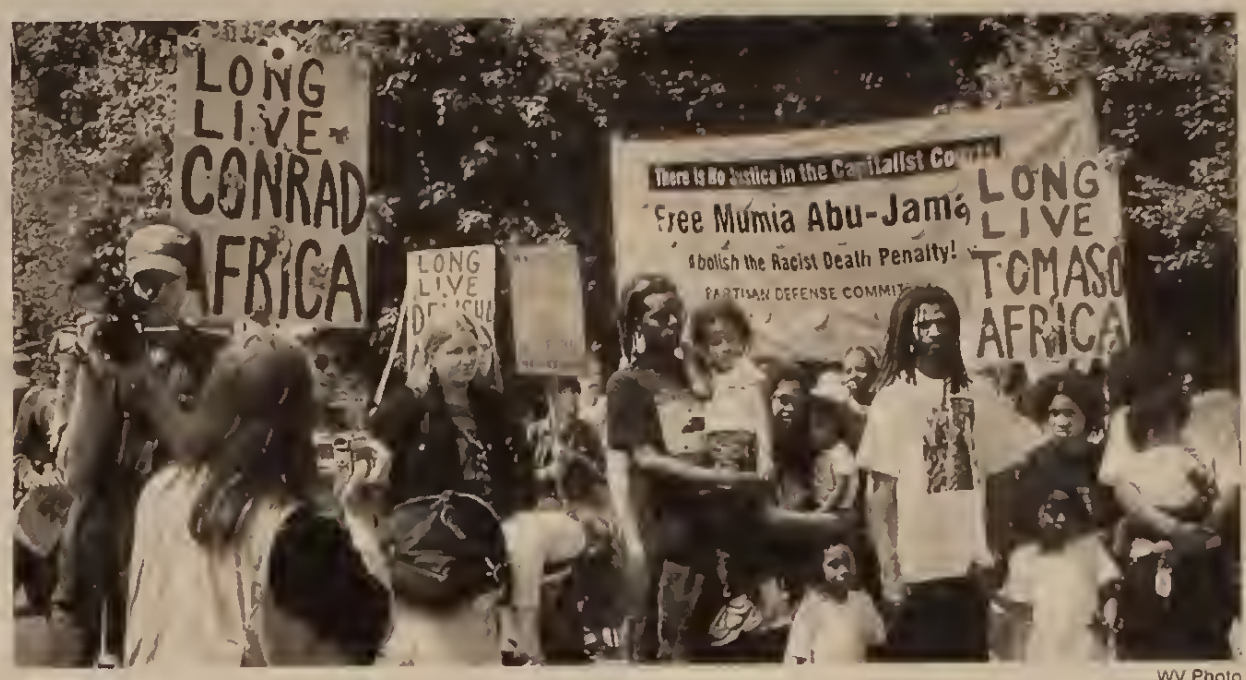
Chanting "Never forget 1985! Now is the time to free the MOVE 9!", 200 anti-racists marched and rallied in West Philadelphia on May 14, commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the racist mass murder of eleven members of the MOVE commune carried out by the Philly cops in coordination with the federal Justice Department. On 13 May 1985 the cops unloaded 10,000 rounds of ammunition into MOVE's house on Osage Avenue and dropped a powerful bomb on the house, causing a fire. Firefighters on site were held back while cops shot at anyone who tried to escape the burning building. Sixty-one houses were destroyed in the ensuing inferno, leaving hundreds homeless in the black neighborhood.

Ronald Reagan, the FBI, the Philly cops and black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode were all responsible for this hideous crime. But none of the perpetrators have ever faced charges, while Ramona Africa spent seven years in prison for the "crime" of surviving the massacre. There is no justice in racist capitalist America.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, participated with a banner in the march, which began at Osage Avenue near the site of the atrocity. The PDC also spoke at the rally at Malcolm X Park. From the beginning, the PDC has defended MOVE and publicized this racist atrocity (see "Racist Government Bombed Black Philadelphia," *Workers Vanguard* No. 848, 13 May). MOVE is a largely black back-to-nature group that, in their own way, cries out against "the system," including by defending the right of armed self-defense. We demand freedom for the MOVE members imprisoned for almost 30 years since the 1978 police siege and assault on MOVE's Powelton Village commune. Amid a barrage of police gunfire, a cop was killed in the police crossfire. Nine MOVE members were given 30-100 year sentences. One of them, Merle Africa, died in prison. The remaining eight continue to languish in Pennsylvania's racist, overcrowded dungeons.

Speakers from MOVE, which organized the rally, demonstrated that they remain defiant opponents of this racist system. Pam Africa introduced a black college student from North Carolina who traveled to the rally to recite his powerful anti-racist and anti-imperialist poetry. A radio essay, "Why May 13th Is So Important," recorded from death row by Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost political prisoner, was played. Mumia, a former Black Panther and Philadelphia journalist, was targeted by the racist Philadelphia cops in no small part because of his eloquent reports exposing the racist government vendetta against MOVE. Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, has been imprisoned since 1998, framed up on bogus firearm charges.

Obscenely, 6221 Osage Avenue, the site of the bombing, is occupied today by the Philly police Civil Affairs Unit—they want to ensure that no one can look for evidence of the crime. The other houses rebuilt by the city on Osage Avenue and Pine Street were condemned as "unlivable" due to shoddy construction. Twenty-four families recently won a lawsuit against the city over this continuing victimization. Grotesquely, the city is appealing the judgment.



WV Photo

Philadelphia, May 14: SL and PDC supporters join MOVE members and others in rally at Osage Avenue, near site of cops' massacre 20 years ago.

The speaker for the PDC presented a working-class perspective for the struggle against racist repression:

> "We have a non-sectarian, class-struggle defense program based on the understanding that it is the multiracial working class that has the social power to ensure that the MOVE martyrs will be avenged, that the MOVE 9 will be freed, that Mumia Abu-Jamal will be freed, and that the racist death penalty will be abolished, and that capitalism will be smashed.
>
> "The working class is so vital because of its power to stop production and the profits the capitalist rulers try so desperately to protect through its cops, courts and judges—what Marxists call the state. We look to the trade unions—such as the Philly transit workers who are under attack currently—to lead in the struggle against capitalist oppression....
>
> "We will not forget the MOVE martyrs, the men, women and children gunned down and burned alive, and the seven years stolen from Ramona Africa for bearing witness to this atrocity! We will not forget Merle Africa! Free the MOVE 9! Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners!"

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Assata: Terrorist or Survivor of Terrorism?

With the news of the posting of an additional $850,000 for the return of former Black Panther and Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur from Cuba, the U.S. government has taken another step in its ridiculous so-called War on Terrorism. They did this by New Jersey officials branding Assata with the latest libelous label, "terrorist," in an attempt to justify this modern-day slave bounty.

If anybody knows about terrorism it's Americans, for this nation was founded in terrorism. So deep is this truth that it lies in the subconscious of almost every American and can be unleashed with unnerving ease. Come on. Complete this phrase: "The only good Indian is a _____." Black, white, rich or poor that phrase echoes in American consciousness, an inheritance from a time when those dark thoughts were dark realities of, yes, genocide against the native peoples that fed and healed the starving settlers from Europe who survived the Atlantic crossings. Terrorism, white terrible violence against red life and black life and brown life and yellow life. That is America's truest hidden history, hidden beneath lies about "all men are created equal."

In 1973, when Assata Shakur and Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli were stopped on the New Jersey turnpike, they weren't stopped because the cops wanted to "render assistance." This was a car stop for the unwritten crime of Driving While Black, before we developed the term. And the cops tried to kill every Black Panther in that car for this unwritten crime. Zayd was shot to death and Assata was shot twice. And in an act of arrogance that only American judicial terrorists can devise, ***she*** was charged with murdering both Zayd and the cop that tried to kill her.

Assata went through a devil's brew of show trials in several states, best summed up in a book by her lawyer/aunt Evelyn Williams titled *Inadmissable Evidence*. These were trials that seemed more fitting for Mississippi than Middlesex County, New Jersey, or Manhattan Borough, New York. But no matter where that happened, they featured all-white juries, and ambitious judges who didn't even pretend to be fair and unbiased arbiters. Even despite these obvious obstructions, she was acquitted, and when she was convicted in Middlesex it was clear this was a verdict not of her guilt, but of her political ideas.

To label this woman a terrorist, is to bleed all meaning from the word. For, during her life as an activist, during her wounding and her arrest, and during her travails as an accused in courtrooms that were more lynching posts than halls of justice, she was terrorized by a system that wanted to punish her for daring to rebel.

These words are written on May 13, 2005, twenty years to the day from the police mass murder and bombing of the MOVE home in Philadelphia. Today, twenty years later, only one person, Ramona Africa, ever spent a day in jail. What of those cops who shot and bombed unarmed children? What of the politicians who unleashed these dogs of urban war? Like Ramona, Assata was jailed for daring to survive.

Cuba's valiant Fidel Castro responded almost immediately to announce his refusal to recognize this modern-day slave bounty. He pronounced her a political prisoner during her time in American gulags, perhaps remembering that she was held in an all-male jail during her incarceration.

For centuries, nothing has so stirred up American fury like the escape of a slave. That ain't just distant history. For daring to slip her bonds and escape from brutal and unjust bondage, the Empire now labels ***her*** a terrorist. That's because to them, nothing is more terrifying than resistance to their imperial will. As for terrorists, if they really wanna find some, it shouldn't be too hard to find them. Just check the White House.

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

13 May 2005

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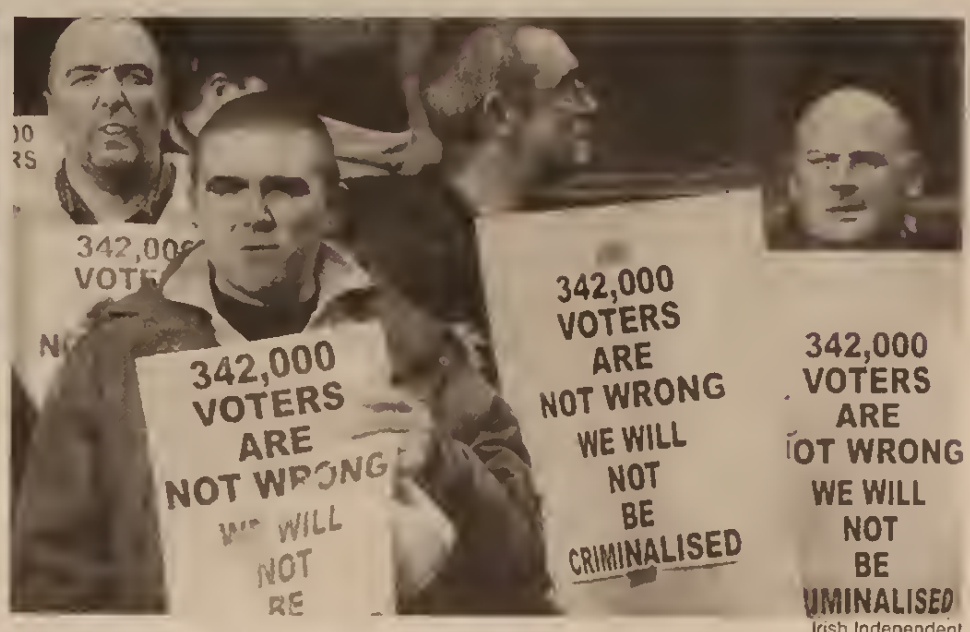
Send urgently needed contributions for Jamal's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia" to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Blair and Paisley Turn the Screw on Sinn Féin

Northern Ireland: British Troops Out Now!

An Phoblacht



Irish Independent

Sinn Féin supporters protest vilification of party by Blair, Ahern and Paisley on March 1 anniversary of Bobby Sands' hunger strike (left), and in February outside Belfast offices of "Independent" Monitoring Commission that declared IRA guilty of bank robbery (right).

The following is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 190 (Spring 2005), publication of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.*

WORKERS HAMMER

The brutal murder of Robert McCartney, a young Catholic father from Belfast's Short Strand, by IRA [Irish Republican Army] members has been seized on by an unholy alliance extending from [Loyalist diehard] Ian Paisley to the rulers of the Irish state to the British and U.S. imperialists. The killing of McCartney *was* a vicious crime, one worthy of the Loyalist gangs who regularly terrorise the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. But the "worth" of McCartney's life to the butchers of Iraq in Westminster and the White House, Paisley's Unionists and the clericalist regime in southern Ireland, is to reinforce the forces of Orange supremacy in Northern Ireland—from Loyalist terror to the "official" state forces for anti-Catholic repression, the British Army and the renamed Royal Ulster Constabulary, the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). Politicians in Washington, from Democrat Ted Kennedy to Republican president George Bush, embraced McCartney's sisters when they went to Washington. This certainly wasn't out of any new-found concern for the lives of working-class Catholics in Northern Ireland. Rather, as a *Guardian* reporter put it, the motivation was that "these six women with 19 children between them could force the IRA to do what the British have failed to do for decades: put away their guns and disband" (*Guardian*, 11 March).

This has always been the real purpose of the imperialist "peace" fraud, whose very nature is underlined by the fact that Paisley, one of the most virulently anti-Catholic bigots on the face of the planet, is now calling the shots. Last December, amid declarations of yet another supposed "historic breakthrough," Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) declared that it would accept a power-sharing deal with Sinn Féin in Stormont—the historic seat of Orange rule. This was about as likely as Paisley swearing allegiance to Rome. For its part, the IRA had declared that it would "completely and verifiably put all our arms beyond use." But Paisley demanded photographic evidence, pontificating that Republicans had to don "sack cloth and ashes." The IRA refused to submit to what they aptly described as an "act of humiliation." Although taking its "decommissioning" offer off the table for now, the IRA still accepts the framework of the "peace process." A 9 December 2004 IRA statement opined that "the search for a just and lasting peace is a challenging one. The IRA leadership has risen to that challenge. The British government and the leaders of unionism must do likewise."

Sinn Féin has steadfastly clung to the illusion that the British imperialists—with the assistance of the Irish government and U.S. imperialism—would weigh in against the Unionists to ensure that a deal was implemented. Yet the 1998 "Good Friday Agreement" was premised on maintaining the British Army occupation of Northern Ireland, the guarantor for the repressive apparatus of the Orange statelet. The only force that was to disarm in Northern Ireland was the IRA, not the Loyalist death squads. As we warned from the beginning: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will ***necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority***. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November-December 1993).

Following the latest breakdown in "negotiations," all fire was turned against Sinn Féin as the responsible party, which was then subjected to a relentless barrage of hostility from the very forces it has promoted as its "allies" for peace in Northern Ireland. In January, Northern Ireland police chief Hugh Orde made the totally unsubstantiated accusation that the IRA was responsible for a spectacular bank robbery in Belfast. This was immediately seized on by the British and Irish governments to demand that Sinn Féin ensure that IRA "paramilitary and criminal activity" be "definitely removed from the equation." Blair cut off parliamentary allowances to Sinn Féin's four Westminster MPs amid calls to han them from Westminster—despite the fact that they were actually *elected* to the "Mother of Parliaments" and don't even take their seats there, refusing to swear allegiance to the Queen.

There is still not one shred of evidence of the involvement of the IRA or Sinn Féin in the bank robbery (which in any case is no crime from the perspective of the working class and the poor, or as Bertolt Brecht put it, "It is easier to rob by setting up a bank than by holding up a bank clerk"). But while Blair was railing against IRA "criminality," he was busy trying to further cover up the very real crimes of British imperialism in collusion with the Loyalist death squads in Northern Ireland. In 1989, Pat Finucane, a Belfast Catholic lawyer who defended, among others, Bobby Sands and other Irish hunger strikers, was gunned down in front of his family by the Loyalist UDA [Ulster Defence Association]. He was targeted by Brian Nelson, an agent of the British Army and intelligence chief of the UDA. The whole truth about this case could be a devastating exposure of British imperialist "democracy," so Blair is now introducing a new public inquiries bill to curtail what can be made public in any "public" inquiry. As Michael Finucane wrote in a bitter indictment of Blair:

> "In three days, on February 12 2005, exactly 16 years will have passed since my father was murdered by proxy agents of the British government. For those 16 years, my family and I have been campaigning for a public tribunal of inquiry into the murder because of our belief that his killing was ordered at the highest level. What is more, we are convinced the evidence to prove it is contained in files locked deep within the establishment.... Tony Blair signed an agreement with the Irish government in 2001 to deal with my father's case. He did so under pressure and in an attempt to delay an inquiry into the case, something his government has been doing for several years.... The murder of my father is a crucial event because of what it could potentially reveal. It is for this reason the [public inquiries] bill was created."
>
> —*Guardian*, 9 February

Officials from the Irish government were as vehement against the IRA as Blair, if not more so. Taoiseach [Irish prime minister] Bertie Ahern declared that Sinn Féin leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness knew of the IRA's supposed plans for the bank robbery while they were sitting at the table negotiating for "power sharing." Justice Minister Michael McDowell weighed in to declare that Adams and McGuinness were members of the IRA's Army Council. Irish Gardaí [police] raided homes of Sinn Féin supporters in search of evidence of "money laundering." None was found, but McDowell later admitted that the raids had been prepared weeks earlier, and there is much media-speculation in Ireland that it was planned long before the bank robbery. Feeding grist to the mill of Paisley's anti-Catholic reaction in the North, the Irish government was also aiming to protect its own interests against the increasing inroads that Sinn Féin has been making, particularly among poor and working-class voters in the South.

Viciously anti-working-class, enforcers of clerical reaction against women and racist attacks on Travellers and immigrants, the representatives of the "Irish Free State" are also notoriously corrupt. Indeed, former Fianna Fáil [Republican party] taoiseach Charles Haughey probably made away with more from shady business deals while he was in power than the £27 million robbed from the Belfast bank. Such corruption has in no small measure undermined Fianna Fáil's electoral support. But the bank robbery accusations against the IRA and Sinn Féin did them little damage among their traditional supporters in Catholic communities. Graffiti saying, "Gerry, Gerry give us a loan" indicated that many thought the idea of the IRA walking off with a cool £27 million was too good to be true. By contrast, the murder of Robert McCartney initially provoked real and justified revulsion among Catholics in Northern Ireland. This reflects concern that, particularly since the ceasefire, the IRA has operated less as a force for defence of the Catholic communities against Loyalist terror, the British Army and the cops, and act more as gangsters enforcing their own brand of "law and order" over these communities.

The Bankruptcy of Nationalism

On 6 April, Gerry Adams appealed to the IRA to maintain its previous commitment to "decommissioning," asking them to achieve their "aims by purely political

and democratic activity." An article by Niall Stanage in the *Guardian* (11 April) observed that "dishandment of the IRA is also the logical conclusion to the course Adams and his like-minded comrades began to chart almost a quarter of a century ago"—when Republican hunger striker Bobby Sands won a seat in Westminster. Today Sinn Féin represents the vast majority of the Catholic population of the North, and its support in the South is growing. But it will never be acceptable as a parliamentary political party while it retains even the vestige of an armed wing. Behind the clamour coming from Blair, Ahern and Co. for the IRA to disband, the message is that the capitalist state is not going to abide any challenge to its monopoly of armed force by the IRA. Parliamentary democracy is simply the velvet glove over the mailed fist of the state—the army, police, courts and prisons whose purpose is to maintain the rule of capital. It is not enough for the IRA to give up its arms; Republicans are being told that they must be subservient to all the state forces on these islands.

The murder of Robert McCartney is being wielded to force the Republicans to accept the authority of the Orange state in the North, including the PSNI. This is a bitter pill, but one which Sinn Féin leaders have indicated they might be willing to swallow. Mitchel McLaughlin has said: "If the circumstances had worked out before Christmas, we would have convened a special ard-fheis [national conference] to debate the issues about policing. We want a PSNI that meets the criteria under Patten and the Good Friday Agreement once and for all" (*Daily Ireland*, 7 March). But with or without the window dressing of the Good Friday Agreement, the police force in Northern Ireland remains a fundamentally anti-Catholic force that works hand in glove with the Loyalist paramilitaries.

Assurances have also been offered of Sinn Féin's respect for the police forces of the Irish state. One of the party's Dáil [parliament] deputies, Aengus Ó Snodaigh declared that Sinn Féin "are now working constructively with the Gardaí to increase local accountability," adding that "we recognise that the Gardaí are a legitimate police force—albeit one in need of fundamental reform" (*Daily Ireland*, 7 March). Such appeals for police "reform" are simply designed to give a more "democratic" facade to the armed fist of the state.

Despite the fact that the IRA has not taken up arms against the Irish state for decades, the government can still whip up fear that the IRA is supposedly running "a state within a state." This is a historically rooted pretext for repression, harking back to the civil war in 1922-23, when the newly independent Irish state brutally repressed Republican insurgents who objected to the terms of the Treaty signed with the British. Today's justice minister McDowell is the grandson of Eoin MacNeill, who supported the execution of Republicans in December 1922; his great-uncle was in charge of

Pat Finucane, murdered in 1989 by Loyalist UDA in collusion with British state.

the firing squad. But although they fought the state militarily over the terms of the Treaty, the anti-Treaty forces did not challenge the capitalist order. On the contrary, they supported it and were soon to be in charge of it politically. The Fianna Fáil party was founded by these forces and, led by Eamonn DeValera, ran the clericalist state for decades.

Sinn Féin is a petty-bourgeois nationalist party whose politics are fundamentally no different from those of Fianna Fáil. Its aim is the creation of a united, capitalist Ireland. But this would be far from a "democratic" solution to the national question. The Catholics in Northern Ireland are an oppressed minority, but they live within the same territory as the Protestants, who fear becoming an oppressed minority under the clericalist Irish state. The current hardening of Protestant opinion, seen in the huge vote for Paisley's DUP, is in part a reaction to Sinn Féin's claim that the Good Friday Agreement is a step towards Irish unity. This is compounded by the increasing impoverishment of both the Catholic and Protestant working class in Northern Ireland, with the Protestants falsely believing that the Catholics have been given preferential treatment under the Good Friday Agreement. Writing on the 2003 elections which were swept by Paisley on one side and Sinn Féin on the other, *Observer* columnist Henry McDonald explained that the DUP was able to "paint the peace process as a one-way pro-nationalist concession process." Noting that "the only growth industry north of the river Lagan in Belfast has been the construction of almost 20 so-called peace walls separating Protestants and Catholics on a permanent basis," McDonald added: "The landscape from Good Friday 1998 has been radically changed. The two communities are further apart than they were five years ago, politically and physically" (*Observer*, 30 November 2003).

We stand for the defence of the oppressed Catholic community in Northern Ireland and fight against all forms of discrimination in jobs, housing and education. At the same time, we oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland, even the suggestion of which serves to compact the Protestants behind the Loyalist bigots. This precludes a polarization along *class* lines and instead lays the basis for communalist terror. In a situation of interpenetrated peoples and fratricidal nationalism, there can be no equitable solution short of the destruction of capitalism and the institution of workers rule. We fight for an Irish workers republic within a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. An elementary precondition for any just solution is the withdrawal of British troops.

"Socialist" Servants of the Bourgeoisie

Socialist Party (SP) [sister group of Socialist Alternative in the U.S.] Dáil deputy Joe Higgins leapt into the anti-Republican fray in support of the Irish state. A Socialist Party press release (23 February) details an exchange in the Dáil in which Higgins asks: "Does the Taoiseach acknowledge that the great majority of residents of the Short Strand area in Belfast are horrified to have criminal butchers in their midst, hiding under the political banner of provisional republicanism?" "Criminal butchers" is not a

Peress/Magnum

Bloody Sunday Massacre in Derry, 17 October 1972. British troops gunned down 14 Catholics, wounded many more.

term the respectable Mr. Higgins would readily use to describe the Loyalist UVF [Ulster Volunteer Force]. Its representative Billy Hutchinson, who was convicted of the murder of two Catholics in Northern Ireland, was hosted by the SP at its meetings in 1995.

Deputy Higgins continued: "Mr. Adams said this morning he has a problem going to the police. Does he have a problem in going to the Short Strand unit of the provisional IRA—call it the local SS unit for short—and demanding that it present itself to justice?" Comparing the IRA to Hitler's SS rolls off Higgins' tongue as do declarations of faith in the "justice" of the notorious anti-Catholic forces of the Northern Ireland police and the shoot-to-kill British troops. The SP has long refused to call for the withdrawal of the troops from Northern Ireland. Last year, when Sinn Féin youth marched in a Belfast antiwar demonstration under a banner that said, "Brits out of Ireland and Iraq," the SP denounced them, grotesquely declaring "the above slogan could only appeal to one side of the sectarian divide" (*Socialist Voice*, April 2004).

Higgins' role here is no different than that of British Labour leaders who sided with their "own" bourgeoisie in World War I. He is also keeping alive the legacy of the Irish Labour Party, which refused to oppose the Irish bourgeoisie when it accepted the Treaty and partition in 1921 and gave backhanded support to the state against the Republicans during the civil war. Addressing a special conference of the Irish Labour Party and TUC [Trades Union Congress] in 1918, Irish Labour leader Thomas Johnson said: "Your executive believes, that the workers of Ireland join earnestly in this desire, that they would willingly sacrifice, for a brief period, their aspirations towards political power, if thereby the fortunes of the nation can be enhanced" (quoted in *Revolution in Ireland*, Conor Kostick, 1996).

At the height of the furore over the murder of Robert McCartney, Irish SWP leader Eamonn McCann outrageously compared the IRA to the British troops that gunned down 14 Catholics on "Bloody Sunday" in Derry [in 1972]. At a Belfast rally for McCartney, McCann declared to the capitalist media that "the McCartney murder had lowered Republicans to the level of the British paratroopers, and cast a 'dark shadow backwards' on the whole IRA struggle" (*Guardian*, 28 February). Talking out of the other side of his mouth in an article in Irish *Socialist Worker* (22 February-8 March), McCann appealed to disgruntled Republicans to join the ranks of the SWP:

> "Every ruling class voice is currently raised high urging Republicans to ditch paramilitarism, become totally respectable and join the conservative consensus. Forgiveness and glittering prizes are on offer to those who accept. This would represent abandonment of struggle. The SWP urges Republicans who think of themselves also as socialists to turn not to the Right but to the socialist ideas of self-liberation which alone offer a road forward."

And this too would be a ticket to "respectability," of the social-democratic variety.

Lessons of the Civil Rights Struggles

McCann's reputation stems from his role as one of the prominent left-wing leaders of the civil rights movement of the 1960s which opposed the blatant discrimination against Catholics and shook the Orange state. The experience is rich in lessons for future struggles in Northern Ireland where the sectarian divide runs so deep that the possibility for advancing socialist consciousness, or even class consciousness, often seems remote. The Northern Ireland civil rights struggles took place in the context of an international political radicalization, particularly inspired by the struggles for black civil rights in America. A famous march from Belfast to Derry in 1969 was modelled on Martin Luther King's 1966 march on Selma, Montgomery.

In Belfast, the civil rights movement had a base at Queen's University, where leftists in Peoples Democracy were active. In the early stages there was some support for the civil rights struggle among Protestant students. Following the brutal police repression of a 1968 march in Derry, the civil rights movement acquired mass support almost overnight and leftists, including McCann and Bernadette Devlin (now McAliskey) were catapulted to prominence. However, both of them had fatal illusions in British imperialism. Such illusions were reinforced by the British SWP,

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Northern Ireland...

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which supported the intervention of British troops in 1969 and spoke of "the breathing space provided by the presence of British troops" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969). What was needed was a perspective based on fighting to mobilize the working class, north and south of the border—where there was huge support for the embattled Catholics—as well as in Britain, against the deployment of the troops. In the absence of a class perspective, the Provisional IRA became the dominant force defending the Catholics in the face of brutal repression by the British. The IRA's forces grew dramatically after Bloody Sunday.

A former leader of Peoples Democracy, Michael Farrell, in a study of the Orange state, illustrates how previous attempts at mild reform by Westminster foundered on the rock of Unionist opposition. He notes that, for the first 40 years of its existence, the Orange state "remained a rigidly repressive police regime, confronting a hostile minority within and maintaining a permanent state of cold war with the South." Northern Ireland was once a center of shipbuilding and engineering, but with the decline of British heavy industry, by the 1960s, this economic link became less important for British imperialism. At the same time, Britain began to develop diplomatic and trade links with the South. The blatant oppression of Northern Catholics became an embarrassment and Westminster began nudging Stormont towards reforms. Farrell explains that:

> "The effort met with little success. Once the Ulster industrialists had used the Orange ideology and Protestant supremacy to establish the Northern state; now the Ulster-based industries had all but disappeared, and with them most of the economic reasons for the six-county state. But Orangeism and Protestant supremacy had remained—and now they were themselves virtually the reason for the existence of the state: to dismantle Protestant supremacy would be to dismantle the state itself. The Unionists resisted stubbornly. The British had intervened to defend the state and reform it; but failing to reform it they were forced to concentrate more and more on defending it."
>
> —*The Orange State* (1976)

The prevalence of sectarianism in Northern Ireland is not proof of some unbridgeable religious divide, but is fostered by the hellish conditions of capitalist exploitation. The attacks on workers in Britain accompanying massive deindustrialisation and the introduction of the so-called "flexible economy" of low-paid service jobs, have impacted even more heavily on both Catholic and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland. Loyalist demagogy that Catholics have benefited from the "peace" fraud often falls on fertile ground among working-class Protestants because their own situation has worsened. The employment gap between Protestants and Catholics has narrowed mainly because unemployment among Protestants has grown. The inability of the capitalist system to provide a decent living and decent housing for the working people is a key reason for the increasing sectarianism in Northern Ireland; a sectarianism which is inflamed by the capitalists and their state in order to prevent workers from recognizing capitalism as the root of the problem.

As communists we seek to intervene, attempting to alter the course of the conflict towards a class determination. We fight for workers revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. Our proletarian perspective requires an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the vicious clericalist state in the South. The Spartacist League/Britain and our comrades of the Spartacist Group Ireland fight to build the revolutionary internationalist parties necessary to this task.■

Social Forum...

(continued from page 3)

their fighting forces." The Mexican Zapatistas, for example, were excluded from several WSF meetings presumably because they are an "armed force." After her group was excluded, Hebe Bonafini of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, an organization of the mothers of those "disappeared" by the Argentine military dictatorship of 1976-83, captured it well: "The organizers have staged the event so that all we were supposed to be talking about was 'putting a human face' on globalization."

The politics of the CSF were expressly based on "the principles of the World Social Forum." Thus, like the WSF, groups claiming to be revolutionary were not allowed on the speaker's platform. At one session, for example, the speaker, a member of the RCP, said he could not speak in the name of the RCP because parties are not allowed.

At one of the largest CSF workshops, "Alternatives to Neoliberal Globalization," ex-Maoist Carl Davidson and labor reformist Dan Swinney stressed the need for a broad alliance with "progressive" capitalists; otherwise, Davidson said, you're just a "small group with red flags." The workshop pushed a "coalition of all forces that move together," which would include, "with criticisms," the capitalist governments of Venezuela, Brazil, and South Africa. Our comrades intervened at this workshop, pointing out how the core political program of the social forums—shamelessly yet clearly articulated by Davidson, the ISO, the RCP and a host of others at the CSF—is that of class collaboration and the popular front. Davidson aptly responded that "the difference between us and the Spartacist League is that they still believe in the old class versus class conception," to which our comrade proudly shouted back, "You're right!"

In another workshop on the religious right, Davidson dusted off the writings of Bulgarian Stalinist Georgi Dimitrov—Stalin's pre-eminent spokesman as General Secretary of the Comintern from 1935 onward, best remembered as the spokesman for the Stalinists' treacherous policy of the "People's Front." Davidson quoted Dimitrov's assertions that fascism is the dictatorship of the most reactionary section of the capitalist class—the argument being that one should ally with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. The truth is that fascism is a form of capitalist rule, one to which the bourgeoisie turns in times of social crisis in order to safeguard the capitalist system against the workers. And the only way to effectively fight the fascist threat is to fight to overthrow the capitalist system itself. Davidson pushed the claim, heavily promoted by the RCP, that Bush represents the rise of "Christian Fascism" in the U.S. Bush is plenty reactionary; he is not, however, leading a fascist regime, but a right-wing regime within the framework of bourgeois democracy. All this stuff about "Christian Fascism" is merely a pretext to promote support to the Democrats as a "lesser evil" to the Republicans.

The utter political bankruptcy of the counterfeit leftists leading the CSF was evidenced by Davidson's call to appropriate the "moral values" rhetoric of the religious right. Davidson argued that religion isn't all bad; after all, he said, Marx called it "the sigh of the oppressed." These supposed leftists' revolting capitulation to the rightward drift was articulated by an RCP member who spoke of the many common values supposedly shared by religious people and radicals. An SYC comrade intervened against this attempt to reconcile Marxism with religion, including by disappearing Marx's unequivocal opposition to religion. Another Spartacist comrade noted that the presenters were arguing on the terrain of the right wing, that the social basis for religious reaction in this country is black oppression, and that one good strike would go a long way toward dispelling all this talk about "moral values"—showing working people that they can fight to better their condition in this world rather than waiting for justice in a mythical afterlife.

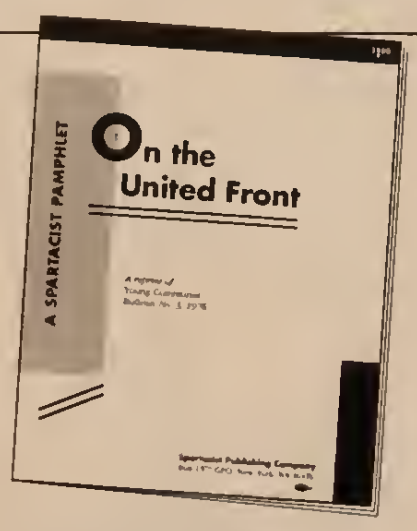
At an abortion rights workshop led by the ISO, the discussion again emphasized the need to reclaim "moral values" terminology. ISO members decried the attacks on abortion rights and talked about the need to rebuild the movement, while bemoaning the much lower level of political consciousness today compared to the 1970s. A comrade from the SL sharply pointed out that the backdrop for this qualitative regression of political consciousness was set over a decade ago with the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, which the ISO hailed. The ISO *supported* the forces of counterrevolution arrayed against the Soviet Union, including the woman-hating *mujahedin* cutthroats who fought against the Red Army in Afghanistan and Solidarność in Poland, a company "union" promoted by the CIA and the recently deceased Pope. He also exposed them for claiming to stand for women's rights, yet putting those rights on the back burner when they get the opportunity to support a capitalist politician, citing their stumping for bourgeois presidential candidate Ralph Nader who dismissed the fight for abortion rights as "gonadal politics." An SYC member spoke to the necessity to fight for free abortion on demand and for women's liberation through socialist revolution. In response to our comrades, the speaker from the ISO scoffed that reforms cannot be won through "some magical socialist transformation of the whole system."

Fight for Socialist Revolution!

The strategy of class collaboration was fully displayed in the recent Iraq antiwar protests, in which the very same organizers of the CSF built a "movement" around slogans expressly designed not to "alienate" the liberal Democrats. Our comrades addressed this question in various workshops, explaining that slogans such as "No to War" were consciously designed *not* to take a clear stand against U.S. imperialism, precisely because it is the U.S. ruling class to whom they appeal in hopes of pressuring imperialism to behave more "humanely."

We raised the call "Defend Iraq"—and today call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops—taking a clear side with the victims of U.S. imperialism. Imperialism is a system, not a policy that can be shifted and molded depending on which capitalist party inhabits the White House. It is the highest stage of capitalism. As Spartacist comrades said in several individual discussions: the only way to end imperialist war is to end the capitalist system that breeds it, and only the working class has the social power to bring down the bourgeois state. We repeated a point we made throughout the antiwar demonstrations, that the only successful antiwar movement was in 1917—the Bolshevik Revolution that overthrew capitalism and took Russia out of the carnage of World War I.

Militant youth and workers fighting against the depredations of capitalism and imperialism must break with the social forums and all forms of class collaboration. The only way to fight increasing repression, brutal exploitation and war is to eliminate the capitalist system that breeds such horrors. The working class needs to break with the Democrats and build its own party, a multiracial workers party that will fight for power. We stand on the tradition of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky and the October Revolution of 1917—and we fight for new October Revolutions throughout the world. Join us!■



A Spartacist pamphlet originally printed in 1976 as *Young Communist Bulletin* No. 3

$1 (16 pages)

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Lebanon...

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Mossad, Syrian intelligence or disgruntled business rivals), American imperialists wasted no time exploiting his death to push "regime change" in Damascus. In an attempt to sell his sham "elections" in Iraq, which enshrined sectarianism in every government seat, Bush declared: "In the Middle East and throughout the world, freedom is on the march." It is not freedom that is on the march in the Near East, but rather the imperialists with their blueprint for the remaking of the region. In addition to occupied Iraq, the U.S. now maintains a military presence in six other countries: Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman. In addition, Jordan has been used as a staging ground for U.S. military activities in the region, including in the lead-up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

The current belligerence against Syria has long been a policy of the neocons' Project for the New American Century (PNAC) which, in a 20 September 2001 letter to Bush, demanded that the "administration should consider appropriate measures of retaliation against" Iran and Syria, which were deemed to be "known state sponsors of terrorism." In November 2003, Congress, with the support of both Democrats and Republicans, passed the "Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act" and in May 2004 Bush imposed sanctions against Syria, lobbing at its rulers the usual litany of accusations, which included "support for terrorist groups," "pursuit of weapons of mass destruction" and providing a "transit point for foreign fighters into Iraq."

Reuters

Syrian army troops withdrawing from Lebanon in April. Syria maintained a military presence in Lebanon for some 29 years.

Indymedia

Lebanese troops were deployed by then-prime minister Rafik al-Hariri against protesters in working-class suburb of Hay al-Sellom during one-day general strike, May 2004. Troops opened fire, killing five and injuring dozens.

President Bush trotted out the same threats in his State of the Union address this February. It didn't matter that the U.S. regularly sends suspected "terrorists" to Syria, knowing they will be tortured. It didn't matter that Syria joined the imperialist coalition in their first Iraq war or organized polling stations for expatriates to vote in the recent Iraq "elections." The Syrian leadership's real crime in the eyes of both the neocons and their Democratic allies is its hostility to Israel, which the U.S. seeks to surround with a cordon sanitaire.

The international working class has no side in the current squalid power play taking place in Lebanon, but, as proletarian internationalists who called for the military defense of Iraq without giving any political support to the regime of Saddam Hussein, we say: *U.S. keep your bloody hands off Syria! Down with the colonial occupation of Iraq! All U.S./British troops out of Iraq and the Near East now! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!*

From the Crusades to Grand Liban: A Harvest of Blood

The violence and intercommunal bloodletting that marked much of Lebanon's history is a legacy of Ottoman and French imperial domination and the interpenetration of myriad religious and ethnic communities, combining to retard capitalist development and prevent the consolidation of a modern state. Lebanon is divided into various sectarian fiefdoms, lorded over by tribal chieftains with private militias. Its political structures are built along sectarian confessional lines. Contrary to the myth of "Switzerland of the Near East" touted by the bourgeois press, Lebanon is not so much a bourgeois democracy as a pluralistic theocracy with Christian Maronite domination. To ensure this domination, the Maronites deny citizenship to most of the hundreds of thousands of Muslim Kurds and Palestinian refugees who have been living in the country for over 50 years. Each of the officially recognized 18 religious communities may have its own political party, its own members of parliament, its own health and social services, its own schools with an educational orientation often hostile to other communities, and its own laws governing marriage and inheritance and other matters of personal status.

To maintain the clannishness of the sects, civil marriage is illegal and the personal status laws of various communities prohibit interfaith marriages. While women were granted the right to vote in the 1950s, medieval practices like arranged and forced marriages are still in place. Honor killing is rampant, especially in the southern rural areas. It is estimated that an average of one woman is killed each month.

The rugged terrain of Mount Lebanon has historically provided a physically protected refuge for diverse religious and ethnic minorities fleeing persecution at the hands of both Christian and Muslim rulers: the Maronites originated in Syria in the seventh century when they split from the Eastern church of Byzantium. The Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics of Lebanon also came from the same region. The Druze, a 10th-century offshoot of Shi'ism, fled persecution by the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt. The Shi'ites found refuge from the wrath of the Ottoman rulers in the hill villages of southern Lebanon. Christian Armenians were driven to Lebanon by the genocidal terror of the Young Turks during World War I.

Ever since the Crusades, when Raymond of Toulouse captured the flourishing port cities of the Tripoli emirate, French rulers have had interests in the Levant. The persecuted Christian Maronites saw the crusaders, with whom they allied against the Muslims, as liberators, thus providing the French with an avenue through which they would extend their influence. During the declining period of the Ottoman Empire and afterward, the Maronite population served as a base for colonial penetration. The British in turn became the benefactors of the Druze. The massacre of 12,000 Maronites by the Druze in the civil war of 1860 provided a pretext for French military intervention. On the eve of the French invasion, Karl Marx wrote:

> "The conspirators of Petersburg and Paris had, however, in case their temptation of Prussia should fail, kept in reserve the thrilling incident of the Syrian massacres to be followed by a French intervention which ..would open the back door of a general European conflict. In respect to England I will only add that in 1841 Lord Palmerstone furnished the Druses with the arms they kept ever since and that in 1848, by a convention with the Czar Nicholas, he abolished, in point of fact, the Turkish sway that curbed the wild tribes of Lebanon, and stipulated for them a quasi-independence which, in the run of time, and under the proper management of foreign plotters, could only beget a harvest of blood."
>
> —*New York Daily Tribune*, 11 August 1860

"The conspirators of Petersburg and Paris" joined with the British to carve up the crumbling Ottoman Empire, and in the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement France was given mandate for both Lebanon and Syria. The carving up of the Near East following World War I represented the balkanization of the region by the imperialist powers. Populations that wanted to be united were separated; those that wanted to be separated were forcibly united (as in the case of Iraq, for example). The point was to carve up the region in such a way that ethnic and religious strife would perpetually plague it. Lebanon provides a vivid example of this.

In 1920, seeking to fashion a pro-Western enclave in the Levant, France created the entity that it called "Grand Liban" or "Greater Lebanon" by annexing Muslim regions of Syria to Mount Lebanon. To divide and better rule, the French combined the Muslims, among whom nascent Arab nationalism was growing, with the Christian majority, among whom they nourished a myth of Phoenician origin and a non-Arab heritage, and who would look to France for protection. Thus, the French knowingly created a state constructed to ensure plenty of intercommunal strife to justify their imperial "peace keeping" presence.

The French colonial system of Maronite privileges was preserved after the country became independent in 1943. Under the unwritten deal between the French colonialists and the various Christian and Muslim clan chiefs, known as the National Covenant, the president would always be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim and the head of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim. The Christians were allocated a six-to-five majority in parliament and the army officer corps was drawn predominantly from the Maronite elite.

The National Covenant was based on a dubious 1932 census. No census has been taken since, as such would reveal that the Muslim population has grown much faster than the Christian and now outnumbers the latter three to two. Maronite Christian domination increasingly came into conflict with these demographic developments. The first challenge to the National Covenant took place in 1958 when a Muslim uprising was sparked by an attempt of Maronite president Camille Chamoun to extend his term in office. However, Chamoun was able to suppress the uprising, as some 15,000 American Marines waded ashore Beirut's beaches in July 1958.

Lebanon was not the real target of the Marine landing. The imperialist powers were alarmed by the social upheavals that swept the region in the 1950s. They viewed the rise of Nasser to power in Egypt and his nationalization of the Suez Canal, the intensification of the Algerian War of independence, the declaration of union between Egypt and Syria with the proclamation of the United Arab Republic as threats to their imperialist domination. U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower warned that leftist uprisings could "result in the complete elimination of Western influence in the Middle East." But the immediate reason behind the Marines' landing in Lebanon was the eruption of revolution in Iraq and the overthrow of the British-installed Hashemite monarchy in July 1958. The Iraqi Communist Party stood at the threshold of power in the mass upsurge that followed. The Stalinist leadership, however, under direct orders from the Kremlin, betrayed the revolution for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. In Lebanon, under U.S. Marine guns, a deal was worked out to preserve the sectarian political structure along with Maronite predominance.

1975-76: Revolutionary Upheaval Channeled into Communal Bloodletting

The steady growth of the Muslim population, concentrated in the lower classes, increasingly challenged the National Covenant. By the early 1970s, the mass of impoverished Shi'ites had become the largest religious communal grouping. Led by Imam Musa Sadr's Movement of the Disinherited, they demanded constitutional changes to redress the balance of political and economic power in their favor. Further, the OPEC oil boom of the early 1970s, which Lebanon shared as the main financial center

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Der Spiegel

Beirut was turned into rubble during brutal 15-year Lebanese civil war.

Lebanon...

(continued from page 9)

and entrepôt for the Arab East, widened the social disparities between rich and poor. Shi'ite peasants from the countryside and migrant workers from Syria streamed into Beirut and other port cities looking for work, producing a class of desperate slum dwellers. The Beirut slums, known as the Belt of Misery, exist but a few miles from exclusive neighborhoods resembling the French Riviera.

The early 1970s also witnessed social ferment in the form of peasant revolts, labor and student strikes that shook the foundations of the sectarian system. The General Council of Labor (GCL), formed in 1970 by the union of nine trade-union federations, led a series of strikes demanding wage increases and price controls. Students waged strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations demanding a national educational system open to all, as opposed to the private and sectarian schools.

The forces potentially arrayed against the Maronite elite found an ally in the Palestinian commandos. Forced out of Jordan after the Black September massacres in 1970, Palestinians were concentrated in Lebanon where they could operate with some degree of freedom. The armed commandos, especially in the south, provided protection against the militias of the landlords and *za'ims* (Mafia-like urban bosses).

In early 1975, Lebanon stood on the brink of a revolutionary upheaval that could have radically altered the political situation in the entire region, most immediately by extending to neighboring Syria. A proletarian insurrection would have shaken the colonels of Damascus, the Hashemite monarchy and, not least, the Zionist rulers.

UPI

Survivors of 1970 "Black September" massacre in which some 10,000 Palestinians were killed by Jordan's rulers.

Underlying the conflict between the Maronite Christians on one side, and the Lebanese Muslims and Palestinians on the other, was a deep social conflict. As a *New York Times* (19 July 1975) article noted:

> "The fighting was something of a class war between the haves, who are for the most part Christians, and the have-nots, who are for the most part Moslems and who are allied with the heavily armed Palestinian guerrilla movement."

A Marxist party standing at the head of the Lebanese Muslim toilers and the Palestinians would have put forward a socialist program capable of attracting the "have-nots" in the Christian community, splitting the Maronite leadership's base. Instead, the struggles of the Lebanese Muslims and the Palestinian commandos were channeled into the efforts of the Muslim elite to increase its influence in the traditional confessional system.

A key figure in derailing the incipient social revolution and transforming it into communalist bloodletting was Kamal Jumblatt, hereditary head of the Druze sect and leader of the so-called Lebanese National Movement (LNM), which included the pro-Moscow Lebanese Communist Party (PCL), the small Lebanese section of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat and a host of Arab nationalist and Nasserite groups. The PLO leadership subordinated its forces to this sectarian demagogue, as did the entire Lebanese left. Because the PLO commandos and the "progressive" Lebanese fought on behalf of the traditional Muslim and clan chiefs like Jumblatt, the Maronite clan chiefs, like Chamoun, were able to mobilize the entire Christian community by appealing to its ancient fear of Muslim domination. The PCL, which until then maintained a significant base of supporters across the sectarian divide, was completely eliminated from Christian areas. As the Lebanese journalists Selim Accaoui and Magida Salman wrote:

> "The PCL, which counted hundreds of Christian members and had a dominant influence in some Christian villages, saw its membership and its influence in the Mount Lebanon area crumble in a few months. Communist militants were chased out or massacred, and their houses burned.
>
> "By going in on the Muslim confessionalists' game, the PCL was able to implant itself in the Muslim areas of Beirut; but at the same time it lost most of its ranks in the Christian regions."
>
> —*Comprendre le Liban* (1976)

By the beginning of 1976, the war had become a succession of communalist massacres and countermassacres with Maronites sacking Muslim enclaves and Palestinian refugee camps, while PLO commandos and Druze militias responded by putting to the torch Christian villages, such as the village of Damur, home base of Chamoun. The conflict widened and a full-scale civil war raged for the next fifteen years.

The Third Worldist cheerleaders on the left naturally hailed the Palestinian/Muslim side, denying its communalist character and condemning the Maronite population to death as a pro-imperialist reactionary mass. Celebrating the destruction of Damur, Workers World Party wrote:

> "The burning of Chamoun's mansion and the seizure of the stronghold of his National Liberal Party, the village of Damur, underlined the new weakened position the pro-imperialist rulers are now in."
>
> —*Workers World*, 30 January 1976

In contrast, we wrote at the time:

> "In the present fluid conflict, and particularly given the rapidly shifting allegiances, none of these nationalist and communalist formations are fighting a just struggle that would merit military support from the class-conscious proletariat."
>
> —"Blood Feud in Lebanon," *WV* No. 115, 25 June 1976

To this day, leftists in the U.S. claim that the civil war in Lebanon was "between the forces of the right allied with Israel and grouped around the Christian Phalange, and the left, involving Arab nationalists, Palestinian and Druze formations and others," as *Socialist Worker* (18 March), newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), put it. Workers World now hails Hezbollah as a "national liberation movement" (9 March) and Socialist Action asserts that the "rise of the Hezbollah represents to a certain degree a social revolution" (April 2005). Hezbollah is jockeying for power like the rest of the Lebanese sectarian groups. Hezbollah, a reactionary mass movement financed and armed by Iran, is seeking to establish an Iran-style theocracy in Lebanon. In the 1980s, its leaders imposed strict codes of Islamic behavior on towns and villages in the south. Hezbollah in power is a deadly danger, especially for women and Christians.

UPI

A woman weeps over the dead bodies of her relatives in Palestinian refugee camp of Sabra in West Beirut, 1982. Nearly 2,000 Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila were slaughtered by Maronite militias organized by Israeli forces.

Syrian Ba'athists Massacre Palestinians

By the spring of 1976 the once-privileged Maronites, squeezed into besieged enclaves, were on the brink of defeat, as Lebanon gradually moved toward de facto partition. In an attempt to reverse the tide of battle, Israel opened a supply line of weapons to the Christian forces, including Soviet-made tanks and armored personnel carriers captured during the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars.

But it was the Syrian Ba'athists, the self-proclaimed "vanguards of the Arab revolution," who saved the pro-Western Christian rightists from defeat when they invaded Lebanon in June 1976 with a mandate from the Arab League and the approval of both Washington and Tel Aviv. Like Lebanon, Syria itself is a medieval patchwork of potentially hostile ethnic, national and sectarian groupings where the ruling minority Alawites hold sway over the Sunnis, Kurds, Druze and others. Behind the Syrian invasion was the fear that the breakup of Lebanon along sectarian lines would spill over into Syria. Besides, the Ba'athist rulers, who were negotiating via U.S. imperialism for the return of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, needed to demonstrate their ability to police the Palestinians in Lebanon.

The Syrian military intervention shifted the balance of forces in favor of the Maronite militia, culminating in the siege and fall of the huge Palestinian camp of Tel Zaatar in Beirut. The Syrian army provided logistical support for the Maronite militia that was surrounding the camp and prevented PLO commandos from lifting the siege. Hundreds died of hunger and disease. When the Palestinians surrendered, they were slaughtered en masse. At Tel Zaatar, the Syrian Ba'athists provided the Israeli rulers with a model for the Sabra and Shatila massacre of 2,000 defenseless Palestinians in 1982, which was masterminded by Israel and carried out by the same Maronite criminals.

When Syrian forces entered Lebanon in 1976, we declared: "Syrian Troops Out of Lebanon!" (*WV* No. 114, 18 June 1976). Our opposition to the Syrian forces was based on the fact that they intervened to suppress the Palestinian fighters and refugees as well as the Lebanese Muslims. It was not based on the notion that Syria was somehow violating the national sovereignty of Lebanon. As we wrote following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon ("Israel Out of Lebanon!" *WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982):

> "There is a fundamental difference between the Syrian and Israeli armies in Lebanon, though both are oppressors and murderers of the peoples of Lebanon. Lebanon is *not* a nation separate and distinct from Syria, but a collection of religious-ethnic fiefdoms sharing a common ethnic makeup with Syria.... The Syrians in Lebanon are no more a 'foreign' army than the Maronite Phalange. Lebanon and Syria have been for centuries a common historical entity, united by language, culture and ethnic makeup."

Illustrated London News

French troops enter Damascus, 1920.

1982: Israel Invades Lebanon

Israel's 1982 invasion and occupation of Lebanon, backed by U.S. imperialism, marks a watershed in the history of the region. Buried, along with the 20,000 Palestinians and Lebanese killed by the Zionists, was the fiction that Israel is one reactionary mass. As Sharon's blitzkrieg into Lebanon spread death and destruction, massive antiwar protests took place in Israel, an unprecedented development in the midst of a military campaign. The Lebanese war threatened to unravel Fortress Israel. In that war we stood for revolutionary defensism of the Palestinian commandos, also recognizing that—given the unpopularity of the war among Israelis and the fact that Israel's population is relatively small—rising Israeli casualties could serve to widen the wedge between the Hebrew-speaking population and the Zionist rulers of Israel. For this reason, the decision of the PLO leadership to withdraw from Beirut, a surrender arranged by U.S. imperialism, was especially catastrophic for the Palestinian people and the prospects for social revolution in the region.

If the war in Lebanon deeply upset liberal Zionists, it also shattered the myth of Arab unity behind the Palestinian cause. Not a single Arab state came to the aid of the embattled Palestinians facing Sharon's genocidal terror. As a Palestinian commando exclaimed bitterly to a Western newsman during the siege of West Beirut, "You see where the Israelis are. Well, behind the Israelis is King Fahd [of Saudi Arabia] and Hafez el-Assad [of Syria] and King Hussein [of Jordan]. They are all in this together." Indeed, from King Hussein's Black September massacre of 10,000 Palestinians in 1970, under the gaze of 12,000 Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan, to the siege and slaughter of Palestinians by the Syrian-aided Maronites at Tel Zaatar, Arab rulers have been as ruthless enemies of Palestinian national emancipation as the Zionists. For the Arab rulers, the Palestinian question represents no more than a diversion, whereby popular discontent is channeled into a "holy war" against Zionism.

Faced with the impotence and betrayal of the Arab states, the PLO leadership turned to U.S. imperialism as a potential savior. Arafat agreed to allow the U.S.

Vigilantes...

(continued from page 12)

immigrants against these attacks. Latino immigrants are a critical part of the working class in this country and have spearheaded some of the most militant struggles, particularly in Southern California. It is crucial to fight for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants***—anyone who has made it to this country should have the same rights as everyone else.

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League initiated labor-centered mobilization in Oakland, California, February 2002, in defense of immigrant rights and against "war on terror."

California writer Mike Davis commented that "if the governor sounds like he is channeling his inner Nazi, it is because he is desperate" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 May). Schwarzenegger has run into trouble in his campaign to gut teachers unions and all public sector unions, slash pensions and public education, and ax social services. Now he is emulating former governor Pete Wilson, who in 1994 seized on the anti-immigrant Prop. 187 to divert attention from budget cuts and the tanking economy. Schwarzenegger embraced the Minutemen just after a poll announced his approval rating had plummeted 20 points since January to 40 percent. He is appealing to the same racist, xenophobic base he successfully mobilized in the 2003 recall election against Democratic Party governor Gray Davis, when he pledged to block driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants. He hopes to use this base as a battering ram against the organized workers movement as a whole.

Bush has criticized the border vigilantes, who in turn excoriate Bush's proposed revival of the notorious *bracero* program to import cheap, docile labor to be expelled when no longer needed. Schwarzenegger himself supports such a "guest worker" program while hacking the vigilantes. This is no contradiction. Schwarzenegger, like Bush, wants plenty of Mexican workers in this country—as long as his big-business friends can exploit them and they have no rights. All the better if they are cowed and intimidated by the threat of deportation across a "secure" border.

A chorus of Democratic Party politicians denounce Schwarzenegger on the grounds that instead of vigilantes murderously hunting down desperate immigrants in the desert, the government should be doing it. California senator Dianne Feinstein said Schwarzenegger should call for "additional border patrol agents," rather than praising "untrained volunteers" (*Sacramento Bee*, 29 April). The reputedly ultraliberal senator Barbara Boxer recently opposed Bush's "guest-worker" program by "saying it would 'open the floodgates' to illegal immigration" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 April). Feinstein in turn denounced an alternative bipartisan bill (which Boxer supported) as a "huge magnet" for more "illegal immigration." Democrats and Republicans—the two parties of U.S. capitalism—differ only over how best to serve capitalist profits.

Arizona Democratic congressman Raul Grijalva has called for an FBI investigation into possible "hate crimes" charges against the vigilantes. Workers should have no illusions in this deadly dangerous strategy. The FBI is ***carrying out*** the "war on terror" anti-immigrant witchhunt as part of the capitalist state, which will use "hate crimes" laws to go after workers and the left.

AFL-CIO officials have made a lot of noise in recent years about organizing immigrant workers. Yet at the same time, the labor bureaucracy pushes protectionist chauvinism which helps breed anti-immigrant consciousness among workers, be they white, black or in some cases Latino. This is a poisonous product of the union tops' policy of collaboration with the capitalist class enemy, a policy embodied politically in the labor tops' allegiance to the Democratic Party. In California, against Schwarzenegger, just as nationally against Bush, the labor tops and reformist left work to divert opposition into support for the Democrats under the banner of "fight the right."

An effective defense of the working class requires an ***internationalist*** program, expressing the common class interests of workers on both sides of the border drawn when the U.S. stole much of the Southwest from Mexico in 1848. The fight for immigrant rights must be seen as part of the struggle against all forms of oppression. And in the U.S., that means a struggle against black oppression, the bedrock of American capitalism. Workers must fight against the capitalist rulers' attempts to pit one oppressed group against another—such as the recent gross statement by right-wing Mexican president Vicente Fox that Mexican workers "are doing the work that not even blacks want to do in the United States."

Workers need their own party—a multiracial, class-struggle workers party. Such a party would organize unions to defend Latino immigrants against the border vigilantes, fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and organize the unorganized. It would fight to mobilize the social power of the working class in its own class interests and the interests of all the oppressed, independently of all the parties and agencies of the capitalists. ***Break from the Democrats! Mobilize labor to defend immigrants!*** ■

Cedarland

New York Times

Left: U.S. Marines in Lebanon, 1958. Right: Mass demonstration in Baghdad, July 1958. American troops were deployed to Lebanon as potential intervention force to crush revolutionary upsurge in Iraq, which brought proletariat to the brink of power.

Marines and the French Foreign Legion to disarm the Palestinian commandos guarding West Beirut and escort them to their new exile in Tunisia. American troops were sent into Lebanon for that purpose, eventually becoming a target in the Lebanese quagmire. On 23 October 1983, a powerful bomb exploded near the U.S. military barracks in Beirut, killing 240 Marines. It was to divert attention of the American population, outraged over what many perceived as a senseless intervention into the bloody Lebanese civil war, that President Ronald Reagan ordered the invasion of the tiny island of Grenada (see "Rape of Grenada, Bloody Mess in Lebanon—Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive! U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" *WV* No. 341, 4 November 1983).

Meanwhile, Arafat's betrayal in withdrawing from Beirut—setting the stage for the Sabra and Shatila massacre by Sharon's fascistic Maronite henchmen—liquidated the PLO as an independent military force. In the end, Israel withdrew its forces from southern Lebanon in 2000, concluding its nearly 20-year occupation of that country.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Comparing the initial defeat of the Maronites in 1975 to the events of the French Revolution, LNM leader Kamal Jumblatt declared, "This is our 1789." In that revolution, the bourgeoisie swept away the feudal order and consolidated a nation-state. However, in this epoch of imperialist domination, the national bourgeoisie in countries of belated development, like Lebanon, is incapable of realizing such goals as national consolidation. In their struggle for hegemony, colonial bourgeois forces may clash with the imperialists that ravage their resources, retard their economic development and create innumerable barriers to national emancipation. But in the age of imperialism, the colonial and semicolonial bourgeoisie can only exist as middlemen and brokers for imperialism. From the oil sheiks of the Gulf emirates to the bankers of Beirut and the bonapartists of Cairo and Damascus, the ruling classes of the Near East are as dependent on the backwardness and balkanization of their countries as the imperialists themselves. Their interests are firmly intertwined with those of imperialism. As Trotsky wrote of the Chinese Revolution in 1927: "Everything that brings the oppressed and exploited masses of the toilers to their feet inevitably pushes the national bourgeoisie into an open bloc with the imperialists" ("The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin," *Leon Trotsky on China* [1976]).

In such backward countries, the perspective for resolving the fundamental democratic questions posed by combined and uneven development, such as ensuring the democratic and national rights of all peoples in the Near East, is provided by the theory of permanent revolution developed by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. He wrote in *Permanent Revolution* (1929): "The complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses." The genuine liberation of colonial and semicolonial countries can be achieved only through the successful struggle of the proletariat for state power, leading all the oppressed.

Within the historic cauldron of national hatred and communal warfare of the Near East the prospects for even a modicum of intercommunal harmony in Lebanon are bleak under capitalism, for if the historic exclusion of the Muslim population is reversed it will simply lead to the victimization of the formerly dominant Christians. There is no possibility of an equitable solution to national and communal conflict short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As we wrote in the last part of our four-part series, "After Lebanon: The Left and the Palestinian Question—From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana" (*WV* No. 335, 29 July 1983): "The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the bloody Ba'athist bonapartists in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and shatter the Zionist state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of the Near East." ■

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VANCOUVER

WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Busting at United Airlines

Capitalist Government and Pension Theft

Working people across the country were aghast when a U.S. bankruptcy court on May 10 backed up United Airlines management immunity in ripping off its union pension plans. Many of the 134,000 active and retired United workers will now likely be robbed of at least half their retirement benefits. The message from the bosses is clear enough: just shut up, work hard and die. From shrinking wages and givebacks to the potential shredding of Social Security, labor as a whole faces a similar plight. But this heist takes place at the world's second largest carrier, in a vital industry that is 60 percent unionized. Airline workers have real social power, so why is there no collective fight to stop the bosses' offensive?

It is because they are saddled with a leadership wedded to the rule of capital. The smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981 was the watershed in a decades-long drive by the bosses to turn the clock back against the entire labor movement. At the time, "Solidarity" with PATCO was the rallying cry, and the line should have been drawn then. It was not, and workers have paid dearly ever since. It's time to take a stand!

Despite the tremendous social power that the heavily unionized airline industry workers have, they have been picked off one by one in devastating rounds of wage-slashing, pension-stealing, union-busting giveback contracts. Instead of organizing a powerful, united stand by all airport workers—mechanics, pilots, flight attendants, ground personnel—to defeat the union-busting and shut down the airports, the union tops have played by the bosses' rules and are complicit in creating this disaster for airline workers. It is necessary to forge a leadership not hamstrung by the bosses' rules, one that will take the offensive—such as organizing non-union carriers like JetBlue—to advance the battle from the viewpoint of class war, not acceptance of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, wrote in the Transitional Program (1938):

> "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin.... If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

Getty

United Airlines flight attendants protest last winter against company's threat to tear up contracts.

There is a lot at stake. The U.S. economy has undergone a significant deindustrialization in recent years, with many workers thrown out of production altogether. Seniors, desperate to make ends meet, are forced into low-wage non-union McJobs. Most young workers can't even get those jobs anymore. Layoffs, union-busting and recurring economic crises are all features of a system of private ownership, where capitalists make profits off the toil of the working class.

Other companies will undoubtedly use what is the largest pension default in U.S. history as a bludgeon against their own unions. In fact, United's major rivals

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Down With Border Vigilantes!

California

OAKLAND—Hundreds of armed vigilantes mobilized by the Minuteman Project flocked to the Arizona-Mexico border in April to terrorize undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans braving the harrowing desert crossing to seek work in the U.S. Such vigilante gangs have proliferated since the September 11 attacks, with the racist, anti-immigrant, anti-labor "war on terror," which they constantly invoke with lurid fantasies of foreign terrorists swarming through the desert. Shootings, beatings and kidnappings of immigrants in the border area have multiplied. From March 2002 to March 2003, the bodies of nine immigrant men were found in one 20-square-mile area of Arizona, according to one report.

These border vigilantes got a big boost on April 28 when California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger phoned the anti-immigrant talk radio "John and Ken Show" in Los Angeles to rave that the Minutemen have "done a terrific job" (*Sacramento Bee*, 29 April). Schwarzenegger's office later specifically invited the Minutemen to come to California, where anti-Mexican fanatics plan to mobilize on the border near San Diego in August. Emboldened bigots besieged a day laborers center in Laguna Beach in early May. When 40 supporters of a sinister outfit called "saveourstate.org" staged a provocation in the heavily Latino L.A.-area city of Baldwin Park on May 14, they were met by hundreds of counter-demonstrators, joined by supporters of the Spartacist League.

Minuteman Project

April 2: Racist "Minuteman Project" vigilantes gather from across nation at Arizona border, with Confederate flag flying.

The Minuteman Project is a racist, nativist, armed extra-legal mobilization against Mexican immigrants. Its chief spokesmen, Jim Gilchrist and Chris Simcox, supposedly disavow any "racist" allies. But Gilchrist's Web site rants that the U.S. is being "devoured and plundered by the menace of tens of millions of invading illegal aliens," while Simcox raved that "we need the National Guard to clean out all our cities and round them up" (*Intelligence Report*, Spring 2003). The vigilantes range from disgruntled white suburbanite Republicans to outright fascist race-terrorists. The Southern Poverty Law Center exposed supporters of the neo-Nazi National Alliance among the Minuteman Project participants in Arizona.

Anti-immigrant border vigilantes wax and wane with the booms and busts of the capitalist economy. In the early 1990s, there was the "Light Up the Border" mobilization around San Ysidro by right-wing vigilantes, joined by fascist skinheads. KKKers led by Tom Metzger, later leader of the White Aryan Resistance, "patrolled" the border near San Diego a decade earlier, boasting of murdering immigrants. These same forces are gunning for blacks, unionists and all workers.

The power of the multiracial labor movement must be mobilized to defend

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 850 | C-701 | 10 June 2005

Occupation of Iraq and the "War on Terror"

Lies, Torture and U.S. Imperialism

In the year since the Abu Ghraib tortures came to light, one exposé after another has confirmed that the policies of torture and humiliation have come from the top of this government. The official use of torture extends well beyond Abu Ghraib—into other prisons in Iraq, Afghanistan and the notorious concentration camp in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, where some 500 prisoners continue to be held without charge or trial. The line of the Bush administration has been to deny every new report that comes out documenting more torture and brutality. When Amnesty International released its report last month condemning the U.S. for its mass detentions, torture, disappearances and elimination of the right to trial for those caught in the web of its "war on terror," President Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice called it "absurd," while General Richard Myers, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, called Guantánamo a "model facility."

At the same time, a growing sector of the bourgeoisie is worried that the impact of one torture scandal after another is hurting U.S. imperialism's interests abroad. When *Newsweek* (9 May) published an article reporting that a Koran had been flushed down a toilet at Guantánamo, protests erupted throughout Muslim countries, leaving 17 people dead. Swearing on a stack of Bibles that it wasn't true, Bush & Co. twisted arms to force *Newsweek* to retract the article as a warning to any other publication that might report on policies the government wants concealed. Having faithfully reported the government's lies of Saddam's "weapons of mass destruction" to encourage "rally 'round the flag" patriotism in the buildup for war, the capitalist news media continue to kowtow to their White House masters with apologies for occasionally leaking a bit of truth. In so doing, the bourgeois media help chill free speech and assist the government's assault on civil liberties and the right to dissent.

In fact, when the Pentagon's own report on Guantánamo was finally released, it was clear that *Newsweek* didn't have it far off. A guard had not thrown the Muslim holy book in the toilet—he ***urinated on it***.

Gambarini/EPA

Saman/Newsday

Top: U.S. Marines terrorize Sunni family in Ramadi. Above: Mother of Abu Ghraib prisoner weeps at protest, May 2004. Banner demands: "Occupiers Leave Our Country."

Now, a number of bourgeois politicians and commentators are calling on the Bush administration to shut down Guantánamo. What these forces are trying to do is refurbish the image of American imperialism in order to maintain its effectiveness. Under the headline, "Un-American by Any Name," a *New York Times* (5 June) editorial complains that the administration's policy has not "been effective in finding and prosecuting the most dangerous terrorists, and it has been a disaster in undermining America's reputation for fairness."

In a 27 May piece in the *New York Times*, "Just Shut It Down," columnist Thomas Friedman argues to close down Guantánamo because "I want to win the war on terrorism," adding that the deaths of over 100 detainees in American custody "is not just deeply immoral, it is strategically dangerous." He concludes his column by quoting the executive director of Human Rights First: "If we are going to transform the Middle East, we have to be law-abiding and uphold the values we want them to embrace—otherwise it is not going to work." Meanwhile, in its recent report on Guantánamo, Amnesty International, too, is concerned that "the rule of law, and therefore, ultimately, security, is being undermined, as is any moral credibility the USA claims to have in seeking to advance human rights in the world."

While the Bush administration is a particularly arrogant and demented regime, what has really offended its bourgeois critics, particularly liberals and Democrats, is that it has made shamelessly overt what is normally carried out behind closed doors. As we wrote in "U.S. Imperialism's Torture, Inc." (*WV* No. 826, 14 May 2004), state terror and torture are not "aberrations": "They are the conscious policies of imperialist and neo-colonialist ruling regimes, who routinely and necessarily use terror and degradation as tools to maintain their power." As death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote in a 3 May 2004 column, "In the Shadows of Abu Ghraib Prison": "The Iraq Adventure is not, and never has been, about 'liberating' an oppressed people.... Americans may call it 'liberation,' but they are bringing torture, humiliation, and domination.... Now, let us prepare for the inevitable whitewash."

In the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, the Spartacist League took a side for the military defense of these countries against U.S. imperialist attack. At the same time, we stood in irreconcilable political opposition to the reactionary Afghan Taliban and the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein, both former allies of U.S. imperialism. Today, we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all

continued on page 7

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Why China Is Not Capitalist

Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

SEE PAGE 8

Klan Terror in North Carolina

Candlelight vigil in Durham, May 26, following fascist Klan provocation.

Richardson/News & Observer

3 June 2005

Dear WV,

When crosses were burned in three very visible locations in Durham, NC, on May 25, many residents were shocked and puzzled. The seven foot tall and four foot wide, kerosene-drenched crosses were erected and set afire where they would most clearly target the race terrorists' intended victims. One was burned in a predominantly black neighborhood; another at a church at which supporters of fascistic anti-gay bigot Reverend Fred Phelps protested the showing of a play about murdered gay youth Matthew Shepard; and the third at Martin Luther King Jr. Parkway, a prominent intersection. At one cross, racist flyers signed "KKK" were left.

Much is made here of Durham's reputation as a "progressive" place with a diverse population and a history of black economic and political progress. Durham's current population is roughly half black and also includes a growing Latino population, and the majority of city council members are black. The city was once home to a thriving "Black Wall Street," and Durham's NC Central University was the first state-funded liberal arts college for blacks. There's also a sizeable Jewish population and an active gay and lesbian community. (The city is the site of the largest "pride day" festival in North Carolina.) It's the kind of place that one may think would be inhospitable toward the Klan, a cowardly lot who prefer to practice their nightriding terror where there's little chance of getting their noses bloodied.

Indeed, in February 2004 when a handful of Klan and Nazi scum wanted to make hay out of the release of "Welcome to Durham," a documentary about gang violence in the city, they chose to stage their rally about 25 miles away in Raleigh. (The fascists were met by a vociferous, multi-racial counterdemonstration of about 1500 people and if it weren't for the huge turnout of local cops, county sheriff's deputies, state troopers and U.S. marshals they probably wouldn't have stuck around long.)

The "progressive" face of Durham hides a bit of reality, however; despite the sizeable black middle class and the black faces in high places, there is plenty of desperate poverty here, much of it black. There are several integrated neighborhoods, but most of the city's black poor are crammed into bleak areas full of decaying old houses or failed and crumbling public housing projects. Gangs and drug-dealing appear to be a growth industry—one of the few opportunities to make a buck in the eyes of poor kids with no future.

While the "progressives" of Durham gloss over these contradictions, the fascists haven't missed them. They know that the existence of gangs and crime brings with it a real racial fear among whites that the Klan can tap into. So, while on the surface it seems a surprise that fascists would choose an integrated, progressive city like Durham, it's consistent with their current strategy. Since the '80s the Klan has consistently targeted cities that have integrated populations, with crime. They play on the racism of the war on crime/drugs, because they feel they will get traction with whites, fed up with crime that has a black face. The incredibly racist and slanted prosecution of the war on drugs sends the racist message that the face of crime is black. The story goes: young black men go to jail for petty drug offenses, then after "rehabilitation" come out and commit violent crimes. This plays on existing racism and fear in order to get the white population to agree to almost anything in the name of fighting crime. The Klan is the logical next step, in that they offer a final solution. They want a race war, and you're not going to have a race war in Utah. Welcome to Durham.

The day after the cross-burnings in Durham about 600 people came out for vigils near the different sites. The news photos and footage of teary eyes attest to the pain and outrage felt by decent people over the fascist threats, but the best a candlelight vigil can do is to make some people feel better. Candles and tears will not stop Klan terror. What's needed is a mobilization using the social power of the organized, multiracial working class. That's a tall order here in the so-called "right to work" South, where Jim Crow and race-terror have worked hand in hand with union-busting to keep the working class divided, disorganized and cheap.

For labor-black mobilizations to stop the KKK!

Comradely,
LB and MD,
Durham, NC

Marxism vs. Pacifism

TROTSKY

LENIN

In the lead-up to the March 2003 U.S.-led imperialist invasion of Iraq, reformist socialists in the U.S. and internationally organized massive demonstrations around pacifist slogans such as "No War" and "Stop the War." These slogans were consciously designed to not challenge the capitalist system and not take a military side with Iraq against U.S. imperialism. The struggle against militarism and imperialist war must be directed not simply "against war" but against the source of war, which is the system of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. In a 1936 pamphlet published by the Workers Party of the United States, then-Trotskyist James Burnham (John West) explained why the strategy of pacifism must be rejected.

We have already seen the complete fallacy of the pacifist position as a means of preventing war. But it is necessary to go further. Not merely is pacifism powerless to prevent war. In the modern world it is, in effect, *a means of preparing for war*.

Harsh as this conclusion may seem to pacifists themselves, many of whom are personally sincere in their convictions, it can be proved by both theory and history.

Pacifism in any form aids the preparation for war because:

(1) It spreads illusions about the nature of war and of the fight against war (advocating disarmament, conscientious objection, naval treaties, the League [of Nations—predecessor of the UN], etc., as solutions), and thus prevents a real struggle against war, which can be based only on a true understanding of the nature and causes of war.

(2) Pacifism turns aside the working class from its struggle for power, the only genuine way to fight war. In this way it redirects the revolutionary struggle against war into "safe" channels—that is, channels safe for imperialism.

(3) Pacifism subordinates the working class—the only class which can lead the fight against war—to middle class ideas and middle class individuals (preachers, fake liberals, professional "anti-war agitators"), and thus weakens the class strength of the workers.

(4) Most dangerous of all, in the case of pacifism, is the fact that, by exploiting the desire of the masses for peace and yet completely deluding the masses about the character of the struggle against war, pacifism leaves the masses helpless when war actually comes. At that time, the middle-class and pseudo-liberal leaders of the pacifist movement and organizations for the most part go over at once to the side of the war-makers.

—John West, "War and the Workers" (1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 7 June.

No. 850 **10 June 2005**

Labor Black League Discussion

For Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!
Stop Racist Violence Against Immigrants, Blacks!

A *Workers Vanguard* readers circle discussion on *WV* No. 847 (29 April) article on racist violence in Long Island

Saturday, June 18, 4 p.m.
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(1-1/2 blocks north of Chambers St.)

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U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

The Left and the Occupation

Following the second anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, there has been a lot of handwringing and whining among self-proclaimed socialist groups in the U.S. as to why the "antiwar movement" has fallen on hard times. Both the Workers World Party (WWP), builder of ANSWER and the "Troops Out Now Coalition," and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) now have the nerve to complain that "the movement" was diverted into supporting pro-war Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry. Workers World vows: "The antiwar movement should never again sacrifice its independence and demobilize itself on behalf of a political party that supports the war" ("Troops Out Now Coalition" leaflet for March 19 New York City protest). The ISO, for its part, boldly proclaims: "Backing Democrats has pulled the antiwar movement to the right" (*Socialist Worker*, 22 April).

Under the headline, "Are the Democrats Our Allies?" the 13 May *Socialist Worker* includes an exchange that proves that the debate is about tactics, not fundamental class interests. While ex-Maoist Carl Davidson insists that the antiwar movement should be lobbying Congressional Democrats, Elizabeth Schulte of the ISO writes, "We need an activist movement that doesn't compromise its antiwar positions in the name of defeating the greater of two evils—a movement that none of the politicians in Washington, Democrat *or* Republican, can ignore." So it's write your Congressman vs. action in the street to pressure your Congressman, be he a Democrat or Republican.

The antiwar movement did not undergo some fundamental transformation to end up in the "Anybody but Bush" camp. ***From the very beginning***, the assorted reformist "socialists" subordinated the interests of the international working class to what would be acceptable to those capitalist politicians (e.g., Barbara Lee, Dennis Kucinich, Al Sharpton) who opposed the war because they deemed it was not in the best interests of U.S. imperialism. The socialist pretensions of these reformists—like Workers World (which built ANSWER), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP—which built Not In Our Name) and the ISO (which worked within United for Peace and Justice—UFPJ)—were once again proven to be so much hot air as they devoted themselves to building a movement that did not and could not challenge the framework of the capitalist system.

Only a program of turning the antiwar movement into an anti-capitalist movement could point the way forward. The perspective of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs was to wage a proletarian fight to break the disastrous unity of antiwar militants with elements of the bourgeoisie on a pacifist program. We fight to win antiwar activists away from classless appeals to "peace" and "justice" and to the perspective of mobilizing the proletariat in class struggle against the U.S. imperialist rulers. In the absence of such a perspective, the antiwar movement could only benefit bourgeois politicians, in particular the Democratic Party, and reinforce bourgeois rule.

Our starting point, as revolutionary, working-class and internationalist Marxists, is the understanding that the drive toward war is inherent in the world economic system as it is presently constituted. With economies dominated by huge financial conglomerates and a small number of monopolist industrial producers, the major capitalist powers (centrally the U.S., Japan and Germany) are in competition with each other for control of raw materials, markets, labor forces to brutally exploit and strategic military positions. The U.S. is currently overwhelmingly dominant militarily, and wants to remain so. The invasion of Iraq was designed to ensure its strategic military predominance in the Near East to the detriment of its rivals. There are now elements of the U.S. ruling class that worry that the U.S. military is over-stretched in Iraq and that it should conserve its forces for other battles (e.g., against the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states). However the various imperialist ruling classes conceive of their interests at any particular conjuncture, colonial wars—as well as wars among the imperialist powers themselves (e.g., World Wars I and II)—are inevitable as long as capitalism continues to dominate the globe.

The Achilles' heel of capitalism is its dependence on the labor of the working class for its profits. The proletariat has the social power and objective interests to sweep away the capitalist system. Only a series of working-class revolutions to overthrow capitalist rule can create a world-wide planned economy and put a stop to the incessant struggle for domination by the various imperialist powers. But the power of the working class has to be marshaled and mobilized by a revolutionary party. The aim of the Spartacist League is to forge such a party. Thus we approach every social struggle from the point of view of furthering the interests of the working class, raising its consciousness and instilling an understanding of its historic task—to overthrow capitalism. As then-Trotskyist James Burnham wrote in "War and the Workers" (1936):

> "Since the victory of socialism, and this alone, will defeat war, every step on the path to socialism is a blow at war. In the struggle against war, properly understood, every militant workers' demonstration, every broad mass labor defense fight, every well-led strike, and in general every advance of the workers toward power, is worth a thousand "Peace Leagues'."

In the lead-up to and during the March-April 2003 war, the SL raised as its central slogans: "Defend Iraq Against U.S./British Imperialist Attack!", "Down With U.S. imperialism!", "For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!", and "All U.S. Troops Out of the Near East Now!" Our slogans reflected our policy of ***revolutionary defense*** of Iraq and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. We took a side militarily with semi-colonial Iraq against the U.S. imperialist invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime. We also clearly stated that the foremost means to defend Iraq was not on the military plane, given the colossal military advantage of the United States, but through international proletarian struggle, particularly in the United States. We called for ***class-struggle opposition*** to U.S. imperialism, noting, in a 19 March 2003 "Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.":

> "Workers in Italy, Scotland and elsewhere have already staged labor actions against the war, including blocking military goods destined for the Persian Gulf. Such actions point the way to the kinds of labor struggles that are necessary, especially in the belly of the American imperialist beast. The obstacle to this is the AFL-CIO labor officialdom, which pits American workers against their class brothers and sisters around the world by promoting national chauvinism and subordinating workers to the dual parties of capitalist rule, the Democrats and Republicans."

In contrast, the reformists consciously *refused* to take a military side with Iraq. The ISO enthusiastically built the demonstrations of the UFPJ coalition as well as the ANSWER and Not In Our Name coalitions. Typical slogans at these protests were "No to War," "Stop Bush's War," "Money for Jobs & Human Needs, Not for War," and "Bring the Troops Home Now."

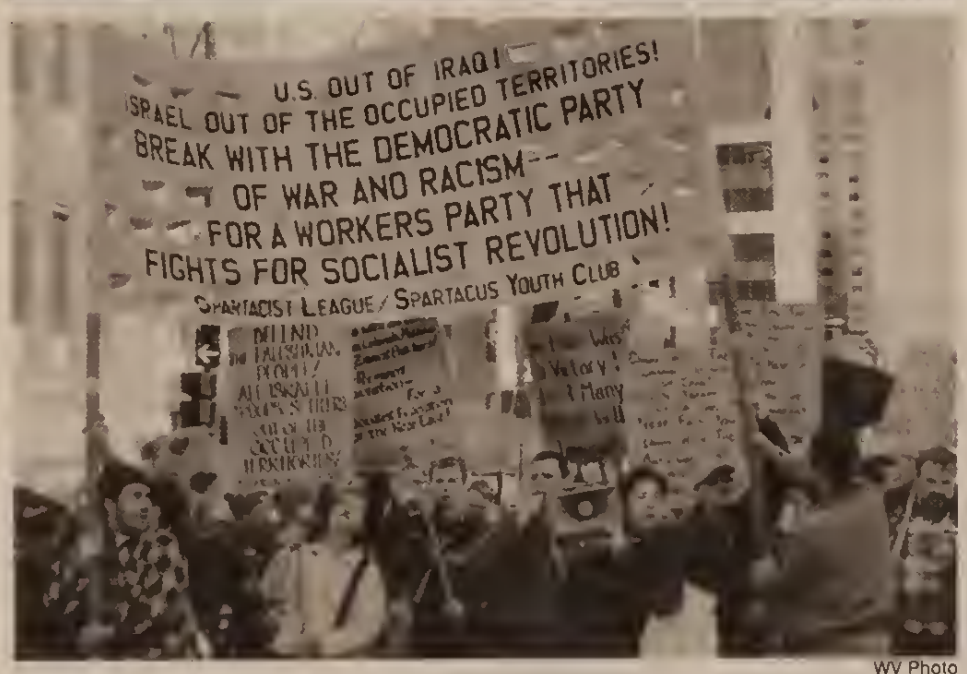
These slogans are all premised on an acceptance of the framework of capitalism, at most calling for a reordering of the policies and priorities of the capitalist government. In no way do these slogans challenge capitalism as a system that is itself ***responsible*** for poverty and war. Far from raising the consciousness of the working class about the need to overthrow capitalism, they lull the working masses into thinking that it is possible to pressure the capitalist system to be peaceful and to change its priorities. The aim of the various reformists is to establish a movement in which a future bourgeois-defeatist wing of American capital would feel at home, a movement similar to the one the Socialist Workers Party and others built in the early years of the Vietnam antiwar movement.

Recently, Workers World initiated a new "Troops Out Now Coalition" that is "open to all individuals and organizations willing to work together to stop the war." Meanwhile, the ISO's self-declared goal is to "influence Congress" by building "a confident, coherent and growing opposition to the Iraq occupation" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). By promoting "broad unity" (i.e., unity with the bourgeoisie), the reformists keep American workers tied to their "own" capitalists, while cutting across the international unity that workers in the U.S. must have with their class brothers and sisters in Iraq under the guns of U.S. imperialism. If the U.S. working class does not mobilize in defense of American imperialism's victims, then it will never mobilize for socialist revolution.

WV Photos

Left: March 19 anti-occupation protest, New York City. Right: Al Sharpton speaking at antiwar protest in Washington, D.C., October 2002. In antiwar movement, Workers World and ISO promote illusion that capitalism can be reformed.

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at Chicago anti-occupation demonstration, 20 March 2004.

Reform vs. Revolution

The fundamental dividing line between us and the rest of the left is ***program***: reform or revolution. Ours is a program for the independent mobilization of the working class in opposition to the entire capitalist system, and the wars, poverty and desperation it breeds. The program of the ISO, Workers World and the RCP is based on class collaboration, which means subordinating the interests of the workers to those of the capitalist class. They push the illusion that war can

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NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office will be open from 1:00 to 3:00 p.m. on Saturday, June 11 and will be closed on Saturday, June 18.

"Honor" Killings in Germany

Exberliner

Hatun Sürücü

We print below the translation of an article that first appeared in Spartakist *No. 158 (Spring 2005), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTAKIST

On January 7, Hatun Sürücü was shot in Berlin-Tempelhof, her head and body so riddled with bullets that she died on the spot. In contrast to the way she chose to live, her relatives buried her in the most conservative religious tradition. Only her three brothers were not present at the burial. They were in jail, accused of their sister's "honor" killing, supposedly committed to restore the family honor destroyed by her behavior: abandoning a marriage arranged by her family with a cousin in Istanbul when she was 16; returning to Berlin; living with her son in a home for mothers and children, beyond the reach of family discipline. She had sought out training as an electrical installer, which she was within weeks of completing, had stopped wearing the headscarf and was dressing as she pleased. She was also dating German men and choosing her own friends, which could have led to her choosing her next husband without the agreement of her family.

This is reportedly the sixth such "honor" killing in Berlin in four months. It has horrified and polarized society, igniting the explosive mixture of women's oppression and racism. It was the revolting sympathy with the murderers expressed by some schoolboys at Thomas Morus High School in [Berlin's] Neukölln [district] that really ignited debate over the slaying and the whole issue of "honor" killing—their justification was that "she had lived like a German" (*Junge Welt*, 25 February). The shocked school principal responded to the mocking jeers with an open letter to all students, parents and teachers. And while the overwhelming majority of pupils at this school, including those of Near Eastern and Muslim extraction, unambiguously condemned the murder, this was not just an expression of macho on the part of a small minority—it also reveals the method for keeping Turkish and Kurdish girls within prescribed bounds.

Simultaneously, the bourgeois press set up a howl over fundamentalism, foreign customs and Turkish immigrants. Berlin's SPD [Social Democratic] mayor Wowereit is demanding that "Those who come [to Germany] must show the will to assimilation" (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 22 February). This is only the latest version of Chancellor Schröder's 1998 threat: when someone "abuses the right to hospitality, there's just one thing to do: out with them—and fast." It is with disgust (but no surprise) that we learn that Neukölln mayor Heinz Buschkowsky (SPD) has been using the murder of Hatun Sürücü to push his campaign for forced assimilation. In an interview with the fascist newspaper *Junge Freiheit*, Buschkowsky inveighed from the right against "multicultural" politics, saying that "many people apparently are much more outraged when foreigners become victims of right-wing extremist violence than when Turkish women are shot to restore the family honor" (*tip*, 24 March).

On March 5, occasioned by the recent "honor" killings, Terre des Femmes (TdF), along with SPD, PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], Green politicians and others, called a demonstration against violence against women that drew some 1,000 people onto the streets of Kreuzberg [in Berlin]. The issue of *Spartakist* with the headline "Full Citizenship Rights for All Who Live Here" drew lots of attention and sales were brisk, especially when we pointed out an earlier article, "No to the Racist Headscarf Ban." At one point small groups of demonstrators stood facing one another, excitedly discussing whether one should beg the racist state to defend immigrant women against Islam or defend the headscarf as such. This is a false polarization: the veil, along with the headscarf, is a symbol of the subordination of women to men, and the church/mosque/synagogue is a primary instrument for women's oppression. Nonetheless, we defend the right of ethnic minorities to practice their religions and recognize that state persecution will not only drive oppressed women back to home and hearth but will set off more racist violence on the streets. This has been among the obvious effects of the anti-Islam "war on terror" waged by U.S. and European governments since 11 September 2001. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, misery—growing unemployment, ghettoization, war and hopelessness—is on the rise among immigrants and in the entire "Third World," with the result that fundamentalism is gaining strength as a seeming alternative.

Spartakist

Berlin, 5 March: Some 1,000 protest "Against Violence Against Women." Sign reads: "Stop Political Islam, Stop Honor Killings."

Many social workers who took part in the TdF demonstration have been engaged in a Sisyphean task against the mosques and the state, attempting to assist, hide and defend young women immigrants. They told a *Spartakist* saleswoman how conflicted they were about joining the demonstration in the midst of an anti-Islamic witchhunt. The Turkish Association of Berlin-Brandenburg (TBB) posted the call for the demonstration on their Web site. However, three days after the demonstration, the TBB Women's Forum put out a press release warning against "undifferentiated and all-embracing statements that could heighten prejudice and racist tendencies vis-à-vis the Turkish community and other minorities."

Hatun's execution was extreme in its brutality, but her situation was horribly common. A study by the Family Ministry reveals what social workers were only able to guess at: "49 percent of Turkish women said they had experienced physical or sexual violence in their marriage. A quarter of those married to Turkish husbands said that they had met their grooms only on their wedding day. Half said they were pressured to marry partners selected by their relatives and 17 percent felt they had been forced into such partnerships" (*Spiegel* online, 2 March). That Hatun had the fortitude (and help) to fight her way out of this situation was unusual. Social workers at Papatya, an institution that maintains a secret home specializing in assisting young women who are fleeing their families, have often observed that many of the young women who come for help do eventually go back to their families. It takes a very determined or very frightened young woman to break completely with her family and make her way alone or even as a single mother in this racist country.

The concept of "family honor," i.e., control of the sexuality of women by their family, is not exclusively Islamic, but rather connected to a mode of production where a clan—a series of related extended families—holds and works the land in common. Citing Marx, Friedrich Engels explained the history of women's oppression in his classic work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884):

> "'The modern [patriarchal] family contains in embryo not only slavery (*servitus*) but serfdom also, since from the very beginning it is connected with agricultural services. It contains within itself in *miniature* all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state.'
>
> "Such a form of the family shows the transition of the pairing family to monogamy. In order to guarantee the fidelity of the wife, that is, the paternity of the children, the woman is placed in the man's absolute power; if he kills her, he is but exercising his rights."

This Marxist view of women's oppression as linked to private property and particularly to the oppressive institution of the family was integral to the Bolshevik program and strategy for building socialism internationally. Lenin emphasized that "one cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing in the women" ("International Working Women's Day," 8 March 1921). In addition to legal equality,

> "The second and most important step is the abolition of the private ownership of land and the factories. This and this alone opens up the way towards a complete and actual emancipation of woman, her liberation from 'household bondage' through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services."

Even in the face of dire poverty and imperialist encirclement, the young Soviet state undertook heroic efforts to organize public education, childcare, laundries, health facilities and canteens at the factories and in the fields. Bolshevik women organizers went voluntarily to Central Asia to inform women of their rights and mobilize them for their class interests against family interests and "honor."

Many Bolshevik policies were reversed under the rule of Stalin's nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped power in 1923-24, betraying the Leninist internationalist perspective in the name of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Similarly, the family was reinstated as a "fighting unit for socialism." Despite all these deformations, with the collectivization of agriculture, Central Asia was raised into the 20th century from a mode of production typical of the 7th century, so that women were able to cast off the veil, get an education, participate in social life, choose their own husbands and obtain access to contraception. In contrast, their sisters in Afghanistan remained chained to centuries-old customs and traditional family violence until 1979, when a leftist, secularist, pro-Soviet regime, backed by the Red Army, briefly lifted them out of this wretchedness; against this, the imperialist powers (including all the parliamentary parties in Germany) financed and armed the Islamic fundamentalists, including the Taliban. It was the first time in modern history that women's rights became the central question of a war. In contrast to most of the "left," we said at the time: "Hail Red Army! Extend the social gains of October to the Afghan peoples!" But with the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, all the old crap is coming back.

While immigrants of the Turkish and Kurdish ethnic minorities and their German-born children and grandchildren have no links to agriculture in Germany, since most have either no citizenship rights at all or citizenship rights that are revocable, they often remain tied to land and family structures in Turkey. Family organization often replaces the social measures that most Europeans have

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German Trotskyists Beat Back Attack by Pro-Zionist Goons

We print below a May 24 leaflet issued by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The leaflet outlines how our SpAD comrades successfully defended themselves against a violent attack by "anti-German" thugs in Hamburg. The "anti-Germans" are in no way part of the left or workers movement. They are a conglomeration of ex-leftists who came together in 1990, following the counterrevolutionary annexation of the East German deformed workers state by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, and have since embraced many reactionary forces, including U.S. imperialism and the Israeli Zionist state.

Hamburg

On May 14, at 4 p.m., we held a forum at a Hamburg cafe of the AIDS-Help Association. The forum was entitled "8 May 1945: The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime! SPD [German Social Democratic Party]/Green/PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]—Popular Front for German Imperialism." We celebrate the 8th of May as the day of the victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany. We stand in the tradition of the Trotskyists, who in the Second World War unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet degenerated workers state and fought for the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisies of Germany, Japan, the U.S., Britain and France. The imperialists, no matter whether Axis powers or "democrats," were vying for a new division of the world. While the Western imperialists bombed the workers districts of Hamburg and Dresden, it was the Red Army that brought the Holocaust to an end and liberated the peoples of East Europe from Nazi barbarism. Only when it became clear that the Soviet Union would triumph did the Western Allies open the second front in 1944 "to save" capitalist Europe from the Red Army. That is why it is false when the left of today hails the "democratic" Western imperialists as "liberators."

After we had left the café of the AIDS-Help Association on Lange Reihe Street and some of the participants had gone to a nearby bar, a gang of 10 to 15 "anti-Germans" dressed almost exclusively in black showed up around 7:30. The group pursued two of our comrades to the bar, threatening, "We're here to get you again!" We demanded that the provocateurs get out of the bar and informed the rest of the guests that they are racists who cheer on state terror against Muslim immigrants and the oppression of the Palestinians. When we made it clear that these people were known for attacks on leftists, one of the provocateurs shoved one of our Jewish woman comrades against a wall. While we were trying to restrain the goon, a second attacker punched another woman comrade in the face. In the course of pushing back the "anti-Germans," two young workers were injured and one had his glasses broken. While we were successful in rapidly expelling these thugs from the bar, they turned over tables and tried to use chairs as weapons on their way out. Finally the cowards beat it. ***An injury ta one is an injury ta all! Far united-frant actian by wärkers, leftists and immigrants to defend against "anti-German" gaans!***

This attack is the latest in a whole series of "anti-German" attacks on leftists, immigrants and others who don't fit into their racist, pro-imperialist worldview. In 2003 they attacked two of our forums at Humboldt University in Berlin, including once with a smoke bomb [see "Germany: Apologists for Zionist Terror Attack Spartakist Youth Meeting," *WV* No. 806, 4 July 2003]. Most recently, on April 28, they attacked our lit table there. They hate us especially because we have exposed them as wanting to destroy leftists and have had some success in isolating them politically, not least with our article "'Anti-Nationals/Anti-Germans': Goons for the SPD/Green Government!" (*Spartakist* No. 152, Fall 2003) documenting how they are financed by the government. The "anti-Germans" are goons and provocateurs and work hand in glove with the bourgeois state. On May 8 in Berlin, they tried to pull the plug on the sound truck belonging to the ATTAC contingent at the Spasibo coalition's Antifa [groups of self-described anti-fascists]

Spartakist photos

Berlin, May 8: Sixtieth anniversary of Red Army victory over Nazi Germany. Spartacist placard (top left) reads: "'Collective Guilt' Amnesties Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz—Workers Revolution Will Avenge the Holocaust!" Below: Pro-imperialist, pro-Zionist "anti-Germans" march with flags of Allied "anti-Hitler coalition."

demonstration, because ATTAC supporters were singing rap songs against the bloody U.S. occupation of Iraq. In our leaflet, "'Anti-Germans': Goons for German Imperialism" (4 May), we had already warned, prior to the demo, "The 'anti-Germans' feel the wind in their sails. The political backdrop for this is the rapprochement of left Antifas with these racists in the name of transclass 'antifascist unity'." We intervened for a proletarian internationalist perspective to stop the Nazis. "Anti-Germans," preeminently the group Kritik & Praxis, were permitted to march at the tail of this coalition demonstration waving flags of the countries in the "anti-Hitler coalition," the U.S., France, Britain and the Soviet Union. And they carried Israeli flags. The "anti-Germans" deliberately equate the reactionary forces of Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism with fascism, in order to mobilize for their modern-day version of an "anti-Nazi coalition," in defense of U.S. imperialism and its Israeli junior partners in the Near East. What they sell as anti-fascism is in reality defense of Zionist terror against Palestinians, and imperialist war.

They hailed the NATO bombing of Afghanistan and the U.S. war against Iraq and today they support the colonial occupation there. Their racism against immigrants of Muslim background corresponds to that of the U.S. neoconservatives like Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz, who are quoted positively by "anti-German" magazines like *Jungle World* and who make up a main part of the Christian-fundamentalist Bush administration. And their racism corresponds to that of the SPD/Green government which is administering German imperialism for the bourgeoisie. One cannot fight the Nazis together with racist warmongers like the "anti-Germans"! The "anti-Germans" are not part of the left but accomplices of Fischer/Schily [German Foreign Minister and Interior Minister] and Bush/Blair!

At the Carnival of Cultures in Berlin in May 2004, "anti-Germans" from the group Kritik & Praxis assaulted a contingent defending black journalist and former Black Panther Party member Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man condemned to death row in the U.S. When the attack was repulsed, the "anti-Germans" sicced the cops on the Mumia supporters. We defended the RK (Revolutionary Communists), who supported the Mumia contingent, against the ensuing racist witchhunt by the "anti-Germans." The result of their slanders is that the Mumia contingent was completely banned from this year's Carnival. Mumia Abu-Jamal is hated by the "anti-Germans" because he takes a stand against the racist politics of U.S. imperialism, which the "anti-Germans" cheer with waving flags. We demand: ***Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Down with the racist death penalty!***

In Hamburg we also were in the cross hairs of these goons because we call for defending the seminars of Professor Hanisch, who argues for the right to existence of both Israelis and Palestinians, against "anti-German" provocations and attempts to get them banned. In our leaflet mobilizing for the university strike against tuition fees, we wrote: "The provocations of the 'anti-Germans' all follow a pattern of inciting the German state against whoever may be their victims at the time. Thus they called (in vain) on university president Lüthje to ban Professor Hanisch's seminar. Anti-racist students must defend the seminar against censorship efforts by the racist 'anti-Germans.' In the winter semester of 2003-04, Berlin 'anti-Germans' slandered the university student strike in Berlin as 'anti-Semitic'." The appeals by the "anti-German" group Bad Weather and people in the Hamburg student library—made to the same Lüthje who sics the cops on students—to cancel Professor Hanisch's seminar are a threat against all those protesting the imposition of tuition as well as all those who want to form their own opinion about the Near East. At least one of the May 14 attackers was among the "anti-Germans" disrupting various seminars by Professor Hanisch at Hamburg University and had already tried to set off a violent confrontation with us on May 12 while we were distributing leaflets outside a seminar. Already in July 2003, Bad Weather had made death threats against a linguistics professor at Hamburg University for supporting a call by university lecturers from Britain and Israel to isolate Israel as a protest against its occupation policy. The "anti-Germans" brand as anti-Semitic every defender of Palestinians, including non-Zionist Jews and human rights activists such as Professor Hanisch. ***Warkers, leftists, immigrants and anti-racists—defend free speech! Defend Prafessar Hanisch and his lectures and seminars!***

We stand for the overthrow of the sheiks, mullahs, colonels and Zionist butchers and for a socialist federation of the Near East. In contrast to nationalists of *every* stripe, we want to win the Hebrew-speaking workers to the defense of the Palestinians. Israel is not "the only secure place," but a deathtrap for Jews. It is especially Jews from East Europe who are used by the Israeli bourgeoisie in their dirty war against the Palestinians. In Israel/Palestine, an area to which two nationalities lay claim, only an Arab-Hebrew workers revolution can democratically resolve the question of national self-determination for both the Palestinian and the Hebrew-speaking peoples. ***Israeli traaps and settlers aut af the occupied territaries! Defend the Palestinians! Far a sacialist federatian af the Near East!***

The "anti-Germans" couldn't care less about the fate of the Jews. Following on the Kohl government's banning of immigration by Jews from what was then the

continued on page 14

Left and Occupation...

(continued from page 3)

be ended by pressuring the bourgeoisie.

The reformists did not fight to get the working people of the U.S. to understand that their fundamental interests lay in siding with the Iraqi people against the U.S. military machine. Rather, they wanted to build a "movement" tailored to "antiwar" bourgeois politicians—and no bourgeois politician is going to feel comfortable on a platform with those who support the other side in a conflict with the U.S. Nor did the ISO and Workers World, despite their socialist pretensions, call for the overthrow of the capitalist system from the platforms of the major antiwar mobilizations they supported.

In their press, the ISO and Workers World polemicize against the Democrats. For example, in "The Future of the Antiwar Movement" (*International Socialist Review*, January-February 2005), the ISO states: "The antiwar movement was quiet because it plunged itself headlong into the Kerry campaign." But their "opposition" to the Democrats is very different from ours. We oppose the Democratic Party on principle because it is a capitalist party that is the enemy of working people, blacks and all the oppressed. The reformist left, however, views the Democratic Party as a potential ally.

For example, Workers World, which ran its own presidential campaign in 2004, enthusiastically endorsed black liberal Democrat Cynthia McKinney for U.S. Congress, calling her "Unbossed & Unbought" (*Workers World*, 22 July 2004). This year's 19 March "Troops Out Now!" protest featured Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel as a speaker. Rangel had introduced a bill in Congress in 2003 (and again last month) for the reinstatement of the draft, i.e., more imperialist troops! The ISO's "alternative" to voting for Kerry was to support capitalist politician Ralph Nader's "independent" campaign for president. Nader did not even oppose the imperialist occupation of Iraq, proposing only that it be under the cover of a United Nations fig leaf, and explicitly promoting his candidacy as a vehicle to pressure the Democrats to "return" to liberalism. For its part, the RCP advised: "vote for Kerry if you feel you really have to" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 29 August 2004).

Attacking the reformist strategy on war, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1929) of "the boundary that separates Marxism from opportunism, the revolutionary from the pacifist position":

> "It is a question of nothing less than the struggle against war, that is, of ***how and with whot methods war con be overted ar stopped; by the pressure of the proletoriat upon the bourgeoisie or by civil wor ta overthrow the bourgeoisie?...***
>
> "Only a reformist can picture the pressure of the proletariat upon the bourgeois state as a permanently increasing factor and as a guarantee against intervention.
>
> "***The struggle agoinst war is decided not by pressure upon the gavernment but only by the revolutionory struggle for power.***"

The ISO and "the Resistance"

The imperialist war and occupation of Iraq are a direct consequence of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The USSR was the military-industrial powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states—with a nuclear arsenal that could challenge that of the U.S. Without the Soviet Union to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism, the world has become a far more dangerous place, a place of unbridled American military intervention. Although bureaucratically degenerated under Stalinist misrule, which included policies that conciliated imperialism, the Soviet Union was still a workers state with a planned economy and collectivized property. We fought to defend the USSR—as we do China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba today—against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies, which base themselves on the reactionary dogma of "socialism in one country," and to establish regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

In contrast, the ISO has from its inception been defined by the virulent anti-Communism of the Cold War period. In the name of "democracy," the anti-Communist ISO hailed nearly every force arrayed against the USSR, including the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in Afghanistan who took up arms against the Soviet Army and opposed elementary democratic rights for women and reforms that infringed on the economic and political dominance of the mullahs. The ISO cheered the cutthroats Reagan called "freedom fighters," who threw acid

Novosti

May Day in Petrograd, 1917: Bolsheviks organized against imperialist war, brought working class to power in Russia in October Revolution. Center banner reads: "For the Arming of the People—Long Live the International."

in the faces of unveiled women and skinned Communist school teachers alive! We Trotskyists said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" When the Soviet Union was dealt a mortal blow by Boris Yeltsin's coup, the ISO and its international cothinkers crowed, "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

The collapse of the Soviet Union plays an important role in evaluating the ongoing debate in the left on the Iraqi "resistance." In "What Kind of Movement Do We Need?" (*Socialist Worker*, 22 April), the ISO reports that "New York City UFPJ leaders refused to endorse the March 19 'Troops Out Now' protest in Central Park—in part, they said, because 'some of the early materials for this protest' contained 'language about supporting the Iraqi resistance'."

In an article titled "The Future of the Antiwar Movement" (*International Socialist Review*, January-February 2005), Meredith Kolodner of the ISO wrote:

> "The truth is that a mass demonstration isn't sufficient to end a war. The Iraqi resistance, whose impact on the U.S. is far more forceful than a mass demonstration, hasn't yet been enough to force the U.S. to leave. The U.S. took years to finally admit defeat and pull out of Vietnam—a country less strategically important than Iraq today. It was forced to do so by the combination of a mass movement at home, a unified national liberation movement in Vietnam, and the disintegration of the U.S. army as an effective fighting force."

The truth is the ISO is deeply dishonest. Kolodner holds the antiwar protests as equally responsible for the American pullout as the "unified national liberation movement in Vietnam." In fact, the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam because it was militarily defeated on the battlefield by the heroic workers and peasants of that country. Along with the army of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state, the workers and peasants of the South sacrificed so much because they were fighting for more than "national liberation." Their victory resulted in a social revolution—i.e., the overturn of capitalist property relations—something the ISO would like to disappear. Further, the defeat of the U.S. was a major victory for workers around the world, creating the "Vietnam syndrome," which stayed the hand of the imperialists from military invasions for over a decade. We were for the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution.

As revolutionary Marxists, we have a side in the current conflict in Iraq: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. Our starting point is to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops. We defend the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression. ***Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers***, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. Every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed. But as we wrote in "The Left and the 'Iraqi Resistance'—U.S. Out of Iraq Now!" (*WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004):

> "We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials and warn that in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of one or another of the reactionary clerical forces is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism....
>
> "The so-called 'national resistance' in Iraq is a myth promoted by U.S. and Western imperialism and cynical leftists.... Resistance forces led by religious clerics are by definition sectarian. There isn't a unitary 'resistance' force in Iraq but rather disparate groupings organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces—and often against rival groupings and random civilians."

In a piece by ISO honcho Paul D'Amato in *International Socialist Review* (March-April 2005) titled "Iraqis Have the Right to Resist," he tries to paint the insurgency in Iraq as a "national liberation movement." D'Amato compares it to the North Vietnamese Stalinists: "North Vietnam was under the sway of a one-party dictatorship that suppressed dissent, and the Vietminh under Ho Chi Minh's leadership murdered Vietnamese Trotskyists after the Second World War during the resistance against the reimposition of French colonialism."

It is grotesque to compare the Vietnamese forces that fought for social revolution, that actually defeated the U.S. militarily, with the religious and nationalist fanatics in Iraq whose existence is often defined by the national and sectarian divisions in the country among Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs and Kurds, and which often target other religious or ethnic populations in criminal bombings. During the Vietnam War, we exposed the crimes of the North Vietnamese Stalinists, such as the murder of Vietnamese Trotskyists. One doesn't need to prettify history to understand that D'Amato's comparison exudes fierce anti-Communism.

Throughout his article, D'Amato cites war after war to lecture about the importance of supporting national liberation struggles. This is *chutzpah*, considering that the ISO's international founder, the late Tony Cliff, was expelled from the Fourth International for refusing to defend North Korea against the UN-backed U.S. invasion of the peninsula during the 1950-53 Korean War. Behind this was Tony Cliff's Cold War anti-Communism, as the Korean War was more than a national liberation struggle. Like Vietnam, the Korean War was a conflict of forces of counterposed class characters, pitting the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against U.S. and British imperialism and their South Korean lackeys. The Korean War is unmentioned in D'Amato's article. Also unmentioned is the fact that the Cliffites' anti-Communism was so deep that they refused to defend the Vietnam National Liberation Front (NLF) until quite late in the war, when it became clear that their anti-Communism would isolate them among left-radical youth in the U.S. at the time who were chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is going to win!"

D'Amato, arguing against other reformists who renounce defense of the "Iraqi resistance," tries to equate these reformists with those who defended the workers states:

> "Much of the Left in the U.S. suffers from the hangover of a Stalinist approach to national liberation, which identified certain movements worthy of ***uncritical support*** because they were led by secular nationalist forces strongly identified with Cuba, China, or the Soviet Union....
>
> "For those on the Left with illusions in the USSR as a socialist state (and this includes the majority of the U.S. Left), the whole project of national liberation seemed to fade in the wake of the collapse of the Berlin Wall."

It is the Stalinists and Maoists, as well as the ISO, that have a tradition of political support to Third World nationalism. Genuine Trotskyists have always sharply distinguished between military defense, including unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states, and political support, which Trotskyists never give to any non-proletarian party, government or movement. Genuine Trotskyists, i.e., genuine Marxists and Leninists, stand above all for the political independence of the proletariat.

In his piece, D'Amato admits that the "building of a secular resistance" in Iraq that is "on a class basis" would be a good thing, but nonetheless writes, "We do not make our support for the Iraqi resistance conditional upon our criticism of the resistance's tactics and politics." The ISO is seeking to prettify the insurgencies in Iraq, which have large aspects of criminal sectarian violence in which Shi'ites, Sunnis and Kurds are all targeted. Since April 28, when the Shi'ite-dominated Iraqi government was installed, more than 600 Iraqis have been killed in sectarian violence. The present-day "resistance" forces—whether Ba'ath nationalists or Islamic fundamentalists—are virulent reactionaries with a long and bloody history of murdering Communists. In fact, should the proletariat in Iraq attempt to raise its head as an independent force, it will face not only the occupation troops but the very anti-working-class "resistance" celebrated by D'Amato.

As opposed to outright craven liberals, the ISO is trying to strike a leftist posture with its position on the Iraqi insurgency. But behind this seemingly leftist position lie rightist politics. The ISO is extending its program of class collaboration to the international field—in this case subordinating the interests of Iraqi workers to reactionary Muslim fundamentalists and bourgeois-nationalist remnants of the Ba'athist regime. Subordinating the interests of the international proletariat to anti-proletarian forces is nothing new for the ISO. For example, the ISO, which has always had a fascination with Islamic fundamentalism, hailed the 1979 rise to power of Khomeini and his mullah forces in Iran—which butchered leftists, forcibly imposed the veil on women and rules the country through *sharia* (Islamic law)—painting the "Iranian Revolution" as "anti-imperialist."

Equitable resolution of the democrat-

Lies, Torture...

(continued from page 1)

U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. Some 50,000 people were detained during U.S. military and security operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and routinely denied access to their families and lawyers. We say: from Guantánamo to Iraq, Afghanistan and everywhere else—*free all the detainees!*

Torture and Death: Standard U.S. Policy

Many of those ensnared in the government's torture chambers were literally sold to the U.S. government. According to a 31 May report by Michelle Faul of the Associated Press, in March 2002 leaflets and broadcasts from U.S. helicopters urged Afghans to "Hand over the Arabs and feed your families for a lifetime." One leaflet read, "You can receive millions of dollars. This is enough to take care of your family, your village, your tribe for the rest of your life, pay for your livestock and doctors and school books and housing for all your people."

Many detainees have been held in undisclosed locations and transferred to be tortured in countries like Syria and Uzbekistan. The CIA has established a string of shell companies to maintain a fleet of aircraft whose primary purpose is to assist in the kidnapping of "terror suspects" and transport them to torture centers abroad. The U.S. has a long history of deporting refugees and immigrants back to countries where they would be subject to imprisonment, torture and death. The administration's current policy of "extraordinary rendition" is yet another step in institutionalizing torture as a policy. This was described by former CIA operative Robert Baer in a London *Guardian* article (19 March):

> "We pick up a suspect or we arrange for one of our partner countries to do it. Then the suspect is placed on civilian transport to a third country where, let's make no bones about it, they use torture. If you want a good interrogation, you send someone to Jordan. If you want them to be killed, you send them to Egypt or Syria. Either way, the US cannot be blamed as it is not doing the heavy work."

In addition, the *Guardian* article notes that there is a floating population of over 10,000 "ghost detainees" being held at secret CIA bases.

Last week Bush declared, "When there's accusations made about certain actions by our people, they're fully investigated in a transparent way." But as William Schulz, executive director of Amnesty International USA recently stated, "The critical point is the deliberateness of this policy. The president gave the green light. The secretary of defense issued the rules. The Justice Department provided the rationale. And the C.I.A. tried to cover it up." Just as torture is standard policy for the imperialists, so is whitewashing the crimes of American imperialism's enforcers.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent protests roundup of Arab and Muslim immigrants, Brooklyn, March 2002.

On May 26, a military court acquitted an Army staff sergeant who shot and killed an unarmed Iraqi. The same day, Marine lieutenant Ilario Pantano, a former Wall Street trader, was cleared of murdering two unarmed Iraqis. He shot the men 60 times, hanging a sign over their dead bodies reading, "No better friend, no worse enemy." In dismissing the charges, the Marine Corps announced: "The best interests of 2nd Lt. Pantano and the government have been served by this process." A month earlier, an internal Army investigation cleared Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez, the U.S.' senior commander in Iraq, and three of his deputies of any wrongdoing in the Abu Ghraib tortures. As a *New York Times* (23 April) article pointed out: "Barring new evidence, the inquiry by the Army's inspector general effectively closes the Army's book on whether the highest-ranking officers in Iraq during the Abu Ghraib prison scandal should be held accountable for command failings described in past reviews."

Bush dismissed the Amnesty International report as based in part on "allegations" by "people who were held in detention, people who hate America, people that have been trained in some instances to disassemble [sic], that means not to tell the truth." Bush is enunciating a policy that "hating America" equals "terrorist," i.e., someone without rights who could be locked away forever without a trial or any means to challenge his incarceration.

As we wrote in the *Amici Curiae* (Friends of the Court) brief issued by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of Jose Padilla, an American citizen who remains held by the government without charges: "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality.... It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than the 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population."

Down With the USA-Patriot Act!

Today, up for review in Congress are portions of the draconian USA-Patriot Act authorizing widespread wiretapping, surveillance and break-ins on the basis of political advocacy. The Bush gang has now proposed amendments to the law, being considered in secret sessions of the Senate Intelligence Committee, which would give the Feds authority to track the mail of anyone caught up in their far-flung "terror" investigations, requiring the post office to turn over the names, addresses and all other material appearing on the outside of letters to or from people under such investigations. Other proposals would permit the government to seize business records without the court order that is required for regular search warrants.

The Patriot Act expanded on measures adopted during the Clinton administration and one of its co-authors was Beryl Howell, a Democratic Party senatorial aide. Democrats voted overwhelmingly for the Patriot Act, and it was the Democrats who pushed for the Homeland Security Act. The draconian new FBI Guidelines were adopted in response to Democrats' criticisms that the Bush administration wasn't doing enough in fighting the "war on terror."

The government is more and more open about prosecuting thought crimes pure and simple. In March and April, a federal court in Virginia convicted Muslim spiritual leader Ali Al-Timimi and three of his alleged followers of terrorism conspiracy charges. The "evidence" against them was comments Al-Timimi made on the September 11 attacks and the destruction of the Columbia shuttle two years later, and the fact that his young followers played paintball, a typical youthful activity, portrayed by prosecutors as paramilitary training for international *jihad*. Writing in the *FrontPageMagazine* (2 May), Web site of racist ideologue David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes hailed the Al-Timimi conviction as "momentous" because "the government has put away a terrorist not for his deeds, such as raising money or blowing something up, but for his words." Pipes is part of the Project for the New American Century, which has included Vice President Cheney, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense and now head of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz.

Criminalization of speech and thought is exactly what the "war on terror" is about. The government's aim is to spike opposition to its domestic and international policies. A 27 May *New York Times* editorial notes that Homeland Security is even targeting groups such as the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front. From the beginning we warned that the "war on terror," which initially targeted Muslim immigrants, is ultimately aimed at black people, the left and the labor movement. Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, her paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar and translator Mohamed Yousry face decades behind bars. Stewart was outrageously convicted of providing material support to "terrorism" for conveying the views of her jailed client (Egyptian cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman) to a Reuters correspondent. Mobilizing in their defense is one concrete example of the way in which the labor movement and everyone targeted in this "war on terror" can fight the government's assault on democratic rights.

Ultimately, the colonial victims of U.S. imperialism and working people internationally will get justice when all the war criminals and commanders, from Bush and the Pentagon chiefs to their underlings as well as their Democratic Party counterparts, are swept from power through a proletarian socialist revolution. Our purpose is to forge the multiracial revolutionary workers party that will sweep away the barbaric brutality that defines the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.■

ie rights of all the peoples of Iraq, and the Near East more broadly, cannot be achieved under capitalism but only with the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. This means combining the struggle against the occupation with a struggle against all manner of bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism, and poses the urgent need to forge Marxist parties to lead the working people to power throughout the region. International extension of the revolution to the wealthy centers of imperialism—the U.S., Germany, Japan—is vital, or, as Marx noted, "all the old crap" will return.

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

How is it that a group that refused to take a side with Iraq in the war now cheers on the "resistance"? It is more than just a coincidence that the ISO began publishing articles on the insurgency in Iraq as last November's election approached. As we wrote in "The Left and the 'Iraqi Resistance'," the adulation of the resistance then stemmed from the fact that "every blow against the U.S. in Iraq redounds against Bush in the run-up to the November election and plays to the Democrats' advantage." Today, D'Amato writes, "We can never lose sight of the fact that it is the resistance in Iraq, above all, that is currently driving down Bush's popularity, is making possible the rekindling of the antiwar movement at home, and is acting as a brake on U.S. imperial ambitions elsewhere." Given their appeals to the liberal United for Peace and Justice coalition to rejoin the common fold of the "antiwar movement," it is clear that the ISO does not propose that a "rekindled" antiwar movement break with the fundamental class-collaborationist and pacifist character of its program. D'Amato makes this clear:

> "There is, to be sure, a difference between the need to introduce this discussion [about whether or not to support the resistance] into the antiwar movement and what kind of slogans and demands most effectively widen and deepen the reach of the movement. The antiwar movement today should have as its general watchword 'Troops Out Now'."

Thus, D'Amato says there is no need to split with the liberals and pacifists who refuse to countenance the spilling of American blood in Iraq, since everyone can unite around the single demand for "Troops Out Now." Furthermore, and most fundamentally, the ISO (and WWP, RCP, etc.) reject the Marxist perspective that the only effective "antiwar movement" is one based upon the mobilization of the social power of the working class in opposition to the capitalist system. D'Amato "supports the resistance" not with any perspective of promoting workers revolution, but with the perspective of building a "movement" to pressure imperialism to be more peaceful.

The only successful "antiwar movement" was the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule in Russia and thereby took the country out of World War I. Throughout the antiwar demonstrations of the past two years, we intervened to counterpose our revolutionary program to that of the reformist organizers. At issue is which class in this class-divided society one looks to in order to end war, racism and poverty. The reformist organizers of the antiwar movement did everything in their power to spread the lie that the capitalist system can do otherwise than breed imperialist war; we Spartacists took the side of working people and the oppressed in Iraq and throughout the world to combat the rapacious capitalist class. Join us in the struggle to build the revolutionary workers party needed to end this system of imperialist war and misery and build a socialist society.■

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CORRECTION

In the article "Northern Ireland: British Troops Out Now!" in *WV* No. 849 (27 May), a photo caption mistakenly stated the date of the Bloody Sunday Massacre in Derry, Northern Ireland, as 17 October 1972. The massacre took place on 30 January 1972.

Why China Is Not Capitalist

Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

We print below an edited translation of an article that first appeared in Spartacist Japan *No. 30 (April 2005), newspaper of the Spartacist Group of Japan, section of the International Communist League.*

スパルタシスト

Fred Scott

The core of China's economy remains collectivized. Workers in state-owned steel works in Shenyang.

For Workers Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!

For the last several years, on a daily basis, at least one bourgeois newspaper, magazine, or nightly news program has had a special feature on China. We have been told that China's economy is growing by leaps and bounds, with no end in sight; that it has overtaken Japan in several important economic indicators, and will soon become a "superpower"; that it is in the process of "siphoning off" natural resources that "belong to the Japanese people"; that, while the Japanese economy has rebounded due to trade with China, the reason for the high level of unemployment in Japan is the "hollowing out" of industry, most of which relocated to China in search of higher profits; that soon China will replace Japan diplomatically, politically and militarily as the "most important and influential country in Asia." Accompanying the bourgeois propaganda campaign, last December Japanese imperialism released new defense guidelines, and it is in the process of re-stationing its military, and also has signed security agreements with the American imperialists, including one to defend Taiwan to "counter the Chinese military threat." (See "Joint Statement of the Spartacist Group Japan and Spartacist League/U.S.: Down with U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance! Defend the Chinese and North Korean Deformed Workers States!" *WV* No. 844, 18 March.)

It is in this context that the so-called Trotskyist group Kakehashi has published a pamphlet claiming that capitalism has been restored in China. In this pamphlet, Kakehashi disappears the role that the Japanese *zaibatsu* and international finance capital have played in the exploitation of the Chinese workers and in undermining the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Japanese imperialism's direct foreign investment totaled more than $5.45 billion in 2004 (*China Daily*, 25 March). This investment is no longer confined to areas formerly colonized by Japan, such as Manchuria, but has expanded to the southern tip of China. They write nothing about Japan's military provocations against China, and they attempt to justify their betrayal of the class interests of the proletariat and their own reconciliation with capitalism by denying the working-class nature of the Chinese deformed workers state. In sum, what is missing is a proletarian internationalist perspective and the role of a conscious, i.e., Leninist, vanguard party to lead the proletariat.

China on the Brink

The 1949 Chinese Revolution was, despite profound bureaucratic deformations, a social revolution of world historic significance. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their ancestors had been cruelly exploited from time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie was destroyed. The revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous miserable status, historically symbolized by the barbaric practice of foot-binding. A nation that had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation.

Unlike the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which was carried out by a class-conscious proletariat guided by the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, the Chinese Revolution was the result of peasant guerrilla war led by Mao Zedong's Stalinist nationalist forces. Patterned after the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR, Mao's regime preached the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country. In practice, "socialism in one country" meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally—for example in neighboring Japan—and accommodation to world imperialism.

In the 1950s, the People's Republic of China established a centrally planned, socialized economy and agriculture was collectivized. A state monopoly of foreign trade protected the socialized economy from being undermined by cheap imports from the far-more-developed capitalist-imperialist countries. In China under Deng Xiaoping, the bureaucracy moved toward "market socialism" following the examples of Yugoslavia and Hungary. Economic administrators and managers were rewarded or penalized on the basis of market profitability. The threat of plant closures and layoffs also served as a means of enforcing labor discipline among the workers. At the same time, agriculture was decollectivized and replaced by the "household responsibility system," i.e., peasant smallholdings.

Many of the gains of the Chinese Revolution are being obliterated. The pressures of market competition have inevitably resulted in the growth of a small class of wealthy farmers alongside tens of millions of poor peasants. As many as 130 million rural Chinese have migrated to the eastern and southern coastal areas in search of work. Education and medical care are no longer free. The workers no longer have their "iron rice bowl" which guaranteed a job and benefits for workers in state-owned enterprises. Unemployment has reached massive proportions as industries are closed or privatized. The number of women working as prostitutes has skyrocketed, and female infanticide is resurgent in the countryside.

The Beijing bureaucracy essentially acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the imperialist-dominated world market on the workers state. The brittle, contradictory character of this bureaucratic caste can be seen in the fact that, in the face of working-class unrest, the current regime has often reversed some of its economic "reforms" and occasionally put some of its own on trial for corruption, sometimes with a penalty of execution. In the face of massive peasant protests and riots over the last year, the recent National People's Congress announced that within two years all children of peasants in rural areas will receive a free primary education. Earlier this year, the bureaucrats promised that by year's end the basic agricultural tax in most of China's provinces will be eliminated.

In maintaining that China continues to be a deformed workers state, we do not deny or minimize the growing social weight in China of both the newly fledged capitalist entrepreneurs on the mainland and the old, established offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The fostering of capitalist-restorationist forces within the framework of a deformed workers state has already gone much further in China than in Tito's Yugoslavia or Gorbachev's Soviet Union. The Chinese bureaucracy itself is a major participant in joint ventures with foreign capitalists. It continues to invite overseas Chinese and foreign capital into the country, opening up entire areas to capitalist exploitation. The economic policies of the Beijing Stalinist regime that encourage capitalist enterprise (and the corresponding rightward shifts in the bureaucracy's formal ideological posture) have increasingly strengthened those social forces that will give rise to imperialist-backed, openly counterrevolutionary factions and parties when the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] can no longer maintain its present monopoly of political power. This can be clearly seen today in the capitalist enclave of Hong Kong, the one part of the PRC [People's Republic of China] where bourgeois oppositional parties exist. (See "Hong Kong: Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!" *WV* No. 814, 21 November 2003.)

Nonetheless, the political power of the main body of the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy continues to be based on the core collectivized elements of China's economy. Furthermore, the economic policies of the CCP regime are still constrained by fear of social—especially working-class—unrest that could topple it. This came close to happening in 1989, when student-centered protests for political liberalization and against corruption triggered a spontaneous workers revolt that was suppressed with great bloodshed by regime-loyal army units.

The social revolution persists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses. Trotskyists give unconditional military defense to a deformed or degenerated workers state in

Riboud/Magnum

Landlord denounced by peasant at people's tribunal following 1949 Chinese Revolution.

order to prevent its military defeat by a capitalist power because these states are based on collectivized property. Simultaneously, we call for a proletarian political revolution that would oust the reactionary bureaucracy whose policies undermine the defense of the workers state and which has brought China close to the brink of internal capitalist counterrevolution. In place of bureaucratic autocracy, soviets (workers councils) must be created as the direct organizations of the workers, soldiers and peasants, the vehicles for them to organize and administer their own state in all aspects.

This is the most fundamental historic task of the Chinese proletariat. What is needed to realize this is to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party. This party would link the struggle of the workers in the state-owned enterprises with those in the private enterprises, with the struggles of the migrant workers, the poor peasants and women, and it would fight against Han chauvinism. The International Communist League is committed to bringing this Marxist program to Chinese workers and rural toilers.

Kakehashi vs. Trotsky

For some ten years, the Kakehashi group publicly debated the question of China in its newspaper: Is it still some kind of workers state, or has capitalism been restored? While members of Kakehashi may not have agreed on the class nature of China, in action their party sided with capitalist-restorationist forces—from the pro-capitalist China Democratic Party to the CIA-hacked Dalai Lama. In 1999 they organized a march on the streets of Tokyo protesting the visit of former Chinese premier Jiang Zemin to Japan, a protest that could only have appealed to Japanese anti-Chinese chauvinists. Their debate was preceded and guided by a formal rejection of their own program—which they considered Trotskyist—and a negation of the Marxist conception of a class society:

> "With the destruction of the Soviet Union and East European bloc, there has been a fundamental change of circumstances in the structure of the international revolutionary movement, and our program also needs to be changed.... Thinking in terms of fixed 'classes'... must be decisively considered as a past methodology."
>
> —*Sekai Kakumei*, 30 October 1995 (*Sekai Kakumei* was *Kakehashi*'s previous name.)

In the summer of 2004, Shin Jidai Sha, the publishing house for Kakehashi, published a pamphlet titled, "Boiling 'Capitalist China'; Will It Have a Successful Soft Landing on Its Way to Becoming a Normal 'Imperialist Power'?" The basic premise of this pamphlet is the following: The Trotskyist analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy is outdated and the period of the "anti-bureaucratic political revolution is over." Following discussions with their Hong Kong comrades, the Pioneers, Kakehashi became convinced that under the rule of the Communist Party, the Chinese bureaucracy had restored capitalism during the 1990s, a process that, according to them, took a while. Workers in China noticed the danger of capitalist restoration in the mid '90s. But by that time, the workers had lost control of production and therefore were unable to put up any resistance, i.e., it was too late. In addition, Kakehashi cites three main reasons for capitalist counterrevolution: During the 1990s, the bureaucracy began the process of "primitive accumulation of capital"; capitalists were allowed to become members of the Communist Party; and the constitution was amended to guarantee protection of private property. Today, according to Kakehashi, the Chinese Communist Party is a capitalistic peoples political party, and what is now required in China is a socialist revolution.

Later on we will explain why Kakehashi's position has nothing in common with Marxism and is in fact deeply social-democratic. For now, we will note that two of the reasons they mention for China becoming capitalist in the last century actually occurred during this century. It was in 2002 that the Communist Party officially recognized that some of their members had been capitalists for many years. And last year, at the March 2004 party conference, the constitution was amended to recognize private property.

World Journal

Shenzhen, October 2004: Workers at Computime, a Hong Kong-mainland joint-venture company, protest low wages, harsh working conditions.

It is not this or that resolution that the bureaucracy passes, although these are dangerous developments, that determines where China is going, but social conflict. To premise one's conclusion about the class character of the Chinese deformed workers state exclusively on the actions of the bureaucracy relegates the working class to merely a passive object of either the bureaucracy or imperialism. What Kakehashi has done is written off the Chinese proletariat as a contender in the battle against capitalist counterrevolution.

Robert Haidinger

AFP

Glitz and poverty: Sleek new office buildings in Shanghai's Pudong Special Economic Zone; migrant workers pack train station in Guangzhou.

But Kakehashi and the Pioneers actually thought it was the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy that would bring socialism to China. Under the subhead, "Abandonment of the Fight Toward Socialism," a representative of the Pioneers wrote, "In 1979, after Deng came to power, the stage of the 'planned economy' went to 'market socialist economy' (read: changed to 'capitalism'). The socialist outlook was completely abandoned" (*Kakehashi*, 21 March). But the bureaucracy, from Mao to Hu Jintao, never did and does not now have a "socialist outlook." Up until 1946, Mao was still seeking a coalition government with the bourgeois-nationalist KMT [Guomindang] regime of Chiang Kai-shek. After the revolution, Mao sought to transform impoverished China into a "socialist" world power through economic autarky within the framework of a bureaucratically centralized economy, based on the anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country." Contained in this nationalist perspective were the seeds of the bureaucracy's implementation of "market reforms" under Deng, called "socialism with Chinese characteristics." It was under Mao that China consummated an alliance with U.S. imperialism during the Vietnam War and betrayed revolutionary struggles from Indonesia to Africa. It contributed to the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union by supporting, for example, the CIA-backed Afghan *mujahedin* against the Soviet Red Army. The bureaucracy continues to preserve state property, not out of a subjective identification with socialism but, as Trotsky wrote, "only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

How is a gradual, decade-long, bourgeois counterrevolution possible? Real Trotskyists would not have let this historic defeat occur without fighting against it—or even noticing it until years later. Trotsky did not live to see capitalism restored in the Soviet Union, and his prognosis of how that would occur—through civil war—did not happen. But Kakehashi members have lived through the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and East Europe and know there was nothing gradual about those.

The unprecedented economic and social implosion taking place in the former Soviet Union and East Europe is the real measure of just how historically progressive the planned, collectivized economy really was, despite bureaucratic deformities. Trotsky's prediction of what capitalist restoration would look like was correct. The laws of capitalism have resulted in total economic collapse and all-sided nationalist fratricide. Life expectancy has fallen dramatically, with the lifespan of an average Russian male dropping to 57½ years. In fact, the number of deaths exceeded the number of births during the first six years following counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Malnutrition has become the norm among schoolchildren. The infrastructures of production, technology, science, transportation, heating and sewage have disintegrated. The gross domestic product fell more than 80 percent from 1991 to 1997.

That is what capitalist counterrevolution looks like. The former Soviet Union was a global industrial and military power. And because China is so much behind where the Soviet Union was economically, capitalist restoration in China would be much worse. It would lead to widespread impoverishment of the population, and bring not only economic collapse, but the danger of the breakup of the country and bloody political chaos. In addition, because the Chinese economy is somewhat integrated into the world economy, workers around the world would be adversely affected. The current Japan-U.S. alliance against China could fracture, as each hungry imperialist beast competes for the spoils.

Capitalism Is a Brake on Further Development, Not an Accelerator

The Marxist revolutionary program is not based on moral repugnance against war, social oppression, class exploitation and inequality. It is based on the objective fact that capitalism arrests the development of the productive forces and must be superseded by a superior economic system, which will eliminate the basis for all the evils which are inherent in capitalist society.

Kakehashi locates counterrevolution in China during the same period when China has been experiencing its highest growth rate and has been convulsed by labor struggles and peasant unrest. In the past five years, from the northeast down the coast and into the heart of the country, workers have been protesting in defense of collectivized property, which they consider to be theirs. Only those who are completely blinded by their own defeatism could have missed this.

For the past two decades, China's economy has been growing at about 7 to 9 percent a year, unmatched by even the main imperialist powers. Between 1998 and 2001, government spending in China increased from 12 to 20 percent of the country's gross domestic product. The largest and fastest-growing component of government expenditure has been investment in infrastructure, which increased by 81 percent over these three years. Moreover, this has been happening at a time when the entire capitalist world has been pursuing fiscal austerity. China navigated successfully through the 1997-98 East Asian financial/economic crisis and then through a generalized world capitalist recession. If China is capitalist and its economy has been growing without cyclical contractions (which are inherent in capitalism), this would negate the fundamental Leninist understanding that we are living in the epoch of capitalist reaction

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Spartacist Japan
Issue No. 30
Current Issue: ¥100
International Subscription: ¥1000
Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Group Japan
PO Box 49, Akabane Yubinkyoku
Kita-Ku, Tokyo 115-0091, Japan

China...

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and decay. If there exists today a capitalist system which ensures the rapid and steady growth of productive forces, this calls into question the necessity and progressive character of proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and of working-class rule.

The CCP leadership officially describes China as a "socialist market economy." It is the "socialist" (i.e., collectivist) aspects that are responsible for the positive economic developments in China in recent years. And it is the market aspects of China's economy that are responsible for the negative developments—the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, the immiseration of a large and growing fraction of the populace, tens of millions of workers laid off from state-owned enterprises, the army of impoverished migrants in the cities who can no longer make a living in the countryside.

In China today, it is the core collectivized elements of the economy which continue to be dominant, though not in a stable, coherent manner. In 2003, state-owned and partly state-owned enterprises (shareholding corporations) employed half of China's 750 million workers and accounted for 57 percent of the gross value of China's industrial output (*McKinsey Quarterly*, 2004). But this simple statistical figure obscures the strategic centrality of state-owned industry.

The private (including foreign-owned) sector consists for the most part of factories producing light manufactures by labor-intensive methods. Heavy industry, the high-tech sectors, and modern armaments production are overwhelmingly concentrated in state-owned enterprises. It is these enterprises that have enabled China to put a man in space. Far more importantly, it is state-owned industry that has enabled China to build an arsenal of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles to ward off the imperialists' threat of a nuclear first strike.

All major banks in China are state-owned. Almost the entirety of household savings—estimated at $1 trillion—is deposited in the four main state-owned commercial banks. Government control of the financial system has been key to maintaining and expanding production in state-owned industry and to the overall expansion of the state sector. Continued state ownership of the financial system has enabled the Beijing regime, up to now, to effectively (though not totally) control the flow of money-capital in and out of mainland China. China's currency is not freely convertible; it is not traded (legally) in international currency markets. The restricted convertibility of the yuan has kept China insulated from the volatile movements of short-term capital which periodically wreak havoc on the economies of Third World neocolonial countries from Latin America to East Asia. Furthermore, the Beijing regime has maintained an increasing undervaluation of the yuan (in "free market" terms), much to the displeasure of American, Japanese and European capitalists. It is precisely these core collectivist elements of China's economy which the forces of world imperialism want to eliminate and dismantle. Their ultimate goal is to reduce China to a giant sweatshop under neocolonial subjugation.

Corbis

AFP

Left: 1991 Yeltsin-led capitalist counterrevolution created misery for Soviet people. Above: Pensioners protest withdrawal of Soviet-era benefits, January 2005.

The main weapon available to a nationally isolated and relatively economically backward workers state against the intervention of cheaper goods is the state monopoly of foreign trade, i.e., the strict control of imports and exports by the government. The Beijing bureaucracy's abandonment of the strict state monopoly of foreign trade serves to facilitate imperialism's plans. Despite its rapid growth in recent years, the Chinese economy is backward relative to even the lesser capitalist-imperialist powers. While China's exports continue to increase at record levels, these largely consist of low-wage, low-value light manufacture and consumer goods like clothing, toys and household appliances. China's increase in gross industrial output between 1993 and 2002—from $480 billion to $1,300 billion—has been nearly completely offset by the increase in its gross purchases of industrial products, i.e., machinery and capital equipment. The ultimate answer to China's economic backwardness and the only road to a socialist, i.e., classless, egalitarian society, lies in world socialist revolution and China's integration into an internationally planned economy.

AP

Chinese premier Hu Jintao at New York Stock Exchange, 29 April 2002.

"Primitive Accumulation of Capital"

According to Kakehashi, during the 1990s the bureaucrats who had become managers of privatized enterprises were pocketing the profits, getting rich from buying and selling stock, and also buying and selling the usage rights to agricultural land, and are laying off workers. In an attempt to give a Marxist veneer to their political appetites, Kakehashi describes this process as the "primitive accumulation of capital."

On a much smaller scale, the situation which Kakehashi describes is similar to that of the bureaucracy of several trade unions in Japan. Take for example Jichiro [civil servants union]. The misleaders of this one-million-strong trade union have been taking the dues money that their members pay every month and enriching themselves. They have set up "subsidiaries" of the union, whose profits do not go back into the trade union to be used to better the conditions of the members or to prepare for future class battles against the government. Some of the profits go into the pockets of the union bureaucracy. In addition, it is the bureaucracy which oversees the management of the subsidiaries, controls production, and lays off and fires the workers. Is Kakehashi now going to argue that Jichiro is a capitalist organization and not a real trade union; that this union, whose leadership is completely pro-capitalist, should not be defended against the government?

What the bureaucrats in China are doing is certainly criminal from the standpoint of the workers, but it is not what Marx meant by "primitive accumulation of capital." Marx used the term, primitive accumulation of capital, to refer to the initial phase of capitalist development in West Europe when the massive economic surplus appropriated by the bourgeoisie did not yet derive from wage labor but rather from the peasantry and slave labor in the colonies. This wealth was then transformed into capital and used for the initial financing of European industrialization. (See *Capital* and *Theories of Surplus Value*.) To get a sense of what Marx meant by the primitive accumulation of capital, think about the 1873 Land Tax that was enacted during the early Meiji period. At that time, the Meiji leaders maintained an exceptionally high level of exploitation of the peasantry and channeled the resulting economic surplus into the rapid construction of an industrial-military complex.

Insofar as the economic surplus appropriated by the Chinese bureaucrat-turned-entrepreneur is used for his personal consumption or speculation, for example in real estate, this is the antithesis of the accumulation of capital. Rather it is the squandering of the existing productive wealth of society, a form of social parasitism. In China, over the past two decades a large fraction of state-owned industry—whether measured by number of enterprises, labor force or volume of production—has been privatized. Most small enterprises were simply sold off to individuals, typically the managers who had been running them. The larger enterprises, however, were "privatized" through a shareholding scheme. When, a decade or so ago, China opened its first stock market, much of the bourgeois media hailed this as proof that "communist" China had taken a decisive step on the road to capitalism. But what has actually happened?

Of the 1,253 companies listed on China's two main stock exchanges, in some cases the government holds a majority of shares, in others a substantial minority. But even the latter remain effectively government-controlled because the CCP has retained a monopoly of political power. According to the 28 March *Financial Times*, "Only one-third of issued shares in listed companies form the free float for trading on the exchanges. The rest are mostly owned directly by the state or its companies.... Permission for initial public offerings is given first and foremost to state companies, leaving private enterprises without an easy funding route." There is no workers democracy in China—but neither is there shareholders' democracy. Shareholders in China's corporations do not have ownership rights in the capitalist sense. They have the right to income from their financial assets and they can sell their shares. But they cannot determine, or even influence, the management and corporate policies. These are determined by various and often conflicting political as well as economic pressures.

Capitalists in a Communist Party

Ever since the Deng regime introduced market-oriented economic "reforms" in the early 1980s, bourgeois opinion and some leftists have maintained that the Communist Party itself is gradually restoring capitalism in China while keeping a tight grip on political power. This position was widely and loudly trumpeted in 2002 when the 16th Congress of the CCP legitimized party membership for capitalist entrepreneurs. In fact, this Congress did not introduce a significant change in either the social composition of the CCP, which has 66 million members, or its functional ideology. According to an official survey, of China's two million private business owners, 600,000 are party members and have been for some time. The overwhelming majority of these were longtime CCP managerial cadre who took over the small state-owned enterprises they were running when these were privatized over the past several years.

Kakehashi claims that, "The Chinese Communist Party has officially become a capitalistic peoples political party, and under the one-party rule of the Commu-

Morton/U.S. Navy

Spartacist Japan

Left: Joint U.S.-Japanese war maneuvers threaten China. Right: Spartacist Group Japan at April 1996 protest. Signs at center read: "For the Right of Nuclear and Military Testing for Chinese Workers State!" and "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"

nist Party, the Chinese state has officially become a bourgeois state." Many in the bureaucracy may aspire to a place in the ruling class of a capitalist China for themselves and their children. But this would require a social counterrevolution that destroys the workers state and creates a new bourgeois state. In East Europe and the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy as a caste did not transform itself into a capitalist class. It disintegrated, as did its political instruments, the ruling Communist parties. Various elements of the bureaucracy then regrouped into hostile political factions, and in many cases united with former anti-Communist "dissidents" whom they had previously suppressed. The new capitalist classes in East Europe and the former Soviet Union derive, with differing weight in different countries, from elements of the bureaucracy and also the intelligentsia, many of whom were not at all privileged, at least not economically. A capitalist counterrevolution in China would be accompanied by the collapse of Stalinist bonapartism and the political fracturing of the ruling Communist Party.

China's high rate of economic growth in recent years has produced a certain triumphalist mood among the CCP leadership and cadre and affiliated intelligentsia. One would certainly encounter a very different mood among the millions of workers laid off from state-owned enterprises, impoverished migrants from the countryside and poor peasants barely eking out a living toiling on tiny plots with rudimentary equipment. Hu and his cohorts are driven by delusions of grandeur exceeding the wildest imaginings of Chairman Mao.

The present CCP leaders believe that they can modernize China, transforming it into a great world power—indeed, the global superpower of the 21st century—through ever-greater integration into the world capitalist economy. They truly believe they can control and manipulate Citibank, the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi and the Deutsche Bank, to help build up China so that in a generation or two it will surpass the United States, Japan and Germany. Believing they are transforming China into a global superpower, they are actually clearing the path for returning China to the pre-revolutionary era of untrammeled imperialist subjugation.

A.H. Buchman

Provisional Central Committee of the (Trotskyist) Communist League of China, winter 1936. Clockwise from left: Wang Fanxi, Frank Glass, Hua Zhenbin (party printer, not on CC), Han Jun, Chen Qichang, Jiang Zhendong.

Constitutional Amendments Cannot Change the Class Nature of a State

During the National People's Congress which took place in 2004, the bureaucrats amended the Chinese constitution to read: "Citizens' legally obtained private property shall not be violated." In an attempt to appease the populace, the Chinese government announced that the amendment would help prevent state officials from requisitioning private property and possessions. This amendment is surely a dangerous development, which a section of the workers in China understands. It was first proposed two years earlier at the 16th Congress and provoked something of a popular backlash.

This amendment is one reason that Kakehashi has decided that capitalism has been restored in China. In a disingenuous attempt to give itself an orthodox Trotskyist covering, Kakehashi even quotes from Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*. This was disingenuous because the chapter in *Revolution Betrayed* that immediately follows the quote they use deals with the 1936 Soviet constitution, which incorporated inheritance rights and the "guaranteeing of personal property." Trotsky understood that this new provision in the constitution would be used to benefit the bureaucrats and not the Soviet working masses:

> "...a protection by law of the hut, cow and home-furnishings of the peasant, worker or clerical worker, also legalizes the town house of the bureaucrat, his summer home, his automobile and all the other objects of 'personal consumption and comfort,' appropriated by him on the basis of the 'socialist' principle.... The bureaucrat's automobile will certainly be protected by the new fundamental law more effectively than the peasant's wagon."

Trotsky went on to warn that, "By juridically reinforcing the absolutism of an 'extra class' bureaucracy, the new constitution creates the political premises for the birth of a new possessing class." But he added:

> "If these as yet wholly new relations should solidify, become the norm and be legalized, whether with or without resistance from the workers, they would, in the long run, lead to a complete liquidation of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution. ***But to speak of that now is at least premature. The proletariat has not yet said its last word.***" [our emphasis]

The new amendment is a reflection of already existing reality. Private property has existed in China for years. Inheritance has existed since 1982. With this amendment, the bureaucracy is trying to ensure their privileges through the legal recognition of private property and the right to inherit. By late November 2003 there were 2.97 million private firms with capital exceeding $40.5 billion (Chinese embassy Web site). While this sounds like a lot of money, broken down it is $13,636 per company. Most workers in Japan have many times this amount in their postal retirement account.

Private property in China is as unstable as the bureaucracy itself. Private property and capitalists exist in China today to the extent the bureaucracy, acting under the pressures from imperialism on the one hand and the proletariat on the other, has allowed them to exist. Whether or not private property will be "inviolable" will not be decided by the constitution, but by social conflict. It is possible that "inviolable" private property would be violated by the bureaucracy under the impact of proletarian struggle and/or open counterrevolutionary threats from the imperialists and the bourgeoisie, or, more fundamentally, by an ascendant working class struggling for political power.

Those who argue that China is capitalist must reject one or another fundamental element of classic Marxism, usually the theory of the state. If a workers state, however deformed, can become a capitalist state through amending a constitution, which Kakehashi claims, then logically the reverse would also be true. That is, a capitalist state, such as Japan, could be transformed into a workers state by making changes to the Japanese constitution. This would mean that there is no need for a workers revolution that smashes the capitalist state apparatus—the police, courts, military—expropriates the *zaibatsu* and the other capitalists, and creates organs of workers rule. Therefore, there is no need for a party similar to the one that Lenin and Trotsky built which can lead the proletariat. This is the historic position of social democracy, in which Kakehashi can now be completely welcomed, now that it has thrown off its last pretenses to Trotskyism.

October Review

22 April 1989: Workers join student protest in Beijing in early days of Tiananmen Square uprising. Banner reads: "We Workers Have Power."

The Fight for Authentic Trotskyism

For the past four decades, the ICL has exposed the impostors who masquerade as Trotskyists as they abandon every principled position Trotsky stood for, above all the fight for an independent Trotskyist vanguard. Those who cheered the forces of anti-communist counterrevolution share the responsibility for selling out the gains for which the working class fought so hard. They have openly shown themselves for what they are: not Trotskyists, but traitors to the October Revolution.

Kakehashi's international organization, the United Secretariat [USec], supported every counterrevolutionary and nationalist movement in the USSR and East Europe. They hailed clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność as a model of a revolutionary working-class movement. The USec embraced the fascistic fringe of the Baltic nationalist movements, which sought capitalist restoration in the guise of "independence." A key battlefield of the capitalist counterrevolution was the struggle over East Germany [DDR] in 1989-90. What was immediately posed was: either proletarian political revolution linking up with socialist revolution in West Germany, or capitalist reunification strengthening an imperialist Fourth Reich. At this critical juncture, the USec was politically paralyzed. They were unable to agree whether capitalist reunification should be greeted with champagne or aspirin. In contrast, we fought with everything we had for proletarian political revolution in the DDR before it was too late, as the only way to defend the anti-capitalist conquests of the world proletariat from Berlin to Beijing. We lost, but the lessons of that struggle will be important for future struggles of the international proletariat.

The central event of the Russian counterrevolution was Yeltsin's August 1991 "countercoup" against the inept "perestroika coup" by the Stalinist has-beens of the "Emergency Committee." Yeltsin's consolidation of his imperialist-backed power grab for "democracy," in the absence of mass resistance to the encroaching capitalist counterrevolution by a working class atomized and demoralized by decades of Stalinist rule, spelled the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. On this question, the USec was united: they were first on the barricades of counterrevolution. The Japanese USec organization even went so far as to support the anti-Communist red purge directed against the Soviet Communist Party. "The CPSU should be disbanded and must be disbanded, which is the starting point for struggles to establishing minimum political democracy" (*Sekai Kakumei*, 16 September 1991).

The fate of the People's Republic of China—proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution—is of huge importance to the working class throughout the world. The Chinese workers and peasants have waged many struggles in the past ten years, but they are atomized and without a leadership whose perspective is to overthrow the political rule of the bureaucrats and place power in the hands of the workers, soldiers and peasants soviets. In addition to coordinating and leading the spontaneous and localized workers struggles, an international Trotskyist party would link the fight against the corrupt bureaucracy in China with that of the North Korean and Vietnamese workers against their Stalinist rulers. Such a party would work in concert with their comrades in Japan fighting for a workers revolution, and together with the class struggles of the militant Philippine and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers. Only through a socialist revolution in imperialist Japan will the basis be laid for the development of a socialist Asia.■

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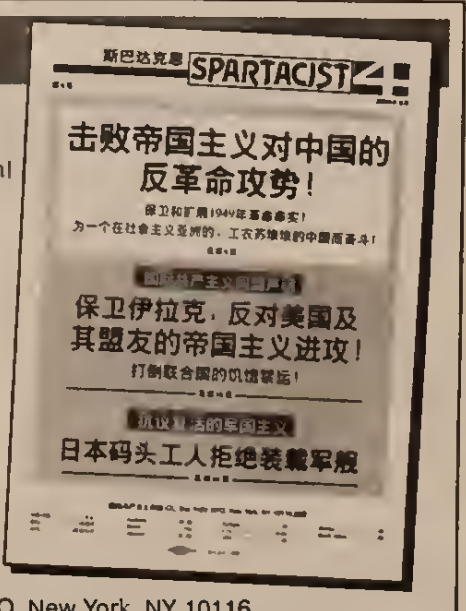


Class War...

(continued from page 16)

certain percentage of your income upon retirement. Low-wage workers (and we mean *low wage*—those earning under $16,000 per year) are promised 49 percent of their pre-retirement income—a pittance, but for many retirees it is the difference between starvation and survival. Opposition to the various schemes that threaten the benefit system is widespread among the working population. The administration wants a fundamental change that would turn the SSI system into a "poor-people's" program, like welfare. Remember what happened to welfare? It was virtually eliminated under Democrat Clinton—in part by using racist verbiage to convince white workers that their tax dollars were supposedly going to support black single mothers. In fact, white people, including white single mothers, make up the bulk of welfare beneficiaries.

Divide and Conquer

Bush has attempted to push his scheme by pitting one section of the working class against the other. Forty percent of elderly black people rely solely on SSI to survive. In January, Bush parroted one of the most cynical claims of the pro-privatization right-wingers: that the higher mortality rate of black men means that black people are getting less for their SSI tax dollars. His conclusion is that blacks should support privatization so that the pitiful sum they manage to accrue is "their own," presumably to pass on to their orphaned children. As we wrote in our article "Bush to America: No Pensions, No Jobs, No Rights" (*WV* No. 842, 18 February):

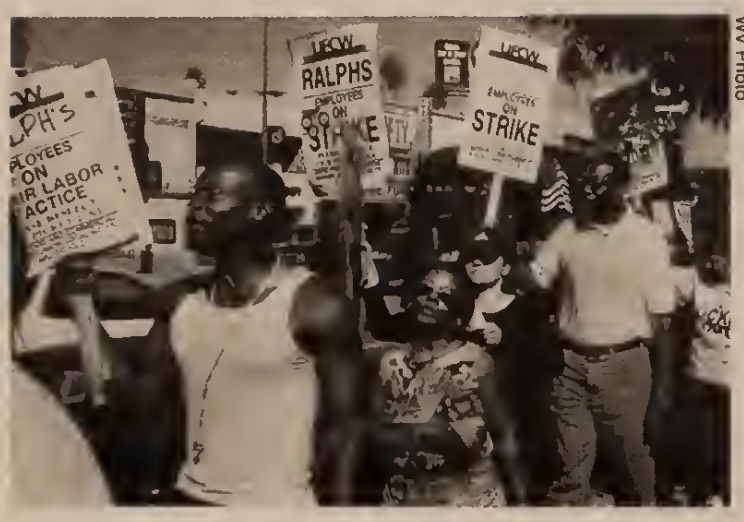
> "The fact that black men have a lower life expectancy than others powerfully illustrates the entrenched and vicious racial oppression of black people.... This blatant racism barely elicited a response—such is today's reactionary social climate where black people's exclusion from a decent life is to be accepted as a given for all time."

Aside from Bush's putrid racism, the contention that blacks get less bang for their buck with SSI is an utter lie. For one thing, the low life expectancy figure is largely because of the tragically high death rates inflicted by racist American capitalism upon blacks in childhood and young adulthood. The administration's claim also ignores the fact that disproportionate numbers of those collecting SSI disability benefits and children receiving survivor benefits are black.

Black oppression is the bedrock of this capitalist system. While black workers are an integral component of the working class, black people in America suffer special oppression as a race-color caste. Thus, black people suffer more from any economic downturn. Conditioning this is the deindustrialization of the U.S.—rust-belt cities like Detroit are emblematic. Deindustrialization has weakened the position of black workers who were key in auto, steel and other industrial unions, which were the heavy guns of American labor.

Blacks and Hispanics are now likely to be stuck in low-wage service jobs, but those who still have unionized jobs account for a quarter of the organized labor movement. A focus of a fighting labor movement would be to champion workers at the bottom—blacks, immigrants and women. This means fighting racial oppression, chauvinism and discrimination that are used to divide and weaken the working class. It also means fighting tooth and nail against government take-backs of social programs. When Clinton axed welfare in 1996, the union tops turned a blind eye and many enlisted as overseers of the government's slave-labor "workfare" schemes. The devastation wrought by the axing of welfare swelled the ranks of workers desperately competing for jobs with appalling conditions, paying starvation wages. Capitalist "workfare" schemes have acted to sharply depress wages and increase overall job insecurity.

When Bush promises that his SSI plan assures that "future generations receive benefits equal to or greater than the benefits today's seniors get," he's hitting one of his most sour notes. In fact, all the "reforms" proposed today are designed to batter "future generations." Youth are saddled with shamefully poor, underfunded schools. At the same time, college students are being hit with deep cuts in school loans and grants, assuring that they will be left with crippling debt, if they can afford to attend college at all. And even those who make it through school are having a hard time finding jobs. The U.S. Department of Labor reported that in February alone, 373,000 discouraged college graduates dropped out of the labor force. And black unemployment is more than double that of whites, and in New York City, nearly half of black males aged 16 to 64 are out of work. Some "future"!



WV Photo

UFCW picket line against Ralphs supermarket, Los Angeles, 17 October 2003.

Press Association

Harris/IFL

Top: British miners battle cops in heroic 1984-85 strike against Thatcher's union-busting. Thatcher's pension privatization scheme is a model for Bush.

Labor and Capital—An Irreconcilable Conflict

Without some hard class struggle, the capitalist assault on the working class and oppressed in this country will only intensify. But the current trade-union leadership's accommodation to the capitalist class through the Democrats keeps the working class disarmed, demoralized and demobilized. The union tops believe that capitalism can be reformed, putting all faith in compromises with the class enemy. This has led to defeat after defeat. The readiness of the working class to fight is evident in, for example, the militant strike of nearly 60,000 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers that ended last year. This popular and ***winnable*** five-month-long battle against California supermarket owners was sold out by a union leadership unwilling to wield the workers' power to put the employers up against the wall. The bureaucrats kept the strike limited to California despite the fact that union contracts covering tens of thousands of supermarket workers in other states had expired during the strike. Instead of extending it, the bureaucrats saw the strike as a pressure tactic on the politicians and ended up caving in to the bosses' demands.

The social reforms that were gained in the mid 1930s such as Social Security were won through intense class struggle. As we wrote:

> "The mass industrial unions of the CIO were born out of the three citywide general strikes in 1934 (Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo)—all led by 'reds'—and were built through militant class-struggle tactics like the sit-down strike. Contrary to the union misleaders and their reformist tails, the right to organize wasn't won in Washington, but through pitched battles with scabs, cops and government troops."
>
> —"Feds Loot Social Security," *WV* No. 669, 30 May 1997

The 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes were won, not simply due to the immense courage and labor solidarity of the workers nor the inherent power of the truckers to shut down production. As James P. Cannon, a leader of that battle and founder of American Trotskyism, explained in 1936, success depends on understanding that every class battle is:

> "a bullheaded struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's dam is the strategy that begins with this conception."
>
> —*Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

Aiming to derail such class struggle and growing radicalism, Democratic president Franklin Delano Roosevelt proposed a set of palliative reforms known as the New Deal. It was the Communist Party (CP) and other misleaders of the union movement that carried Roosevelt's liberal bourgeois politics into the working class. In the course of its Stalinist degeneration over the previous decade, in the mid 1930s the CP came to espouse a "popular front" with "progressive" bourgeois politicians, peddling illusions in a reformed and benevolent capitalism. This helped cement the labor movement's alliance with the Democratic Party—the other party of the American capitalist bosses—that has shackled it to this day.

Labor bureaucrats and liberals look to revive the New Deal coalition of the 1930s to pressure the Democrats to act as "friends of labor." But now, as then, the outcome will depend not upon the supposed good graces of the capitalist Democratic Party but upon a contest of forces between the working class and the bourgeoisie. In the 1930s, the Communist League of America, then the Trotskyist party, explained in their paper, the *Militant* (23 June 1934):

> "What will social insurance become? It will become what the workers make it. The words 'social insurance' were wrung out of Roosevelt by the grip of an aroused working class.... But to obtain actual relief, the working class must present its own demands for social insurance and immediately build the united front of labor that will push it over."

In the end, whatever gains are won through struggle come under constant attack by the ruling class and, as we are seeing, are ultimately reversible. What is needed is a party that fights in the interest of the working class, absolutely independent of the bourgeois parties and interests, a party dedicated to leading proletarian revolution to seize the means of production and put the vast resources of this country, and ultimately this planet, to benefit the mass of people. As the Trotskyists wrote in the *Militant* (14 July 1934):

> "A new Communist Party that will blend that militancy and the fighting tradition of the American working class with the theory and practice of the international revolutionary movement is needed now, not to renovate and redecorate the present social system but to end it and build the new—the Socialist Society."

The Rip-Off Plot

Back in the '30s, conservative elements of the bourgeoisie opposed the passage of Social Security legislation. More recently, one of Bush's judicial nominees, Janice Rogers Brown, called 1937 "the year the Supreme Court began to uphold the New Deal, 'the triumph of our socialist revolution'" (*New York Times Magazine*, 17 April). In opposition to the likes of Brown, liberals laud Social Security as the main progressive government program in modern American history. But in one important respect, it is the opposite of progressive. It is based on a *regressive* tax. All wage and salaried income is taxed at a flat rate for the employee (currently 6.2 percent) up to a maximum amount (currently $90,000 a year). Because of the enormous widening of income differences over the past few decades, the top 15 percent of salaried income is now *exempt* from SSI taxes. Removing the $90,000 cap on SSI taxes completely could in itself—with no other changes in tax or benefit policy—virtually eliminate the officially projected future shortfall for

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Much has been made of the "successful" privatization schemes introduced by two of Bush's models: the fascistic Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet and Britain's "Iron Lady," Margaret Thatcher. Bush became enamored of the prospect of privatization after talking to a key architect of the Chilean plan, José Piñera, now a fellow at the U.S.-based Cato Institute, a right-wing think tank that has pushed privatization here. That plan was drawn up by a group of American economists known as the "Chicago Boys" and was implemented after Pinochet's bloody CIA-backed coup in 1973 that left tens of thousands of workers and leftists dead. The system is administered by a bunch of companies, whose boards include many former Pinochet cahinet members, that are among the most profitable in Chile. The success of the plan from the point of view of the capitalist class may also be judged by the fact that at least half of the Chilean people never accumulate sufficient earnings to receive even the minimum monthly pension, equivalent to $100.

The British plan, installed in the mid '80s by Thatcher, a committed union-buster with notorious contempt for the working masses, is now facing a growing scandal over the fact that many workers are worse off in retirement as a result of her privatization plan. In addition, administration fees and charges take as much as *30 percent* out of retirement savings. Clearly, this has whetted the appetites of some Wall Street bankers.

The White House director of strategic initiatives, Peter Wehner, laid out the ideological theme to the current campaign in a memo, leaked in January, that calls Social Security reform "one of the most important conservative undertakings of modern times," and "*not simply on economic challenge, but a morol goal and a marol good*" [his emphasis].

Bush's privatization campaign uses mystification and lies to panic the masses.

Minnesota Historical Society

Trotskyist leadership won Teamsters union-organizing drive through militant strikes in Minneapolis, 1934.

In his April 28 speech, Bush said: "By 2041 Social Security will be bankrupt." This first lie has become the domestic version of Hussein's "weapons of mass destruction," which the Bush gang used to launch the devastating war in Iraq. Here's the real story. Every tax dollar paid by workers into Social Security goes straight into federal Treasury coffers. Each year, Congress allocates the funds needed to pay out to retirees. Any amount from SSI payments that is not needed for current retirees is "borrowed" by the Feds in exchange for low-interest treasury bonds. So the "extra" money (the amount that is supposedly held in a "trust fund") is used to finance, for example, Clinton's bombing of Iraq in the '90s or Bush's pre-emptive strikes against the "evildoers" of the moment. The system was set up this way almost from the start, but it's been getting a lot more "extra" money to play with since 1983 when the SSI tax was raised and benefits were cut.

So, what if the "extra" money, the money that is in a theoretical "trust fund," is needed, for example to pay the pensions for the "baby-boomer" generation? It would either have to come from somewhere in the federal budget (most likely more cuts in social services) or...increased taxes. In other words: You put your money into the system, the government "borrows" it, and you have to pay more so the government can pay back the debt!

The argument to replace the "bankrupt" Social Security system with private accounts is full of Bush doublespeak. The predictions of "bankruptcy" hinge on projections of a steep slowdown in economic and population growth—lower than any two decades of U.S. history, including the years encompassing the Great Depression, 1920-39! If there were such an extended period of stagnation, and this is certainly possible, U.S. capitalism would have a lot more to worry about than shortfalls in pensions! On the other hand, the projections for returns on private accounts are based on a stock market yield of 7 percent. If the economy were doing that well, well enough to make the private accounts pay off, then the SSI trust would also be doing splendidly and the system wouldn't need any help at all!

Bancroft Library

Classic Publications

Roosevelt's New Deal enacted in response to labor radicalization of 1930s. Left: Strike by longshoremen and seamen, which sparked 1934 San Francisco general strike. Right: Roosevelt signs Social Security legislation, August 1935.

The so-called middle class would face substantial cuts in benefits according to Bush's plan even if they did not opt for a private account. For the rich, of course, the cuts would barely be noticeable because, for the wealthy, SSI is an insignificant portion of their retirement income. Meanwhile, even the Bush administration admits now that privatization would have no effect on the supposed shortfall for decades. On the contrary, it would vastly increase the debt because all amounts privately invested for future retirement would have to be borrowed to pay out to current retirees—a debt that could amount to as much as $15 trillion by the time privatization started to save money, if it ever did. Combined with the current budget deficit, which amounts to over $400 billion, due largely to Bush's hefty tax cuts for the rich, the U.S. economy would be speeding toward "a deficit that would make Carlos Menem's Argentina look like a model of responsibility," as Paul Krugman put it (*New York Times*, 11 January).

Workers who opted for "private accounts" would have their future benefits cut by the amount they invest plus interest and hefty fees. The balance of their benefits is to be made up by their (supposedly) successful stock and bond investments. Tell this to those approaching retirement who lost their shirts during the 2000-2002 market plunge. The privatization scheme would put people's paltry retirement savings at the mercy of the repeated financial crises and economic depressions that have marked the history of industrial capitalism since its rise two centuries ago.

Laying the Groundwork to Destroy SSI

In 1983, the "free market" Cato Institute published a study, provocatively titled "Achieving a 'Leninist' Strategy." Making clear exactly which interests are being catered to, the battle plan called for forging a coalition "that will gain directly from its implementation...the banks, insurance companies, and other institutions that will gain from providing such plans to the public." The Cato paper sketched out a series of measures to "prepare the political ground" by dividing or neutralizing the opposition (the elderly, for example), through "guerrilla warfare against both the current Social Security system and the coalition that supports it." Bush loaded up the Social Security Administration with Cato graduates and has followed the Cato projection almost exactly.

The drive to seize the Social Security funds and invest them in the stock market follows trends in private industry. Most employer pension funds have been transformed into 401(k) or similar plans that place the burden of risk on the worker and make many even more dependent on SSI checks. Hundreds of thousands of workers saw their pensions go up in smoke when dozens of steel and airline companies went bust in the last decades. Public employees' retirement systems are now in the cross hairs of governments all over the country. California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has supported a proposal to scrap current pension plans for teachers, firefighters and nurses, forcing new employees into private plans. So far, this has been beaten back by protests from labor.

The U.S. in the 1990s achieved the most inegalitarian distribution of income of any industrialized capitalist country save Russia (whose economy is in shambles). The successful slashing of social benefits has been the fruit of a longstanding right-wing strategy. In the 1980s the Reaganites *deliberately* manufactured massive budget deficits—the federal debt tripled between 1981 and 1990—to create the financial pressure and resulting political conditions to dismantle the "welfare state." Bush's second term will see the lowest tax take as a percentage of GDP since the Truman administration (1945-53), allowing the administration to cry "deficit" to fuel their cuts.

Democratic president Bill Clinton accomplished what no Republican had been able to do—gutting welfare—while assuring that millions of blacks and Hispanics were in prison and welfare moms were thrown into the low-wage workforce. This set the stage for the assault on Social Security. It was Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a respected Democratic Party strategist, who openly floated the idea of privatization in 1998. The Democratic Party leadership's line now is that it would consider all manner of cuts as long as the privatization part is dropped. When it comes time to pull the plug on social programs, the Democrats simply have a better bedside manner.

The people pushing privatization are preaching faith in the stock market and capitalist economy. Investment firms will rake in millions but for working people it amounts to a big rip-off. Take a look at the actual state of the economy right now. Over decades, the greedy capitalists have destroyed the U.S. industrial infrastructure, and this administration has plunged the country into huge debt. The trade deficit, which stood at $346 billion in 2001, rose to $666 billion in 2004. Some 20 percent of this debt is held by Japanese finance capitalists and the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. They, along with everybody else who holds U.S. government securities, are increasingly concerned as the value of the dollar falls on the international currency market. Should China or Japan decide to dump U.S. bonds, this could cause a currency crisis and sharp rise in interest rates in the U.S. Since the housing boom is fueled by low interest rates, if the rates soar hundreds of thousands of homeowners could well find themselves on the street by default and mortgage foreclosures. In short, capitalism means more misery for working people and the oppressed.

It is surely not much to ask that, upon retirement, workers should live no worse off than they did during the years they toiled. But, under capitalism, this is as much a fantasy as full employment, universal free health care, good education and decent housing. The capitalist class will not "reorder its priorities" in the interests of the workers, nor will it relinquish its power voluntarily. The central task of the Spartacist League consists in forging an integrated, revolutionary workers party to unshackle the labor movement and the oppressed from the Democratic Party union tops and black elected officials, whose conservatism and partnership with capital facilitate every blow by the class enemy. Attainment of even the basic necessities of human life in this society, not to mention leisure and culture, urgently requires *a class-struggle fight and revolutionary leadership*. This is the way forward: To seize the means of production from the parasitic, greedy and filthy rich capitalist class. ***For class war, not massacre of workers rights! Those who labor must rule!*** ■

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Assata Shakur...

(continued from page 16)

against the young black men and women inspired by the Black Panther Party and the fight for black freedom intersects its unflagging determination to overthrow the 1959 Cuban Revolution. The Cuban Revolution, which forced the venal capitalist class across the water to Miami, inspired black and white youth not only in America but also around the world. The Cuban Revolution, bureaucratically deformed from its inception and economically suffering under the U.S. blockade and especially since capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, must be defended against imperialist attack.

Shortly before Shakur's bounty was increased, Cuban *gusano* (worm) Luis Posada Carriles entered the U.S. (see "Extradite *Gusano* Terrorist to Havana!" *WV* No. 849, 27 May). With a blood-soaked résumé of 45 years of terror in hand that stretches from Cuba across North, Central and South America, he is now requesting political asylum from his former CIA employers. This counterrevolutionary killer is looking for sanctuary with his reactionary *gusano* cohorts in Miami who are welcomed by the U.S. imperialist butchers. In a May 10 speech, Fidel Castro said that the U.S. actions against Shakur were intended to divert attention away from the criminal Posada. He stated that Shakur was a victim of racial persecution, adding "They wanted to portray her as a terrorist, something that was an injustice, a brutality, an infamous lie."

The vendetta against Assata Shakur has been pushed by both Democrats and Republicans. In September 1998, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) even voted for a House resolution demanding that Castro return Assata to the U.S. When caught out in their support for this reprehensible motion, some members of the CBC backpedaled, with L.A. Congresswoman Maxine Waters and Chicago Congressman Danny Davis "explaining" that the Republican House leadership had "quietly slipped this bill" through and deceptively used only Shakur's former name of Joanne Chesimard. As we wrote in "Black Democrats Join Racist Vendetta Against Assata Shakur" (*WV* No. 699, 23 October 1998): "To believe Waters and Davis, they either voted for a resolution they hadn't bothered to read or endorsed the extradition of black COINTELPRO victims other than Assata Shakur!"

On 2 May 1973, Assata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli and Zayd Malik Shakur were stopped on the turnpike ostensibly for a "faulty taillight" by cops of the Nazi-infested New Jersey state troopers. In fact, the cops had been tracking their car and organized an ambush. A state trooper pulled out a gun, and when the smoke cleared, one trooper and Zayd Shakur were dead. Sundiata Acoli had escaped and Assata Shakur was severely wounded. Near death, she was finally taken to a hospital where she was chained to a bed, beaten and tortured, her arms paralyzed by gunshot wounds. She was kept in barbarous conditions, in isolation in the basement of a men's prison, under 24-hour surveillance during her four years of pretrial detention. During this period, she was hauled from court to court where the state could not get even one of the many trumped-up charges that had been brought against her to stick. While awaiting trial, she gave birth to a daughter who was immediately taken from her.

After a hysterical, cop-orchestrated media campaign, in which she was called "the high priestess" and the "black Joan of Arc" of the Black Liberation Army (BLA, an urban guerrillaist outgrowth of the Black Panthers), she was convicted in 1977 of killing the state trooper and her own companion, Zayd Shakur! The all-white jury included two friends, one girlfriend and two nephews of New Jersey state troopers. Three physicians testified that she had heen so seriously hurt by cop gunfire that she would have been physically unable to pull a trigger. The state trooper was killed with a bullet from a police revolver. There was no gun residue found on her fingers. Her wounds also showed that she was shot twice in the back while her arms were raised over her head in a position of surrender. The judge added 33 years to her life sentence because she would not stand up for him in court.

Two days after he escaped, Sundiata Acoli was captured, tried separately and sentenced to life plus 30 years. Sundiata Acoli is a college-educated mathematician who registered voters in Mississippi during the 1964 "Freedom Summer." Like Shakur, he joined the Harlem Black Panther organization. He was arrested in 1969 as one of the Panther 21, a frame-up conspiracy case that included the ludicrous charge that they had plotted to blow up, among other things, the Bronx Botanical Garden. After a nine-month trial, the longest trial in New York State history, the jury took 90 minutes to acquit the Panthers of the 156 counts against them. Acoli has spent years in federal penitentiaries, including the notorious maximum security unit in Marion, Illinois, where he was in lockdown for 23 hours a day. In August 2004, 67-year-old Acoli was denied parole, which cannot be reviewed for another ten years.

In 1979, Assata Shakur was freed from New Jersey's Clinton Women's Prison in a dramatic and well-executed escape. After the recent announcement of the raised bounty, Mos Def published a tribute to Assata Shakur titled "Assata Shakur: The Government's Terrorist is Our Community's Heroine" that includes a moving passage about the impact of her frame-up and subsequent escape on the black Brooklyn neighborhood where he grew up: "As a high school student I remember seeing posters all around the Brooklyn community I lived in that read: Assata Shakur is Welcome Here."

Assata, An Autobiography. Shakur's own story written in 1987, has some powerful parallels with the recently published book by Mumia Abu-Jamal, *We Want Freedom, A Life in the Black Panther Party*, in portraying the idealistic youth that joined the Black Panther Party (see review in *Black History* No. 18, January 2005). The books give a sense of the determined black youth who grew up under the hellish conditions of racist capitalist America, and who were transformed into leaders and foot soldiers fighting for black freedom. Shakur wrote about joining the Panthers: "If a light had been plugged into me, i'm sure i would have lit up half of Harlem. I was fired up and raring to go. When i joined the BPP, i was determined to give it everything i had." Shakur helped organize a free medical clinic in Harlem.

Chicago Panther office shot up by FBI in 1969 raid that killed Fred Hampton, Mark Clark.

Assata Shakur joined the Black Panther Party right after J. Edgar Hoover ordered the 41 FBI offices to intensify their efforts "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, and otherwise neutralize" militant black organizations as part of the deadly COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) campaign. Assata Shakur, like so many others, watched while comrades were arrested and gunned down and the organization was sabotaged and splintered.

In 1971 the FBI had initiated a new counterinsurgency program campaign named "NEWKILL." Hoover wrote in a memo, "The Newkill cases and other terrorist acts have demonstrated that in many instances those involved in these acts are individuals who cannot be identified as members of an extremist group.... They are frequently supporters, community workers, or people who hang around the headquarters of the extremist group.... If you have no file, open files." The East Coast Panthers were among the main targets, and the FBI and local police initiated national search-and-destroy missions for suspected BLA members—this was the context of Shakur's arrest and trial.

That Shakur is alive at all today, let alone out of prison, is amazing. Many of the original cadres of the Black Liberation Army like Shakur were derived from the old New York Panther leadership. They sought to keep alive the spirit of black rebellion through carrying out individual armed actions. Rejecting the Marxist strategy of mobilizing the integrated power of the working class to fight for black freedom, surviving Panthers went into the dead end of Democratic Party electoralism and/or black nationalist schemes.

Today, black youth continue to be beaten and gunned down by kill-crazy cops on the streets of rotting American cities. The fight for black freedom is the strategic question of the American revolution. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party.

Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Hamburg...

(continued from page 5)

Soviet Union in 1990, the SPD/Green government has, since late 2004, been planning, in consort with the Israeli government, a new anti-Semitic ban on immigration to Germany by Jews from the former Soviet Union. The Conference of the Ministry of the Interior established criteria whereby only "economically useful" Jews were to be allowed to come to Germany. Whereas we protested vehemently against such an anti-Semitic and racist ban on immigration, the "anti-Germans" kept silent. In exactly the same way, they take the side of the government in the state's "war against terror." For example, on 10 July 2004, 150 of them with U.S. and Israeli flags and war cries such as "Panzer into Ramallah—that's the true Antifa" and "Anybody that likes Kreuzberg's got to be crap," terrorized the Berlin immigrant districts of Neukölln and Kreuzberg. Without the protection of 200 cops, who arrested many counterdemonstrators, they would have been unable to carry out this racist anti-Arab march, since they encountered the rage of 250 leftists and residents who closed ranks against them. We demand: *Full citizenship rights for everyone who has made it here!*

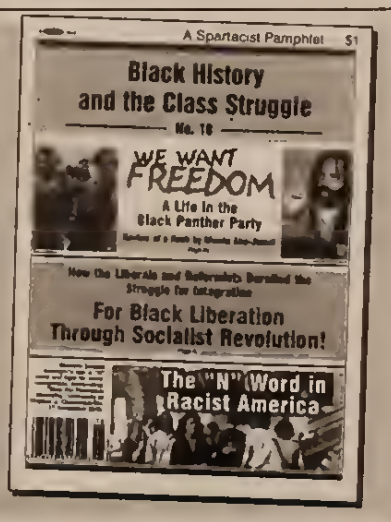
The reason the "anti-Germans" are still tolerated as a part of the left is the widely accepted belief in "collective guilt." The "collective guilt" lie that all Germans are responsible for the Holocaust whitewashes those who are truly guilty. It was the German bourgeoisie that brought Hitler to power in the early 1930s. This was aided by the treacherous leadership of the KPD [German Communist Party], which refused to force the SPD leadership into a united front to stop the Nazis. Instead, the KPD leaders labeled the SPD "social-fascists," thus alienating social-democratic workers from pursuing a course of common struggle against the Nazis. The KPD leadership left the working-class base of the SPD to its pro-capitalist leadership, which feared the independent mobilization of the working class against the Nazis. Instead of mobilizing the working class, in 1932 the SPD leadership called for a vote to Hindenburg as a lesser evil. In January 1933, Hindenburg appointed Hitler as chancellor. The determination of the German proletariat to fight against Hitler was betrayed by the leaderships of the SPD and KPD. That is why Hitler came to power without a shot being fired. The Nazis then smashed the Communist Party, then the trade unions and finally the SPD. Only when the workers movement had been atomized could the Nazis carry out their war against the Soviet Union and the Holocaust. The Holocaust was the industrial extermination of six million Jews and 500,000 Roma and Sinti [Gypsies] and countless others. Today the SPD/Green government is utilizing the commemorations of the 60th anniversary of liberation, in the name of the "German responsibility" for the World War and the Holocaust, to advance the interests of German imperialism. Already in 1999, "Never again Auschwitz!" served as the battle cry in the war against Serbia, in order to ideologically justify the first wartime deployment of the *Bundeswehr* [German army] since the end of the Second World War. Only a successful workers revolution will avenge the victims of the Holocaust. To achieve this, it is necessary to build a multiethnic workers party that fights every form of oppression. ■

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 18

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

$1 (48 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



"Honor" Killings...

(continued from page 4)

learned to expect from the state and other public institutions. The money to get a truck to start a vegetable business comes from an uncle, not a bank or start-up money from a state program. In most cases, one's first job is either at a family enterprise or at a factory, achieved through the recommendation of a family member working there. All the old oppressive traditions are preserved through these intensified ties to the family.

Everyone knows that women are the big losers of the counterrevolution. In the DDR [East German deformed workers state], 90 percent of women were employed and grew up with the awareness that they could care for themselves and their children and get ahead in their profession with or without a man. But female engineers, waitresses and nuclear physicists suddenly found themselves out on the street and back in the kitchen, as the state-owned factories were destroyed one after another. Official unemployment rates in eastern Germany are twice as high as in the west and twice as high for women as for men. But in the Turkish neighborhoods of Berlin, unemployment is just as high as in eastern Germany. In this atmosphere of joblessness and isolation, religion and the oppression of women flourish.

Recently Turkish feminist voices have been getting more of a public hearing: a few years ago, Serap Cileli wrote and then filmed her autobiography, *Wir sind Eure Töchter, nicht Eure Ehre!* [We Are Your Daughters, Not Your Honor!]; Seyran Ates won the Berlin Woman's Prize for her autobiography, *Grosse Reise ins Feuer* [Long Journey into the Flames]; and Necla Kelek's best seller *Die fremde Braut* [The Foreign Bride] exposes forced marriage. These women have pulled *Namus* (honor) out of the closet and exposed it; they have also taken on the racism of those liberals who preach a "cultural relativism" that makes peace with the most abhorrent anti-woman practices by claiming that criticizing any aspect of another culture is racist. Thus the liberals sit on their hands when, for example, Somali women become prey to genital mutilation, Tibetan baby girls to the traditional female infanticide, Afghan women are stuck under the suffocating *burka* and Turkish, Kurdish, Indian, Pakistani and many other women are forced into marriage and become victims of "honor" killings. In an interview with the *tageszeitung* [*taz*] (28 February), Seyran Ates stated: "Leftists and liberals and feminists are always at a complete loss and organize conferences and seek consensus. That isn't enough." Turkish women, she said, are "slaves in the Muslim marriage market." Ates makes the same proposals as Necla Kelek and Terre des Femmes: more women's safe houses and more stringent criminal law.

But the SPD/Green government is not making more money available to Papatya and other women's houses, and neither is the SPD/PDS-run Berlin City Council [Senat]. Public funds for abused women are being massively slashed along with all other social measures. We oppose these cuts, while recognizing that the homes run by determined, hard-working and often courageous social workers are just a drop in the bucket compared to the needs of women attempting to escape abuse in the family, in Germany, Europe and worldwide.

One of the feminist demands is "No reduced sentence on the grounds of the perpetrators' possible immigrant background! Violence against women cannot be permitted to be relativized" (TdF demonstration call). In Germany, "honor" killings are not automatically viewed as murder, but are reduced to manslaughter "because the stamp of the perp's cultural upbringing is taken into account" (Seyran Ates, *taz* interview). This is both anti-woman and racist, and it's no wonder Turkish feminists are enraged at this. In the eyes of communists and the working class (and for that matter anyone who upholds the gains of the French Revolution) murdering a woman is murder.

Gendercide Watch

Bangladeshi women scarred in acid attacks.

Feminists Call for State Intervention

It is a dangerous illusion to believe that the racist, capitalist German state can play a positive role in the liberation of immigrant women. Laws of the centralized state power are enforced in a completely racist and undemocratic manner, ultimately targeting not just victims of racism, but also the victims of "honor" killings and other patriarchal brutality. If Hatun had been armed and her murderers had known she had a weapon and knew how to use it, she might still be alive today.

While the present TdF campaign is far removed from the grassroots support of the French feminist organization "Neither Sluts nor Slaves," which brought 20,000 onto the streets on International Women's Day in 2003, its strategy has a lot in common with that organization's. As our French section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), wrote in *Le Bolchévik* No. 163 (Spring 2003):

> "It is criminal to sidetrack the anger and courage of these young women into calls on the class enemy, the bourgeois state, to protect them! It is not with calls for more police repression in the ghettos that one can resolve the pathology of the ghettos, which are hit by the economic crisis and where social backwardness is encouraged by the *systematic* segregation of minority communities!"
>
> —quoted in "Racism and Islamic Fundamentalism in France," *Workers Vanguard* No. 811, 10 October 2003

Seyran Ates, a former squatter, calls on the capitalist state to copy the immigration laws of Denmark's rightist conservative government, according to which "only those who subordinate themselves to Danish culture should be allowed into the country." Necla Kelek agrees. In *Die fremde Braut* she openly calls for revising the hated "Ausländergesetz" [German law regulating foreign immigrants] to read: "Bringing together the family on the basis of marriage is authorized only when both partners are at least 21, as in the Netherlands, or following the Danish model, when they have completed their 24th year." PDS immigration politics spokesman Giyasettin Sayan uses the opportunity to call for investigating the finances of Islamic organizations, saying, "In some organizations the influence of foreign extremist groups is very strong" (*taz*, 28 February). The struggle against the real horrors of women's oppression has been distorted into a justification for imperialist reaction, made part of the racist anti-Islam campaign that supposedly champions women's rights. The capitalist state—the police, courts and prisons—is not there to protect young women from unwanted marriage or the consequences of escaping from it. Neither are the pro-capitalist politicians of the SPD or PDS, let alone the Greens. The SPD/Green government was responsible for sending German troops abroad to wage a war, in the Balkans, for the first time since World War II and now has troops in Afghanistan. The German state makes use of feminist sympathy for the plight of "import brides" as a way to close one of the last few remaining legal loopholes on immigration, just as the imprisonment of Afghan women under the *burka* was used as a justification for bombing Afghanistan to get rid of the Taliban government, which had originally come to power with the support of the U.S. and all West European governments.

All these lies must be taken apart and exposed. Immemorial customs like the bride price, forced marriage and crimes of "honor" exist in countries kept backward by imperialist domination and in the beleaguered ghettos in German cities, where lack of citizenship and residency rights makes it almost impossible for a young woman to break away from her family. Necla Kelek documents the plight of young second- and third-generation women married off to cousins in Turkey:

> "A person's residence permit is lost, according to paragraph 44 of the Ausländergesetz, if they leave the country 'for a reason which by its nature is not temporary.' After six months at the latest, the possibility of returning to Germany is lost. If the young woman doesn't know this and is unable to report to the German authorities, she has to stay in Turkey forever."

But just take a look at all the feminists, reformists and so-called socialists, with their arrogance and illusions in the German imperialist state: not one will join us in the call for the simple democratic demand "Full citizenship rights for all those who live here." Why? Because they accept the German state, and the property forms it protects. And they believe that they can pressure the SPD or PDS to the left to attain all the necessary reforms or that they have to support the "lesser evil" to avert further attacks. In contrast, we are inspired by the Russian Revolution, not least because of the gains for women, always a good measure of the development of society as a whole. It will take a revolution to get there, and that means convincing the most politically conscious workers, including the crucial immigrant sector, that the Social Democracy, whether SPD or PDS, is an obstacle not only to revolution but to the most elementary needs of workers, women and immigrants.

Friends of Afghanistan Society

Afghan women's militia takes up arms against CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats. Spartacists hailed 1979 Soviet Red Army intervention in Afghanistan.

For decades the Spartacist League/U.S. journal *Women and Revolution* has been condemning and mobilizing against such horrific crimes against women as genital mutilation, *suttee*, forced marriage and child marriages. [*Women and Revolution* has been suspended as a separate journal. *Women and Revolution* pages now appear in *Workers Vanguard* and other sectional papers of the ICL, as well as the ICL's theoretical journal, *Spartacist*.] We communists see these abominations as part of the oppressive institution of the family, which is necessary to maintain class society and can be fought only by mobilizing the power of the trade unions to bring women into social production, sharing the social power of their class, away from the isolation of the home. This is especially important for female immigrants. It is at work that language skills are really acquired, where bonds develop on the picket lines and in social struggles, where prejudices between those of German and other backgrounds, between men and women of all backgrounds can be transcended. The liberation of women starts in the class struggle and will finally be achieved when the working class takes power, freeing women from age-old family servitude and reorganizing society in the interest of all the oppressed. The family cannot simply be abolished; rather, its social functions, such as housework, child rearing, preparation of food and education must be replaced by social institutions.

For us as Trotskyists the point of departure for attaining all this is to construct a multiethnic vanguard party that the Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky would recognize as their own. In Germany today this entails fighting for full citizenship rights for all who live here, regardless of where they, their parents or grandparents were born, or what their religious background may be. Through its daily struggles against racism and the oppression of women, a revolutionary party will build the authority among the workers to mobilize them against all manner of backward consciousness, including the abuse of women.

As Engels wrote in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, the liberation of women is the precondition to "bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and...this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society." Such a change presupposes the abolition of private property:

> "With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership, the single family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair."

Only when this is accomplished will a new generation of women grow up who have never known "what it is to give themselves to a man from any other considerations than real love, or to refuse to give themselves to their lover from fear of the economic consequences."■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 8.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bush Attempts Heist of Social Security

For Class War, Not Massacre of Workers Rights!

Wilson/NY Times

March 31: San Francisco union members protest Social Security privatization plan.

Break with the Democrats! Fight for a Workers Party and a Workers Government!

In the one-sided class war this government is waging against the workers and oppressed worldwide, the Bush administration is taking on the final dismantling of social programs won over decades of struggle by American working people. The drive to maintain a competitive edge against its rivals fuels American imperialist adventures, like the unending, blood-spattered occupation of Iraq, as well as the push to slash social benefits and otherwise ratchet up the rate of exploitation of the working class. Competition among capitalist powers has been amplified in the age of imperialism and has intensified even more since the collapse of the Soviet Union. With their election victory, the Republicans feel at liberty to plunge ahead with reckless greed, remolding domestic social policy in the image of the robber barons of 19th century American capitalism, while rampaging across the globe at will.

While the wealthy just got massive tax breaks, the new federal budget includes savage cuts in health care, food and education programs, AIDS and HIV treatment, transportation, medical research and safety inspections for food and drugs—you name it. The Social Security Insurance system (SSI) is now targeted as a major domestic battleground, to be followed closely by Medicaid. Medicare will surely be next on the chopping block. As always, the cuts will hurt the destitute, children and the elderly the most—and the employed working class will get hit too. As health care costs soar and employer-paid insurance diminishes, 45 million people lack health insurance and one million more are added every year. Workers face falling wages, and, adding a sadistic flourish, there's a new bankruptcy law (virtually written by the credit card companies) that precludes this option for many rendered destitute and debt-ridden by medical crises, job loss or divorce.

The arrogance of Bush & Co. is matched by their religious zeal. The country is in the grip of a gang of demented fundamentalist Christians who deeply believe in their mission: to impose their peculiar set of moral values on us, and the rest of the world too. Bush may believe, as he said during the 2000 presidential campaign, that "God wants me to run for President." But five months into his second coming, Bush's popularity is the lowest of any president in the last 60 years, at this point in a second term. Many, even Republicans, believe that the administration might be overreaching its "mandate." Plummeting support for the SSI privatization scheme has stoked that worry. Bush ploughs ahead, however. After all, if you have a mandate from God, why be concerned with the opinions of mere mortals?

This Christian fundamentalist crusade is part of the ideological wrapper for the "war on terror," the cover for violent destruction and repression of anyone, anywhere that stands in the way of U.S. imperialism. Domestically, the "war on terror" is the patriotic script for ripping up constitutional and basic democratic rights and social gains wrested through the American Revolution, the Civil War against slavery, the civil rights movement, the women's and gay rights movements and decades of labor battles.

However demented this administration may seem, it is a government by and for the owners of the means of production—the capitalist class—who are driven by the quest for profits. From that point of view, doling out millions so retired workers can live a decent life, poor children can have nourishing meals or health care or a chance at a good education, is just unproductive overhead expense that cuts into profits and, crucially, into funds needed to pay for imperialist adventures. In the last three years, profits have had the fastest growth since WWII, and this has made Bush's well-fed pals in the corporate world hungry for more. Many Wall Street firms are drooling in anticipation of the billions of dollars that will flow into their coffers (especially in commissions and fees, regardless of whether the market goes up or down) if even a partial SSI privatization plan goes through. However, Bush's SSI plan has encountered opposition from significant elements of the capitalist class, including some Congressional Republicans who are concerned that it will add further hundreds of billions of dollars to the federal budget deficit in order to finance the "transition" to private accounts and reduced benefits.

Social Security is popular because almost everyone benefits from it. It doesn't pay much, but it does promise you'll get a

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FBI's Racist Bounty on Former Black Panther

Hands Off Assata Shakur!

On May 2, New Jersey's attorney general, along with the federal Justice Department, announced that the bounty on the head of former Black Panther member Assata Shakur would be raised by $850,000, to $1 million, and that a new reward poster would be circulated throughout the U.S., Caribbean, South America and Europe. The Justice Department also added her name to the FBI's domestic terrorist list as well as various international "terrorist" lists.

Assata Shakur is the victim of a racist frame-up for the 1973 death of a New Jersey state trooper. She escaped prison and fled to Cuba where she resides today, a political refugee from capitalist America's racist injustice. She wrote eloquently in her 1998 *Open Letter*: "My name is Assata Shakur, and I am a 20th century escaped slave. Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from the political repression, racism and violence that dominate the US government's policy towards people of color. I am an ex-political prisoner, and I have been living in exile in Cuba since 1984."

Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost class-war prisoner, wrote from death row on May 13 regarding Assata Shakur: "For centuries, nothing has so stirred up American fury like the escape of a slave. That ain't just distant history. For daring to slip her bonds and escape from brutal and unjust bondage, the Empire now labels *her* a terrorist.... As for terrorists, if they really wanna find some, it shouldn't be too hard to find them. Just check the White House."

Assata Shakur's case casts a sharp light on how the U.S. bourgeoisie's many, decades-long terrorist vendettas

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Elana Levy

Assata Shakur speaking in Havana, Cuba, January 1998.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 851 | C-701 | 8 July 2005

Down With Big Brother "Real ID" Act!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

LOS ANGELES—A sinister bill, the "Real ID" Act, passed the U.S. Congress on May 10 and was signed into law by Bush the next day. The law targets immigrants as a step toward more effectively regimenting the entire population, including black people and the working class as a whole. In once again turning to the divide-and-conquer scheme of scapegoating immigrants, the capitalist purveyors of xenophobia have added the post-9/11 twist that "illegal" immigration into the U.S. is a threat to "national security," and that the "war on terror" must include measures to seal the Mexican border and stop the influx of "illegal aliens," with a particular focus on California.

Indymedia

Los Angeles, April 30: Immigrant workers groups march at May Day rally.

"Real ID" mandates, among other things, that states deprive undocumented immigrants of driver's licenses, transforming state motor vehicle administrators into de facto immigration officials who would be called upon to investigate the citizenship or legal residence status of all license applicants. The intended result is to drive underground those who are unable to hand over documents such as birth certificates, Social Security cards or proof of citizenship or legal residency. Individuals would be required to prove they are in the U.S. legally in order to get identification necessary to board airplanes or enter federal buildings and even national parks, and would increasingly be cut off from a variety of essential social services like schools. The bill grants the Department of Homeland Security unconditional authority to build barriers along the border and imposes impossible new hurdles for those seeking asylum in the U.S.: for example, asylum-seekers may be asked to provide written corroboration from the countries they're fleeing that they face persecution there! This in spite of the fact that the asylum-seeking process for those oppressed in their home countries by despotic regimes buttressed by U.S. imperialism is already one of the toughest in the world. As proletarian internationalists, we say: All who come here have a right to stay.

The broader goal sought through "Real ID" is to lay the basis for a national identity card system and centralized database, an aim long desired by sectors of the ruling class. In defense of the basic democratic rights of the working masses, we are intransigently opposed to any and all attempts to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state—its cops, spies and security agents. Down with "Real ID"! For a multiracial, class-struggle fight in defense of all our rights!

"Real ID," which was tucked into an $82 billion military spending bill, passed with broad bipartisan support. The Democrats and Republicans are both capitalist parties, committed to serving the interests of the ruling class at the expense of the working class, whose labor produces the profits by which the capitalist class is growing ever more fantastically rich. Although the Democrats and Republicans occasionally have tactical differences over how best to administer capitalist rule, they agree on the need to strengthen the capitalist state's machinery of repression, which they are currently doing by whipping up fears of "porous borders" and immigrants "taking American jobs." The war on immigrants gained particular strength with Clinton's Illegal Immigrant and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, which increased militarization of the border and called for deporting even longtime permanent residents for trivial prior criminal offenses.

For the ruling class, there is a tension between the desire to militarize the Mexican border and the need to maintain a profitable system of cheap labor. The capitalists rely on undocumented immigrants to do grueling labor at a fraction of the cost of "legal" workers, but they also want to be able to tightly regulate immigration, turning it on and off like a spigot to suit their economic needs. However, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* over 150 years ago, "The workingmen have no country." The attempts to militarize the border must be met with opposition by the organized labor movement, which has every interest in defending the most exploited layers of the working class.

Taking its cue from the capitalist state, a violent, armed, fascistic gang of vigilantes calling itself the "Minuteman Project" has been patrolling the Arizona border (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 849, 27 May). This group, and others like the "Friends of the Border Patrol," cloak themselves in the banner of the "war on terror" and have recently been legitimized through a Congressional proposal to deputize masses of people to help patrol the Mexican border. With the explicit invitation of California's "close the border" governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger, these same forces are planning a mass mobilization along the California-Mexico border in September. It is of the utmost importance that labor's power be brought to bear in defense of the 8 to 12 million undocumented workers living in the U.S. For mass labor-centered, multiracial mobilizations against these fascistic thugs and in defense of the immigrant population!

The campaign against immigrants is particularly hot in California, where racist organizations like "Save Our State" (SOS) and the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) have been holding a series of increasingly provocative anti-immigrant rallies. On May 25, Minuteman founder Jim Gilchrist appeared in Garden Grove, Orange County, in Southern California to speak to a meeting of CCIR. Some 300 anti-racist protesters demonstrated against Gilchrist and his supporters. At the demonstration, several protesters were struck by the minivan driven by a local bigot. The driver was released within hours by the Garden Grove police, who refused to press any charges for this potentially murderous assault. Instead, the police went on a rampage against the anti-racist protesters, arresting five and charging at least one with a felony.

In response to this outrage, an anti-racist protester named Theresa Dang, a young Vietnamese woman who had been among those struck by the minivan, sent a letter signed by herself and two others to the Orange County district attorney. They demanded that charges against the

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South Africa:
Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism!

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Ohio 7 Prisoner Richard Williams!

Prison Activist Resource Center

Richard Williams is now part of the Partisan Defense Committee's class-war prisoners stipend program. Along with other radicals who became known as the Ohio 7, Williams joined an armed clandestine movement that took credit for "bank expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and early '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism and the white apartheid government of South Africa. He, Tom Manning and Jaan Laaman are now the last of the Ohio 7 still in prison.

Prior to his political activities, Williams had served time in prison in the early 1970s. This is when he came to political consciousness, as a young man experiencing the radical ferment of the period—the Vietnam antiwar movement, black radicalism and other social struggles of the '60s and '70s—refracted through his experience of brutal prison conditions. He was imbued with a keen sense of the racist and oppressive reality of American society. In a short biographical piece, he explains (www.paow.org): "I was elected chairperson of the New England Prisoner Association. Inside, I met with legislators, and participated in food and work strikes and protests for better conditions. I read a lot of history and worked in political study groups. I was locked up, beaten, and shipped out for my activities. I learned through study and my efforts that the struggle was much larger than my surroundings. I became a communist."

After being released from prison, he took part in protecting the homes of people in the Boston area who were targeted by anti-busing racists. In 1979, he and his comrades traveled to Greensboro, North Carolina, to protest the Klan murders of five unionists, civil rights workers and supporters of the Communist Workers Party (see "Greensboro Massacre: We Will Not Forget!" *WV* No. 835, 29 October 2004).

In 1986, Williams was convicted of five bombings attributed to the United Freedom Front and sentenced to 45 years in prison. This wasn't enough for a government intent on crushing opposition, so he was dragged through two trials for the 1981 killing of a New Jersey state trooper, even though Tom Manning had taken responsibility for shooting the trooper in self-defense and had testified that Williams was not even present. The second trial, at which Williams was defended by Lynne Stewart, ended in 1991, with his being sentenced to another 35 years to life. In 1989, the government attempted to pile on as much as 60 additional years by trying Williams along with Ray and Patricia Levasseur for "seditious conspiracy" to commit the same alleged crimes for which they were already serving long sentences. This government attempt to revive thought-crime "sedition" laws to be used against leftists was beaten back when, despite the government's efforts, the jury acquitted all three.

Inside the walls of Lompoc Federal Penitentiary in California, Williams has faced calculated cruelty designed to break his will. Just hours after the September 11 attacks, he was put in solitary, suffering through months of bitter cold, denied family visits and reading material. Despite suffering a heart attack in February 2002, he was returned to solitary on April 30. An article in the *Santa Barbara News Press* in July 2002 (www.prisonactivist.org) stated that Lynne Stewart believed that Williams was being victimized because she was herself a target of the government for her leftist sympathies and vigorous defense of her client Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. (Stewart has since been convicted of "aiding terrorism" in a chilling attack on civil rights [see "Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted—Outrage!" *WV* No. 842, 18 February]).

More recently, Williams has endured treatment for cancer at the Federal Medical Center Butner in North Carolina. Last month, in a letter to the PDC, he reported that his cancer is in remission but that he will still be undergoing difficult treatment for other ailments.

Like the other Ohio 7 radicals, Richard Williams committed no crime in the eyes of the working class. He fought against U.S. imperialism and racial oppression. This is why the U.S. rulers intend to keep him in prison for the rest of his life. Free Richard Williams!

You can write to him: Richard Williams #10377-016, FMC Butner, P.O. Box 1600, Old North Carolina Hwy 75, Butner, NC 27509-1600.

Become a sustaining contributor to help drive the work of the PDC forward! Contributions can be sent to: PDC, P.O. Box 99 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net. ■

TROTSKY

The Pillars of Capitalist Rule

LENIN

Marxists have as their central task the education and organization of the working class toward the goal of a victorious socialist revolution. Writing in 1919, Bolshevik leaders Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky explained in The ABC of Communism *that the capitalist class maintains its control not only through the capitalist state and its apparatus of coercion and repression, but also through the ideological domination of society, which is accomplished using the schools, churches and media.*

Among the means of ***spiritual subjugation*** at the disposal of the capitalist State, three deserve especial mention: the State school; the State church; and the State, or State-supported, press.

The bourgeoisie is well aware that it cannot control the working masses by the use of force alone. It is necessary that the workers' brains should be completely enmeshed as if in a spider's web. The bourgeois State looks upon the workers as working cattle; these beasts must labour, but they must not bite. Consequently, they must not merely be whipped or shot when they attempt to bite, but they must be trained and tamed, just as wild beasts in a menagerie are trained by beast-tamers. Similarly, the capitalist State maintains specialists to stupefy and subdue the proletariat; it maintains bourgeois teachers and professors, the clergy, bourgeois authors and journalists. In the State schools these specialists teach children from their earliest years to obey capital and to despise and hate "rebels." The children's heads are stuffed with fables about the revolution and the revolutionary movement. Emperors, kings, and industrial magnates are glorified. In the churches, the priests, who are salaried by the State, preach that all authority comes from God. Day after day, the bourgeois newspapers trumpet these lies, whilst working-class papers are in most cases suppressed by the capitalist State. Under such conditions, is it easy for the workers to extract themselves from the quagmire? A German imperialist bandit wrote: "We do not only need the soldiers' legs, but also their brains and their hearts." The bourgeois State, in like manner, aims at educating the workers so that they may resemble domestic animals, who will work like horses, and eat humble pie.

In this manner the capitalist system ensures its own development. The machine of exploitation does its work. Surplus value is continually extracted from the working class. The capitalist State stands on guard, and takes good care that there shall be no uprising of the wage slaves.

—Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 5 July.

No. 851 **8 July 2005**

Honor Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney

Klansman Convicted, 40 Years Late

On June 21, in Philadelphia, Mississippi, Edgar Ray Killen, an 80-year-old "former" Klansman and preacher, was convicted of "manslaughter" for his role in orchestrating the slayings of civil rights workers James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman in June 1964. Applying their usual liberal spit-and-polish, the *New York Times* (24 June) greeted this verdict as "Closure, or Something Close Enough," while the *Amsterdam News* (22 June) announced "Justice Served." We say it is neither. As Ben Chaney (James's brother) warned from the start, this highly publicized trial was intended to clean up the image of Mississippi—a union-busting, racist state where conditions for many blacks have ***deteriorated*** since the end of the civil rights movement. It has also provided an occasion for liberals of all stripes to distort and falsify the history of the black freedom struggle for which these men heroically gave their lives.

On 21 June 1964, the first day of "Freedom Summer," a Neshoba County sheriff's deputy picked up three civil rights workers on a bogus speeding violation. The civil rights workers were investigating the burning of a black church used for voter registration projects. Michael Schwerner, a 24-year-old experienced activist from New York, had been in the state for six months. He was on a Klan death list for registering blacks for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was planning to challenge the state's Jim Crow delegation at the upcoming Democratic Party National Convention. Twenty-one-year-old James Chaney was a black Mississippi civil rights organizer and a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) staff member. Andrew Goodman, a Queens College student, had arrived in the state that day. The sheriff held them until the Klan could gather a posse, and then released them in the middle of the night. Schwerner and Goodman were each shot once. The Klan beat Chaney so badly that his bones were pulverized, and then shot him three times. Their bodies were buried under an earthen dam on the farm of a prominent Philadelphian.

For the last 40 years, virtually ***everyone*** in Philadelphia has known the identity of the Klan murderers. According to Ben Chaney, eight or nine of those directly involved in the killing still live in Mississippi, some of them protected by their high positions in society. As Schwerner's widow, Rita Schwerner Bender, makes clear: "Preacher Killen did not act in a vacuum, and the members of the Klan who were members of the police department and the sheriff's department and the highway patrol didn't act in a vacuum." Behind the Klan stood the state Democratic Party and the FBI, who had so thoroughly infiltrated the fascist organization that in 1965 nearly 2,000 of the estimated 10,000 Klan members were FBI informers—i.e., on the payroll. As we explained in our review of the 1988 movie *Mississippi Burning* (a lying Hollywood blockbuster loosely based on this case), far from being an ally of the civil rights struggle, the federal government

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NYC: Racist Beating in Howard Beach

JULY 5—It was an attempted lynching up North in New York City. Shortly after three a.m. last Wednesday, 22-year-old Glenn Moore and two friends, Richard Pope and Richard Wood, were attacked by a trio of racist punks in the white enclave of Howard Beach. Savagely beaten on the head, legs and back with an aluminum baseball bat, Moore, an army vet, faded in and out of consciousness for two days, and remains hospitalized with a fractured skull and intracranial bleeding.

On June 29, Nicholas "Fat Nick" Minucci, Anthony Ench and Frank Agostini jumped from Minucci's 2005 Cadillac SUV and attacked the three black men. Wood and Pope escaped, but Moore slipped on the lawn as he ran, and the punks pounced. As Ench ranted, "This is what you get when you rob white boys, n----r," Minucci pummeled Moore with the bat. While Moore lay on the ground, Ench sadistically ripped out Moore's earring, stole the sneakers off his feet and a bag containing a pair of Air Jordans for his six-month-old daughter. Police charged Minucci with first-degree assault as a hate crime and Ench with assault as a hate crime and robbery. Agostini, the son of a police detective, has not been charged although he confessed to punching Moore.

Recalling the killing 18 years ago of a young black man, Michael Griffith, just blocks away, the brutal assault on Moore raised fears of a revival of the white-hot racial tensions of the 1980s. On 20 December 1986, a racist mob set upon Griffith, his mother's fiancé Cedric Sandiford and friend Timothy Grimes. Griffith was chased onto the Belt Parkway where he was struck and killed by a car driven by an off-duty cop. At the time, New York had long been a city on the edge, with a trail of horrors punctuated by the names of those many black people

Eckert/Newsday

Glenn Moore

killed by both racist lynch mobs and the cops of Democratic mayor Ed Koch. In 1982, black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death after he stopped at a bagel shop in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. Then as now, the primary perpetrators of racist terror against black people are the cops that stalk the ghettos like an occupation army. Among the victims of Koch's cops were 67-year-old Eleanor Bumpurs, 25-year-old artist Michael Stewart and 17-year-old honor student Edmund Perry. In the year following Griffith's killing Koch's killer cops gunned down 24 people—21 of them black or Hispanic.

In the 1980s, outrage over cop killings, lynchings and attacks on labor was directed toward the election of black Democrat David Dinkins, who assured nervous Wall Street brokers, "they'll take it from me." And, indeed, Dinkins imposed massive job cuts; he put thousands more cops on the streets, and, along with the likes of Al Sharpton, pushed the racist "war on drugs," which turned the ghettos into police-occupied zones and put more and more black youth in prison.

Today, fearing an outburst of anger that would return New York to the brink of racial explosion that defined New York during the Koch years, Republican Mayor Bloomberg announced "hate crimes will not be tolerated" and immediately called Al Sharpton. Democrat Sharpton praised the responses of Bloomberg and the cops. The protest Sharpton announced amounted to an impotent vigil consisting of a July 4 walk along the route the three black men took that night.

According to the capitalist press: "Enclave Is Called More Tolerant Than in '86" (*New York Times*, 30 June). In the "new" Howard Beach, there are eight black residents according to the last census. The howling mobs may have stayed home, but "Free Fat Nick" posters were displayed on the street, and, according to one resident, the three black men "got what they deserved." Following the beating, the city's media vilified the victims as car thieves, though they were just walking down the street (minutes from where Moore lived) when they were attacked.

One *New York Times* article (2 July) was headlined "Like Sharpton Himself, City and Its Fears Have Calmed Since '86." It was Sharpton's role as a nationalist demagogue in the '80s that made him the Democratic Party spokesman he is today. Both Sharpton and Koch whipped up racial antagonisms to keep the multiracial working class divided. Sharpton channeled justified rage at racist mob and cop terror into a racist campaign, leading crowds in Harlem against Korean and Arab shopkeepers. His message to the city's Democratic Party establishment was that he could contain black protest and therefore should get a seat at the table. Following the 1999 cop killing of black African immigrant Amadou Diallo, Sharpton joined hands with racist pig Koch to make sure protests remained within the bounds of electoral pressure politics.

The "new" New York is still a racist hell of cop terror and grinding poverty, a place where Dwan Prince, a gay man, could be beaten by an anti-gay bigot. Nearly 50 percent of black men in New York are jobless. Black men like Ousmane Zongo and 19-year-old Timothy Stansbury are gunned down by the cops with impunity. And, as the brutal beating of Glenn Moore shows, there are many places black men are not allowed to walk after dark.

We have sought to mobilize the power of the multiracial labor movement in response to the racist killers in and out of uniform. In 1982, following the killing of Willie Turks, the Spartacist League supported the call of militants in the Transport Workers Union to provide defense patrols against racist terror in the streets of Gravesend. In response to the Howard Beach lynching of Michael Griffith, we issued a leaflet urging the formation of "integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women" to patrol the streets where Griffith was attacked and killed. After Amadou Diallo was gunned down in cold blood we wrote in "Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks" (*WV* No. 710, 2 April 1999):

> "The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect,' but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror."

Such a perspective of labor struggle against racist terror is no less urgent today.■

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Court Rejects New Evidence of Mumia's Innocence, Again

The black-robed judges of the racist capitalist courts have taken another step toward sealing the fate of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mountains of proof of frame-up and conspiracy have been compiled for the world to see, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, killed officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. But not one court will even look at the evidence. From the courthouse to the White House to the boardrooms, the capitalist rulers want to see the execution of this former Black Panther Party spokesman, award-winning journalist, fighter for black rights and outspoken voice for all the oppressed—the legal lynching of an innocent man.

On May 27, Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas Judge Pamela Dembe announced her intent to dismiss Jamal's third Post-Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) petition seeking to overturn his frame-up conviction and death sentence. Claiming the court lacked jurisdiction, Dembe's decision turned down Mumia's efforts to bring forward two pieces of evidence that have come out since her 2001 decision denying Mumia's earlier PCRA petition. The evidence further blows to bits key parts of the government frame-up: the false testimony of prostitute Cynthia White that she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner and the patently false claim that Mumia confessed to the shooting. On June 16, Mumia's attorneys submitted a motion to reconsider.

It has long been known that White had been coerced into her lying testimony, and other witnesses have testified that White was far from the scene. In early 2002, a new witness, Yvette Williams, testified in a sworn affidavit submitted in federal courts: "I was in jail with Cynthia White in December of 1981 after Police Officer Daniel Faulkner was shot and killed. Cynthia White told me the police were making her lie and say she saw Mr. Jamal shoot Officer Faulkner when she really did not see who did it."

Mumia also wanted to bring out the testimony of Kenneth Pate, stepbrother of Priscilla Durham, the Jefferson Hospital security guard who joined in the cops' lie that Mumia "confessed." In fact, the cop assigned to guard Jamal while he lay bleeding in the hospital reported at the time, "During this time the negro male made no comments." The bogus "confession" was cooked up two months later at a round-table meeting called by the D.A.'s office to orchestrate the cops' trial testimony. In an April 2003 declaration, Pate described how Durham told him that when Mumia was brought to the hospital, he was "bloody and the police were interfering with his treatment, saying 'let him die'." Cops pressured her that, as a security guard, she "had to stick with them" as part of the "brotherhood of police," and to "say that she heard Mumia say that he killed the police officer, when they brought Mumia in on a stretcher." Durham told her brother, "All I heard him say was: 'Get off me, get off me, they're trying to kill me'."

The pretexts for burying proof of Jamal's innocence are recent state and federal restrictions on death row appeals. The most significant of these is the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) enacted under Democratic president Bill Clinton. Pennsylvania's version was explicitly adopted to prevent Mumia from challenging the jury-rigging, coercion of witnesses, fabrication of evidence and wholesale violation of rights that constituted his "trial" before Judge Albert Sabo, known to Philadelphia attorneys as a "prosecutor in robes." Dembe claimed the evidence wasn't "new," and therefore she was barred from considering it. In Kafkaesque fashion, Dembe ruled that since Mumia had insisted from the beginning that the "confession" was a fabrication and that White's testimony was coerced by the cops, the testimony of Pate and Williams would not constitute "new facts" but merely "newly discovered or newly willing sources"!

COC Productions

In Jamal's previous PCRA, Dembe refused to consider the sworn account of court stenographer Terri Maurer-Carter of a conversation she overheard in which, referring to Jamal, Judge Sabo said: "Yeah, and I'm going to help them fry the n----r." According to Dembe, such a blatant statement of racist bias was insignificant!

Still pending in the federal courts is Jamal's application for *habeas corpus* relief. While affirming Jamal's frame-up conviction, federal district court judge William Yohn overturned Jamal's death sentence in December 2001. The prosecution appealed seeking to reinstate the death penalty, while Jamal appealed seeking to overturn the conviction. Under Clinton's AEDPA, Judge Yohn had the authority to not only turn down Jamal's *habeas corpus* petition but also limit which issues, if any, Jamal could then raise on appeal—in this case, Mumia is allowed to only raise the exclusion of

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Young Spartacus

ROTC/Military Recruiters Off Campus Now!

Young Spartacus

AP

Left: SYC-initiated protest against ROTC at UC Berkeley, April 16. Right: U.S. military devastates Iraqi city of Falluja, November 2004.

Down With the Occupation of Iraq— All U.S. Troops Out Now!

How Revolutionary Marxists Fight Against Imperialist War and Militarism

We print below, edited for publication, a forum given by comrade Dorie Reed in Vancouver on June 11, which was based on a Spartacist/Spartacus Youth Club forum held at UC Berkeley on May 7.

I gave this talk at the University of California at Berkeley where I had been a student in the 1970s, which was when U.S. imperialism was waging its brutal war against the Vietnamese. I chose that university because it had a lot of interesting courses, but more importantly to me, it was still a hotbed of radical politics. At that time, every fall quarter they had a Campus Orientation Week, which was pretty much avoided or shunned by left-leaning students as an event sponsored by the University of California Regents and by the Greek fraternities and sororities. It was a very conservative kind of affair, and what those of us who were interested in leftist politics went to instead was something called "Disorientation Week." This was sponsored by a group called the Radical Student Union, sort of a catch-all group of New Leftists, young warriors of Mao's Cultural Revolution—while they were giving their campus tour they were wearing their blue Mao caps and jackets. They showed us some of the more famous sites from the Berkeley Free Speech Movement of 1964-65, such as Sproul Plaza, standing on the same spot where Mario Savio, the central spokesman of the Free Speech Movement, gave his first speech and where students had for 32 hours surrounded a police car holding one of the central leaders of the Free Speech Movement, a man by the name of Jack Weinberg, who had been arrested for manning a literature table. Sparking the Berkeley Free Speech Movement was the attempt by students and student activists to use the University of California as a springboard for organizing around the civil rights movement at that time, with a battle ensuing for the right of student organizations to have literature tables on campus.

Now, to give you a sense of the campus political milieu at that time, the Radical Student Union was part of a very broad umbrella coalition (Left Alliance) whose operating premise was sectoralism, which means that among so-called progressive peoples the political division of labor is based on your ethnicity: so, progressive whites worked within the Radical Student Union and black students worked in the Black Student Union; Hispanic and Latino students joined a group called MEChA; Chinese, Japanese and Koreans joined the Asian Student Union; gays had the Gay Student Union; lesbians had the Lesbian Union, and so forth. If you happened to straddle several categories, you just had to choose one. So, this collection of groups came together in the Associated Students of the University of California, which was the student government. And at the time I wanted to run as a socialist, so I had gone up to one of the main leaders of the Left Alliance and said so, and he said, "Forget it, you're a woman so you're going to run as a feminist." So I ran as a feminist and I won—and things changed over the years, in terms of my politics. Some of those members of the student government have since become respectable members of the Democratic Party who now run the city in San Francisco, so that's where they ended up.

Willy Römer

Revolutionary internationalist Karl Liebknecht addresses Berlin workers and soldiers, January 1919. Liebknecht upheld the call: "Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist military!" during World War I.

Marxism and Imperialist Militarism

The only rule of war that U.S. imperialism recognizes is what it can get away with. Two years of brutal colonial occupation in Iraq have passed and the monstrous crimes of war continue. We must never forget what happened in Falluja or in the torture chambers of Abu Ghraib! Black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal put it very precisely: "The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America."

The military, the prisons, and the police are the central institutions that make up the repressive arsenal of the capitalist state. They exist to defend the capitalist class' "right" to exploit the working and oppressed masses. This "right" to make profits is carried out abroad in imperialist adventures and colonial plunder and also at home—clamping down on class and social struggle, on political dissent, with repeated assaults on unions, social welfare, public education and other gains that were won through decades of struggle.

Over the course of the past 15 years, one political generation, the political landscape on this planet has been totally reshaped by two events. The first was the catastrophic defeat for working people internationally when the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. The USSR was a degenerated workers state, where capitalism had been overthrown under the leadership of the Bolsheviks in 1917, but political power was later wrested out of the hands of the working class by a parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy that undermined the gains of the collectivized economy. Nonetheless, this nationalized economy made it possible for the USSR to dramatically raise the living standards of its working people and to become roughly equivalent to the U.S. in nuclear and military capacity. The kind of untrammeled imperialist global rampage that we see today—the enslavement of Iraq first of all—was impossible when the USSR existed and is yet another price that working people around the world and oppressed peoples of the Third World are being forced to pay in the aftermath of its destruction.

The other key event was September 11, after which the American ruling class cynically manipulated the grief and horror felt by millions at the criminal attack on the World Trade Center. For capitalist governments across the world, this crime was like a "gift from the gods," allowing them to beef up their militaries and repressive laws in the name of "national security." American imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples but there are other imperialist powers as well, such as Japan, Germany, Britain and Canada.

Our revolutionary opposition to bourgeois militarism is encapsulated in our slogan: "Not one person, not one penny for the imperialist military!" We are an international revolutionary Marxist organization and we translate this slogan into many different languages and many different currencies: not one yen, not one pfennig, whatever. The meaning is the same. We're also opposed to signing up

for the volunteer army, which is what you have in the United States. As revolutionaries we are also opposed to military conscription, which serves to turn the masses, the bulk of working-class youth, into cannon fodder for imperialist wars. All those who oppose the occupation of Iraq should oppose ROTC and military recruiters on the campuses and in the schools because the recruiters are the direct appendages of the military machine, the tentacles of the imperialist state.

Now, probably most people here know that many hundreds (I don't know the exact number) of Americans, who were drafted into the army but were opposed to the Vietnam War or considered themselves pacifists or conscientious objectors, took refuge in Canada. Our organization, of course, defended these individuals against any persecution by the U.S. government. But fleeing the government also removed genuinely antiwar individuals from the struggle against war. Our Marxist viewpoint on the question of the draft is very different. We're opposed to the conscript army and we don't volunteer for service, but if there is a draft and our supporters are called up, we will go into the army along with the other thousands of working-class youth, seeking to intersect antiwar sentiment and link it to broader social struggles [see "You Will Go!" *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968].

ROTC has a long history and there is likewise a long history of struggle to get these imperialist tools out of our schools, as we like to say. It was during the first imperialist world war that the 1916 National Defense Act was enacted to strengthen the training of military officers on college and university campuses. ROTC recruits university students to become the next generation of the elite officer corps, who are charged with the brutal and often genocidal maintenance of the world's most rapacious imperialist power. It is their job to oversee the slaughter in wars like those against Afghanistan and Iraq. But the capitalist army needs not just officers but also troops and so the military recruiters promise tuition assistance and job opportunities to lure working-class youth, including a very high number of black and minority youth, into signing up to be their cannon fodder.

The history of opposition to ROTC's presence on campuses rises and falls and rises again, as we are seeing, and it's intimately linked to the imperialist wars at hand and the level of social struggle in opposition to them. ROTC was successfully driven off more than 100 universities in the United States between 1967 and 1969 because the U.S. was waging a *losing* war in Vietnam while facing massive social struggle in the U.S., starting with the civil rights movement. With such a system as capitalism, wars are inevitable, and it is impossible to stop war short of shattering the imperialist order at its foundations through socialist revolution.

Not surprisingly, these days the U.S. military is facing recruitment shortages, while it strains to maintain a large occupation force in Iraq and also carry out its global "war on terror," which is really a war against workers, black people, and immigrants. But for the American military to solve its "human resources problem," the capitalist rulers have been on a drive to beef up their recruiting on campuses. An article in the *New York Times* on 27 March focused on what tough times these army recruiters are having these days, but provided a very interesting statistic on their Texas operation: 250 military recruiters in the city of Houston alone.

Mark Frauenfelder Matt Fitt

UC Santa Cruz students participate in Tent University protesting fee increases and exploitation of campus workers. Inset: Brutal police attack on Tent University protesters, April 18.

Defend Activists Victimized for Protesting Military Recruiters!

Across the country, students have been protesting these military recruiters, and so have our revolutionary socialist youth groups, the Spartacus Youth Clubs. On March 9, San Francisco State University students marched into an auditorium where Air Force and Army recruiters were handing out their literature, surrounded their tables and started chanting and giving speeches. You may have heard that, in January, students at Seattle Central Community College drove out some recruiters.

At UC Santa Cruz on April 5, several hundred people organized by a group called Students Against War held a protest where the military recruiters appeared at a job fair but ended up off campus. Good riddance! In addition to the protests against military recruiters, there have been some campus strikes. On April 14, while students and others, including in our organization, were manning the AFSCME public employees' strike picket lines at Berkeley, numbers of Santa Cruz students joined the striking pickets down there and shut down the campus for several hours. But several days later, when activists set up an "alternative" Tent University on the campus, they were brutally attacked by the cops: 18 were arrested at eleven o'clock at night. This is one of the reasons we raise the slogan: *Cops off campus!* High school activists have been campaigning against a provision in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 stipulating that high schools receiving federal funding must give military recruiters students' personal information and the "same access" to schools as college and job recruiters.

The military's discrimination against gays has been central to a legal battle which has been going on over the Solomon Amendment, a law enacted in 1994 that says that colleges and universities must allow military recruiters onto campus or risk losing federal funding. This law was ruled unconstitutional by an appeals court last November, on the basis that it violated the free speech rights of schools to bar an organization which openly pursued a policy with which they disagreed. The case is scheduled to come before the U.S. Supreme Court in the fall.

Racism and social bigotry are intrinsic to capitalist society and therefore in the armed forces, as a highly concentrated microcosm of class society, racism, sexism and anti-homosexual bigotry are very much alive. As opponents of all manifestations of racial and sexual oppression we say: ***Down with anti-gay discrimination in the military!*** We fight for the democratic rights of members of the armed forces.

Students protesting military recruiters have been victimized by campus administrations and the cops. On March 9, three students at the City College of New York were detained and brutalized by the police for protesting the recruiters. The three, along with a staff member, faced charges of assault and were temporarily suspended from the school. [See also San Francisco State protest letter, this page.] Our youth group calls for dropping the charges against these protesters, no reprisals and, again, cops off campus!

I mentioned that our youth organization has been active for years, in fact decades, in protesting the military's presence on campus, most recently by seeking to build united-front protests around the slogans: "ROTC and Military Recruiters Off Campus! All U.S. Troops Out of Iraq Now! Down with Anti-Gay Discrimination in the Military!" Our comrades posed the need for joint action against the military recruiters to other left groups on campus but several of these supposed antiwar groups refused to participate, which is quite scandalous. In 2003, the Berkeley Stop the War Coalition (BSTW), in which the International Socialist Organization (ISO) is embedded, rejected our call for a protest against ROTC on Cal Day—the annual Berkeley campus open house. Many BSTW members saw ROTC's presence on campus as harmless or even a good thing since it provides scholarships and a liberal education for cadets! Individual ISO members voted in favor of our proposal for a protest but when we went to the ISO meeting the ISO said, "We're not interested"!

If you were on the Berkeley campus this past April 16 for the annual open house, you would have seen us in action again protesting the recruiters and putting forward an internationalist, class-struggle perspective against imperialist war and occupation. We had something like 40 different slogans—slogans against the occupation, against the Democratic Party, our intent to build a revolutionary workers party in the U.S., for the separation of church and state, for the right of young people to have a sex life that's free of interference by the state and the church, and for the workers of the world to unite. So, narrow it was not. But where were the ISO and the Berkeley Stop the War Coalition on April 16? They made every effort to sabotage this protest because they are opposed to a forthright campaign to expose the military recruiters as part of the U.S. imperialist war machine, because they don't have a program to oppose imperialism as a system [see "SYC Leads Protest Against ROTC," *WV* No. 848, 13 May].

Our youth organization seeks to win students over to a revolutionary working-class perspective to fight against imperialist war and capitalism, a social system in which war is a product of the drive to secure new markets and territories. Regarding the occupation, we uphold what Lenin said: in the case of a war between an imperialist power and a colonial country, the duty of revolutionaries is to militarily side with the colonial country and stand for the defeat of the imperialists:

In the Iraq conflict the international working class has a side: with the Iraqi

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Protest SFSU Clampdown on Antiwar Activists!

We reprint below a July 4 letter to Robert A. Corrigan, president of San Francisco State University, from the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club.

The Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protests the San Francisco State University administration's punishment of antiwar protesters as political harassment and intimidation. We demand that all sanctions against the student organizations and all charges against the students involved be dropped now.

Six student organizations received letters indicating the possibility of administrative reprisals against them for leading a March 9 protest against Air Force and Army Corps of Engineers recruiters. Hundreds of students including the SYC participated in this protest. While charges against four of the groups were eventually dropped, the university went forward with discipline of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Students Against War (SAW).

As of May 22 the ISO and SAW were convicted, without hearings, of all charges. The university imposed sanctions on the ISO and SAW, denying them funding for the 2005-2006 academic year. The ISO and SAW are prohibited from holding events pending "leadership training." Further, if either organization violates university policies, it will be suspended for a period of one year. This is intended to muzzle these groups with the threat of a ban for any violation of vague university guidelines.

In addition, for the "crime" of distributing leaflets against the continued presence of military recruiters on March 10, three student activists, Katrina Yeaw, Michael Hoffman and Pardis Esmaeili, were forcibly removed by campus cops. On March 18 these students received letters from Judicial Affairs demanding they appear before the administration in closed meetings where legal representation would be barred. Failure to do so could result in them being stripped of student status and access to financial aid.

These administration actions are of a piece with sanctions against the General Union of Palestine Students in 2002 for political expression and with the cops spying on antiwar and other student protesters in 2003 for opposition to U.S. wars. Another example of such intimidation followed an event in February featuring racist ideologue David Horowitz from which two supporters of the SYC were ejected before they were able to speak during the Q&A session. Some weeks later, these supporters received letters from the administration demanding they attend closed meetings.

The sanctions and threats of suspension are meant to intimidate and silence all who oppose and seek to protest the brutal colonial occupation of Iraq by American imperialism.

An injury to one is an injury to all! These administration actions are an attack on the free speech rights of everyone on campus; we demand: ***Drop all charges against Esmaeili, Hoffman, Yeaw and all anti-military recruiter protesters now! Down with the sanctions against SAW, ISO!***

Ten Years of "Democracy"—Still a Hellhole for Blacks

Indymedia

Shantytown near Cape Town. South African masses still live in misery.

South Africa: Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism!

The following is a presentation, edited for publication, given by comrade Steve Henderson in Los Angeles on February 19. Since then, the black South African population has became even more restive, angry and frustrated over the ravages caused by the African National Congress (ANC) government's neo-apartheid capitalism. Township residents have been engaging in daily protests reminiscent of the days of apartheid: blockading streets with rocks, burning tires and fighting running battles with the police. Workers have been facing increasingly severe rollbacks—including wage cuts and skyrocketing prices far food and other basic services like electricity and water—since the ANC came into power and implemented "investor friendly" policies in line with the interests of their imperialist masters on Wall Street and in the City of London.

In opposition to the depredations of neo-apartheid capitalism, on June 27 as many as two million people took part in the largest general strike in more than a decade, responding to the call of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The COSATU tops are seeking to channel discontent into support for Jacob Zuma, deputy leader of the ANC. Zuma, who is facing corruption charges, was fired from his government post by president Thabo Mbeki in June. The squabble between these leading bourgeois politicians reflects divisions in the ruling elite over who will be the best custodian of their capitalist system. In opposition to the dead end of class collaboration, the following presentation argues for a program of proletarian revolution in South Africa.

Reuters

Gold Fields Ltd.

Above: Johannesburg protest by South African public workers in 2004 demanding more jobs and better housing. 2002: Nelson Mandela at New York Stock Exchange. ANC tops are front men for white South African ruling class.

If some South African anti-apartheid fighters of the 1970s had gone into a time warp and woken up in 2004 to be told the apartheid regime was no more, they would of course be elated. But after looking around, seeing the still widespread poverty and vast inequality, they might think they were in a had dream. Then they would hear seemingly far-fetched news reports, for example, that the hated National Party, the former Afrikaner enforcers of apartheid rule going back to 1948, voted to dissolve their shrinking party and join the African National Congress. ANC President Thabo Mbeki welcomed them in, declaring that he "could not recall any other party of oppression saying: 'We are defeated, we cease to exist, we join those that we had oppressed'."

In reality, the remnants of the National Party have not joined the oppressed in South Africa; they have joined the ANC ruling party, today's enforcers of neo-apartheid capitalism. The former apartheid rulers saw the light, all right—hut it was not a moral epiphany; it was the realization, beginning almost two decades ago, that the wealthy capitalists could not maintain the ruthless exploitation of black labor through a white-supremacist, police-state regime. They required a black veneer for white capitalist rule. And that's what is still playing out today.

When I came of political age in the late 1970s, the anti-apartheid struggle was headline news and most people had some familiarity with the history and structure of South Africa. But that's no longer the case, so before talking about what's currently happening in South Africa, I first want to lay out a few hasic facts.

South Africa is a country of about 45 million people. Over 75 percent of the population is black African, with the two largest tribal groupings being Zulu and Sotho. White South Africans are divided between the Afrikaners, the descendants of early Dutch and French Huguenot colonial settlers who called themselves Africa's "white tribe," and the English-speaking descendants of British colonialists who arrived later. Today whites make up about 13 percent of the population. At the onset of colonization, before interracial sexual prohibitions were estahlished, Dutch and Huguenot men fathered children by native Khoi and San women. These mixed-race children were Christianized and taught Afrikaans as their language. Though oppressed by whites, they had a more privileged status than black Africans. Their descendants, as well as the descendants of the Malay population, were called coloureds and now make up about 9 percent of the population, mostly in the Cape region. East Indians are about 3 percent of the population, concentrated mainly in Durban and KwaZulu-Natal province, along the Indian Ocean.

In terms of class structure, the entire capitalist ruling class—big, medium and small—was white, while the working class was non-white, overwhelmingly black Africans along with some coloureds and Indians. In the early part of the 20th century, there was a small white working class concentrated in the mines, privileged and organized in segregated unions, which engaged in bitter class struggle, though often with reactionary political aims. During the famous 1922 Rand strike, miners raised the slogan "for a White South Africa." After the Afrikaner National Party came to power in 1948, whites increasingly became absorbed into the state bureaucracy and state-owned industries overseeing black labor or became apartheid enforcers in the police and military. In South Africa, uniquely, there developed an almost complete correspondence between class divisions and racial divisions, which has had a significant effect on the consciousness and organization of the South African working class.

When Nelson Mandela's ANC took over in 1994, South Africa had the most unequal economic structure of any country on the planet. South Africa accounts for 20-25 percent of the gross domestic product for all of Africa, and it produces two-thirds of the electricity on the continent. That wealth was concentrated in the hands of the white minority. The wealthiest 10 percent (i.e., whites) got over half of all the national income, while the poorest 40 percent got less than 4 percent. Ten years later, little has changed. For the black masses, grinding poverty remains the norm, while a tiny hlack elite, many of them former leaders of the so-called national liberation movement, have joined that wealthy 10 percent. South African political commentators refer to the transition from the apartheid police state to an elected bourgeois government as "the miracle." But this "miracle" which saved South African capitalism is not what anti-apartheid militants fought and died for.

For blacks, if you are lucky enough to have a joh, you are still ruthlessly exploited. A typical unionized manufacturing worker might make about 15 rand per hour. At current exchange rates, that

translates into $2.50 an hour, while basic necessities are still at First World prices. But any kind of job is hard to come hy—unemployment among hlack South Africans is about 50 percent. So now, the government plays up the virtues of the so-called "informal economy," such as the unemployed hawking cheap merchandise at stoplights. The desperation of hlack South Africans is often directed against immigrants from neighboring African countries. While in South Africa on a recent trip, I read a front-page article ahout a riot targeting foreign street vendors in downtown Johanneshurg. The police melted away for several hours while South African vendors rampaged against their immigrant counterparts. We say: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Amidst this poverty, an HIV/AIDS epidemic is decimating the population. Yet ANC president Thabo Mbeki and his government have obstructed treatment therapy, in particular the distribution of AIDS drugs. I'll speak more on this later on. But with the AIDS crisis, an estimated 600-1,000 people are dying every day. An official report just released yesterday stated that 870 people died per day in 1997, while 1,370 people died per day in 2002. Despite government deniats, this can only be accounted for hy AIDS. Jobs are scarce, but I did see one poster for joh training: learn how to build coffins. The old cemeteries are overflowing. I went to a new cemetery in one of the massive Johannesburg townships: it is a vast, harren, dirt field with graves marked by a single brick with a painted number on it. For the overwhelming majority, life is grim and death is common. There is a vast gulf between the promise of hlack freedom and the bitter reality.

This confronts you every day in every way, but there were some particularly striking examples of this while I was in South Africa. Soweto is a Johannesburg township of 4-5 million people. The huge urban townships have no shopping centers, no parks, no office buildings, no theaters—it's just housing which ranges from cardboard and tin shacks to small brick or cinderhlock dwellings to a few fancy homes. However, there is one museum in Soweto which commemorates the famous Soweto uprising of high school students in June 1976. This massive protest, which began over the enforced use of the hated Afrikaans language in classroom instruction, became a worldwide symbol of the struggle against apartheid rule. The young Soweto martyrs, ruthlessly gunned down by the apartheid butchers, are today memorialized and eulogized. There are very moving exhibits at the museum—photos, documentary film footage and the like.

A few days after I visited the museum, there was once again a bloody police attack on August 30 [2004] on protesting high school students in South Africa. Only this time riot police opened fire with birdshot at a crowd of 4,000 high school students in the Harrismith township in the Free State who were protesting poverty and the ANC's failure to provide basic services. I watched the police assault on TV. Seventeen-year-old Teboho Mkhonza subsequently died from a gunshot wound after heing punched and kicked in the police van before he was taken to the hospital. I remember press accounts describing how when local officials subsequently arrived in their limos the next day, they were run out of town by enraged youth. Higher level ANC officials then had to come in to cool out the situation. Needless to say, the ANC is not building a memorial for Teboho Mkhonza. The revolutionary proletariat in power will have to do that, along with much else.

Anti-Apartheid Movement

In 1952, as part of outbreaks of anti-apartheid struggle, mass burnings of the hated passbooks swept South Africa.

The Class Nature of the ANC

Among the workers and the oppressed in South Africa, communism was popularly identified with both the struggle against apartheid and the liberating mission to free humanity from the shackles of capitalism. And capitalism was, and remains, quite brutal in South Africa. The red flag and the hammer and sickle often defiantly flew during strikes and anti-apartheid protests. So what happened? Why didn't the anti-apartheid struggle bring the working class and oppressed to power? How did the ANC come to power in defense of capitalist rule?

The African National Congress, which formed in 1912, has historically exercised political sway over the black African masses. In its first decades of existence, the ANC was a relatively small organization of the black African elite, whose main activity consisted of lohhying the British imperial authorities to pursue more liberal policies in South Africa. However, in the face of continuing white intransigence, the ANC eventually had to direct its appeals more broadly to the black population.

Later on, one could not simply speak of the ANC. It was really the ANC/SACP (South African Communist Party), at least in terms of its leadership. As part of the rightward turn of the international Stalinist movement toward reformism and class-collaboration in the mid 1930s, the SACP entered the ANC, which helped provide an illusory quasi-socialist tinge to the bourgeois nationalist program of the ANC, making it more attractive to the masses.

But this did not change the political program or class character of the ANC. Regardless of its particular tactics at any given time—whether lobhying government, mass protests or guerrilla struggle—the ANC's program has always stood in favor of capitalism. The SACP promoted the theory of "two-stage revolution" to justify its alliance with the ANC: First you fight for bourgeois democracy or what they called the "national democratic revolution"; then sometime in the distant future you fight for socialism. So it provided a supposedly "Marxist" rationale for subordinating the workers' interests to those of the petty-bourgeois ANC nationalists who were aspiring to become a new bourgeoisie.

In 1948, the Afrikaner Nationalist regime strengthened and hardened the racist police state under the banner of apartheid (separateness). At the same time, the wave of anti-colonial struggles which swept Africa and Asia in this period had strong reverberations in South Africa. A new generation of radical hlack nationalists like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu ousted the conservative "old guard" of the ANC. While still adhering to the ANC's bourgeois nationalist program, Mandela turned the organization toward militant action. During the 1950s, the ANC led a series of mass campaigns in defiance of the new apartheid legislation, laws which extended the existing segregation laws and basically declared black South Africans foreigners with no rights in their own land.

Against the mass protests, the Afrikaner Nationalist regime responded with ever more savage and effective repression, culminating in the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. In its aftermath, the entire leadership and most of the cadre of the ANC and the rival nationalist Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) were imprisoned or driven into exile. The 1960s saw the totalitarian suppression of all black struggle and independent political life.

Apartheid capitalism boomed in this period, attracting British and American investment and producing enormous profits. But something else also developed and grew in this period. In 1973, a mass strike wave of factory and municipal workers in Durban signaled the emergence of a new black union movement which would become one of the largest and strongest in the Third World. At the same time, a new generation of student youth were trying to break the shackles of apartheid slavery.

I've already mentioned the 1976 Soweto uprising. What few people mention, besides us, is that this occurred only a few months after the humiliating defeat of the South African army in Angola by Soviet-armed Cuhan troops. The apartheid regime was no longer seen as invincihle. The Soweto youths' defiant heroism captured the world's attention, hut as students, they had no social power by themselves. The white-supremacist regime responded to their protests with a bloodhath.

The Achilles' heel of apartheid, which was instituted in 1948, was its dependence on black lahor. The ANC and most leftists defined apartheid narrowly in terms of the formal legal and political structures which disenfranchised and discriminated against blacks, as well as other non-whites. But the underlying purpose of apartheid was to rigidly control and exploit the predominantly hlack working class.

Throughout modern South African history, the wages of blacks have been a small fraction of those of whites. In the late 19th century, with the discoveries of diamonds and then gold, large numbers of English speakers of all social classes then poured into South Africa in search of riches. At the turn of the 20th century, Britain fought the Boer War against the Afrikaners to establish English control over this superexploitation of black labor. By the early years of the last century, the whites had seized ***all of the arable land***, restricting blacks under the 1913 Land Act to the most barren 13 percent of the country with no possibilities for economic survival off the land. The women and children were forced to live on "tribal reserves" or bantustans, while the men—separated from their families for most of their adult lives—were forced to work in slave-like conditions in the white-owned farms, mines and factories. This totalitarian domination over black life intensified even further after 1948 under the Afrikaner regime. But after two and a half decades of National Party rule, the apartheid system started to break down.

Peter Magubane

June 1976: Over 1,000 black youth were massacred by apartheid butchers during Soweto rebellion.

The continued growth of black unions in the 1970s resulted in their legalization in 1979 hy the apartheid rulers in an unsuccessful attempt to co-opt and control what they could not simply suppress. While the ANC retained the passive allegiance of the black masses, many of the new union leaders and student radicals of the 1970s came to the fore outside the organizational structures of the ANC/SACP and did not necessarily share its political outlook. The new union movement was politically diverse, hut one of the more significant union groupings in the late '70s and early '80s was the Federation of South African Trade Unions or FOSATU, whose leadership adhered to what hecame known as "workerism." These union leaders correctly feared that the nationalist ANC in power would ride roughshod over the black workers movement, and they sought to keep the new unions independent from the ANC/SACP. But the FOSATU syndicalists openly

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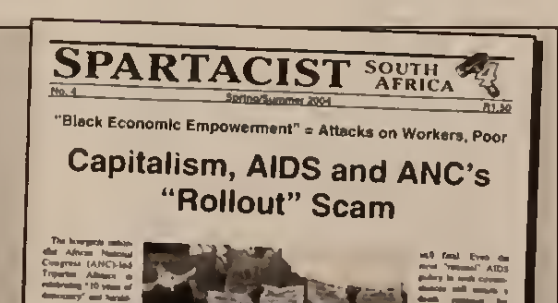
Spartacist South Africa

Newspaper of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Issue No. 4 (24 pages)
US$1 R1,50

Subscription: 4 issues
US$4 R10 (R20 Overseas)


SPARTACIST SOUTH AFRICA
No. 4 Spring/Summer 2004 R1,50
"Black Economic Empowerment" = Attacks on Workers, Poor
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ceded the struggle against apartheid to the ANC/SACP, calling the ANC "a great populist liberation movement," and consciously limited the role of their unions to defending the narrow economic interests of workers within the existing framework of apartheid capitalism. This is essentially a social-democratic or reformist perspective. They had no program for socialist revolution through mobilizing all the oppressed masses behind the working class to smash apartheid capitalism.

Black Unions: The Key

This was a variant of what we call trade-union economism. Lenin counterposed to this the concept of a proletarian vanguard party, which acts as a tribune of the people, in the fight to overthrow the whole capitalist system. Every black worker in South Africa also had family members marginalized in the townships or rural bantustans whose desperate conditions had to be addressed. Black oppression was not limited to the working class. Without the perspective that the powerful labor movement must lead the fight against oppression generally, by the late 1980s, many of the new black unions had become subordinated to the ANC, which was seen as fighting for the broad interests of blacks against white racist rule. As Marxists, we warned against this possibility at the time and posed an alternative. In a critical assessment of FOSATU's politics, we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* in 1984 that, "The only way to ensure that national liberation movements do not turn against their worker supporters is for the workers movement to place *itself* at the head of the oppressed black people, to combat every manifestation of white racist rule" ("South African Revolution: Black Unions the Key," *WV* No. 366, 9 November 1984).

The decline of FOSATU was precipitated by the black township revolt of 1984-85. During that plebeian upheaval, the regime's collaborators and police informers in the townships were neutralized. Rents went unpaid. Effective control of the segregated black cities like Soweto and Alexandra passed into the hands of popular committees generally supportive of the ANC. The ANC/SACP sought, in their words, to "make the townships ungovernable," which in the end could only be a pressure tactic on the apartheid regime, since the white ruling class still retained the military power and political will to isolate and crush the revolt.

By 1986, the Afrikaner National Party regime broke the township rebellion, killing over a thousand and imprisoning over 20,000 anti-apartheid activists. Nonetheless, the revolt convinced decisive sections of the white ruling class that some kind of deal with the ANC was needed if South Africa was to regain any degree of stability. So in 1986, the regime began secret negotiations with the imprisoned Mandela and established contact with the ANC leadership in exile.

Spartacist

Soon after first election to power, ANC government fired 60,000 nurses following 1995 wildcat in which strikers carried signs reading "Away with Mandela."

In the midst of the township revolts, the independent National Union of Mineworkers, FOSATU and the pro-ANC unions merged to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions, or COSATU, in 1985. Two years later, 1987 saw the largest strike in the Rand gold fields in South Africa's history. At its height, 340,000 miners were involved. It ended in a standoff, but the sheer scale and intensity of the strike greatly rattled the Randlord capitalists. But while the COSATU unions were growing in size and strength, they were also increasingly becoming subordinated to the ANC. The 1987 COSATU congress voted to endorse the 1955 "Freedom Charter," the historic program of the ANC. The ANC in turn was now directly negotiating with the apartheid regime over "power sharing" in a capitalist South Africa.

The apartheid rulers, having faced some of the most powerful national strikes ever waged and being prodded by their imperialist godfathers on Wall Street and in the City of London, were looking to the ANC as partners to reorganize South African capitalist superexploitation. But they wanted to make sure that they had pliant front men for apartheid capitalism. Thus, they did not finally cut a deal until after the collapse of the Soviet bloc beginning in 1989. Like many Third World nationalist movements and regimes, the ANC based its strategy on playing off Moscow and Washington. For decades, the Soviet Union had been the ANC's primary international sponsor. The ANC leadership was by no means agents or even loyal clients of Moscow. Rather, they sought to use Soviet support as a means of pressuring Western imperialism to in turn pressure the South African ruling class into accepting a "power sharing" deal. With the ANC's Soviet backers out of the picture, the apartheid rulers knew they could more easily call the shots in any coalition government.

Down With the Tripartite Alliance!

The ANC/SACP was legalized in early 1990, and Mandela was released from the prison hellhole in which he'd spent 27 years of his life. By 1992 they agreed to a "power sharing" deal with a "sunset clause" which guaranteed Afrikaner representation regardless of the outcome of the first elections. They formed an interim national unity government jointly headed by De Klerk from the National Party, Nelson Mandela from the ANC, and Joe Slovo from the SACP.

In 1994 Mandela was overwhelmingly voted in as president. His government, firmly committed to continued capitalist rule, was based on what's called the Tripartite Alliance—a formal alliance between the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, the COSATU trade unions, and the SACP. This is South Africa's version of what's more generally known as a popular front. At the governmental level, this means an alliance between bourgeois parties (ANC) and reformist workers parties (SACP) to form a government that defends continued capitalist rule. In order to keep a lid on working-class and general discontent, the government also requires the support of the pro-capitalist COSATU union leaders (many of them also leaders of the SACP) who tell the workers that the ANC government can be made to pursue their interests. Popular-front governments come about when the bourgeois parties are too discredited or otherwise unable to rule in their own name, and require the services of the reformist workers parties to rein in working-class struggle.

You might ask, since Mandela had such enormous personal authority, why did he need the SACP? In the historic 1994 elections, black African, coloured, and East Indian toilers waited in long lines to vote for the first time in their lives with the expectation that fundamental social change had finally arrived. Having overcome the vile system of formal segregation known as apartheid, the masses also wanted genuine social liberation, an end to exploitation, and in its place some kind of egalitarian society. At the time, we quoted a woman who had voted for the ANC and said she was willing to wait for a month, perhaps two, to get decent housing, to begin receiving the long-denied fruits of her labor. Of course, that didn't happen, but why did she think it would? It's because there were as yet no black capitalists in the ANC, and the aspiring exploiters were given a radical cover by the SACP and other leftists. But the ANC was firmly committed to capitalism—and thus its promises to create jobs, housing, and provide social services could not possibly be kept.

Top SACP leaders were put in key positions in Mandela's government to handle the inevitable discontent: defense minister, police minister and housing minister. They were assigned the high profile task of keeping capitalist law and order: breaking strikes, collecting rent in the townships, and forcibly removing squatter camps and "informal housing." SACP leaders of the COSATU unions, on the other hand, had to maintain some credibility with their members, but at the same time keep workers struggles within certain bounds. It was a division of labor.

The ANC moved quickly against working-class struggle. In 1995, Mandela's government fired 6,000 striking nurses who had been abandoned and betrayed by the COSATU leadership. If you look through the last ten years of *Workers Vanguard*, you will see numerous articles on major outbreaks of class struggle in South Africa. Many workers are fed up with the ANC, and the COSATU leaders regularly have to suppress internal dissent against maintaining the Tripartite Alliance. Early last year, there was an airport baggage handlers strike against a company owned in part by "black empowerment" capitalists. The COSATU union leaders had allowed the other airport unions to continue working and only belatedly held a protest rally. The workers were furious. When COSATU officials chanted "Viva ANC," the crowd roared back "Phansi"—Down with the ANC. Workers carried signs like "Run, Black Empowerment Passengers, Before We Shoot You" and "No Vote for ANC" (see "South Africa: Workers Struggle Against Neo-Apartheid Rule," *WV* No. 823, 2 April 2004).

This occurred a few months before the national elections last April. In those elections, the ANC received a two-thirds majority. So you might think I'm picking isolated examples and that the ANC really still has a huge mandate. But what is generally not mentioned is that 44 percent of eligible voters didn't even bother to show up at the polls. Given what black South Africans went through to get the vote, that is quite a statement.

Social unrest has continued since the elections. About a month after I arrived in South Africa, escalating public worker protest strikes of individual unions culminated in a one-day strike on September 16 of unions representing roughly three-quarters of a million teachers and other government workers. I believe it was the largest strike in South African history, at least in terms of numbers. In this showdown, the unions faced off against the Minister of Public Services and Administration, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi. An articulate spokeswoman for the ANC government, she had tried to mobilize public opinion in particular against the teachers in the guise of protecting the welfare of the children. But everyone, including the students, knew that the teachers were grossly underpaid and was thus generally supportive of the public workers. Despite all this, Fraser-Moleketi was invited by the unions to speak at the strike rally in Pretoria.

Along with other comrades, I was selling our paper, *Spartacist South Africa*, at this march and rally. I was quite distant from the speaker's platform, but I remember hearing a roar from the crowd. I heard later that Fraser-Moleketi had arrogantly told the workers that since they were on strike, they would not be paid that day. The angry strikers booed and hurled plastic bottles, and she was escorted off the stage. Now, you might ask, why on earth was she invited to speak in the first place? Well, along with many union leaders, she too is a member of the South African Communist Party.

Most of the public workers unions settled shortly after the one-day strike, with a contract far short of what they needed and might have gotten through further strike action. The excuse for such sellouts is always the false promise that the SACP and COSATU will eventually be able to influence the government from within on behalf of the workers, which is always the basic lie of any popular front. A popular-front government does not represent the workers, but serves to *mask* bourgeois rule and suppress working-class struggle.

The ANC calls for "black economic empowerment." The black and other non-white masses bitterly call this the "gravy train." But to go beyond discontent and

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advance a revolutionary program of struggle, the South African working class must transcend the ideology of nationalism, the false belief that the black African people—brutally oppressed by the white rulers of South Africa—all have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions.

The AIDS Crisis

I've already given plenty of reasons to oppose ANC capitalist rule. Its response to the AIDS crisis, however, truly stands out as a monumental crime against the South African masses. The ANC government has for several years now disputed that HIV causes AIDS and has consciously obstructed the distribution of AIDS drugs. In the face of domestic and international outcry over the last few years, the ANC has grudgingly announced a "rollout" plan for the desperately needed anti-retroviral AIDS drugs known as ARVs. But most features of the plan, inadequate in any case, are honored in the breach. The government had projected that 53,000 people would receive ARVs by the end of March 2004. As of June of last year, less than 4,000 were receiving the drugs through the national plan, and four of nine provinces had not even started distribution. This is in a country with an estimated 5.3 million people infected with HIV.

Last year, Mbeki denied the HIV/AIDS death toll, saying there are not proper mortality figures to know "what are the things that kill South Africans." The Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel said that it was a waste to spend money on ARVs, which he termed "a lot of voodoo." Meanwhile, the Health Minister intensified her campaign pushing the African potato as a cure, suggesting that traditional medicine may replace ARVs. This cruel and ideologically reactionary campaign, rejecting proven medical science, is above all a crime against women, as we noted in our very first issue of our journal *Spartacist South Africa* in 2001, which was devoted entirely to HIV/AIDS.

In South Africa, AIDS is often unsympathetically referred to as the "woman's disease." African women between the ages of 15 to 24 are two and a half times more likely to be HIV-infected than their male counterparts. This disparity is partially the result of the biological fact that HIV is more easily transmitted from men to women. But this is compounded by the common refusal of males to wear condoms, "survival sex" driven by economic desperation, and a high incidence of rape. The horrific gang rape of AIDS activist Lorna Mlofana is emblematic of the degradation and oppression of women and its intersection with HIV/AIDS. She was beaten and killed in a bar restroom after telling her attackers she was HIV positive.

The oppression of women is institutionalized through the family under capitalism. The male is the master of the household, while the woman is slated to raise the next generation of wage slaves. This oppression may take an even more extreme form in the traditional African family. The conservative, patriarchal values of rural tribal society are used by the ANC regime as a counterweight to the proponents of social change. Another important social question in this regard is defense of gay rights—it is common to hear that homosexual sex is not "African." Our comrades in South Africa champion full democratic rights for gays and lesbians. While the "new South Africa" touts the "most progressive constitution in the world," the ANC has never taken a public stand against still prevalent customs such as *lobola* (bride price), in which women's status is reduced to property, or female genital mutilation, which is still practiced openly in rural areas and secretly in the townships. While I was there, I read a telling article on how the government adopted new legal guidelines for *lobola*. Bride price is traditionally determined in terms of head of cattle, so the government came up with a cash equivalent so that contractual disputes could be settled in the courts.

Having described some of the obstacles within South Africa, I want to speak now of the role of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, in regards to the AIDS crisis. Of late, the Anglo-American imperialists have pressured the ANC government to adopt a more rational AIDS policy that is at least formally consistent with medical science. This is not disinterested humanitarianism on the part of the imperialists. Over the next ten years, Africa is projected to become the U.S.'s second largest supplier of oil after the Near East. And the regionally powerful South African military is often the American government's preferred instrument for intervention on the African continent.

A Pentagon official made clear that a key ingredient in regional African security "is national militaries that are capable and competent and not dying of AIDS." The Bush administration has waged an international campaign against generic ARVs and condoms, and manipulated billions in aid money to promote U.S. pharmaceutical interests and a reactionary Christian agenda of opposition to abortion and preaching abstinence. This condemns millions of people to die. At the same time, the American government's National Institute of Health came up with $35 million (mainly for ARVs) for the South African National Defense Force. Our comrades wrote in *Spartacist South Africa* (No. 4, Spring/Summer 2004): "From HIV/AIDS to 'humanitarian' relief for Sudan, the crocodile tears of concern for the plight of Africa is imperialist hypocrisy: All U.S./UN/British and French troops out of Africa! UN/South African troops out of Burundi and the DRC [Democratic Republic of Congo]! Hands off Sudan!"

The international pharmaceutical giants prevent cheap, proven drugs from reaching Africa, while at the same time using it as a human testing laboratory for drugs not yet approved in the West. This is how Mbeki's rants against supposedly "toxic" AIDS drugs can even get a hearing: long-suffering Africans have in fact been used as human "guinea pigs." But the "Africanist" denunciations of Western science, race-baiting and touting of "African solutions" are not the irrational ravings of an ignorant man—rather, they are intended to disguise the fact that the ***bourgeois-nationalist ANC regime is itself the main political agent in South Africa of world imperialism and the domestic capitalists.***

Indymedia

May 13: Protest by shantytown residents in Durban demands land and housing, decent health care and social services.

Reuters

Protesters in Durban call for affordable anti-retroviral drugs. ANC government does not provide millions of HIV/AIDS patients access to life-saving medication.

For Permanent Revolution!

So what is to be done? In the last couple of years, loose groupings that have been labeled "social movements" have emerged in South Africa. They have engaged in militant actions to protest the ANC government's policies, but they have neither a proletarian base of power nor a revolutionary Marxist program. One such group, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), is an umbrella organization which includes reformist leftists like Keep Left!, who are the South African counterparts to the ISO. Keep Left! in fact once again voted for Mbeki in the last elections, while others in the APF balked at doing so this time around. The ANC regime, for its part, has employed vicious repression against the APF and detention and torture against another group, the Landless People's Movement (LPM). The land question is a burning issue in South Africa, and the ANC has spent ten years negotiating with wealthy farmers over the price at which the ANC will buy back some of the land, all of which was stolen from black Africans in the first place.

While selling our paper in South Africa, I spoke to a number of black trade unionists who agreed on the need to break with the Tripartite Alliance. But there was always the question of what to replace it with. Some look toward a reformist labor party based on the unions, a new version of '80s "workerism." The fundamental point, however, is that the many-sided conditions of exploitation, oppression and backwardness in South Africa cannot be significantly diminished, much less eliminated, simply through trade-union struggle. The only way forward for the oppressed masses of the economically backward countries is for the proletariat to seize power at the head of all the oppressed, linked through its revolutionary leadership to the proletariat in the economically advanced countries. This is the program of permanent revolution. It requires a proletarian revolution such as the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, leading to the expropriation of the mines, factories and farms and the establishment of a planned, socialized economy. National liberation and the basic democratic rights achieved in the advanced industrial countries in previous centuries are in South Africa only realizable through the dictatorship of the proletariat and international socialist revolution.

There is plenty of social tinder in South Africa. The question is: who will lead that struggle? We seek to build a revolutionary party on Lenin's model, one that rallies all of the oppressed behind the working class in a struggle for power to overthrow neo-apartheid capitalism. Some South African leftists argue that even if the working class could take power in South Africa, it would immediately face the might of U.S. imperialism and be crushed. The war against and now the occupation of Iraq is a warning to all who would defy U.S. imperialism. This is a serious argument and has to be answered. Many people in South Africa were surprised that communists even existed in America. There is a tendency to view the U.S. as a seamless reactionary mass, and Bush's re-election only reinforces that view. But those of you sitting here today, having seen last year's strikes in L.A., should realize that there are in fact conflicting classes in America. Revolution in South Africa would resonate even here, particularly among blacks who themselves face daily oppression and cop terror. The necessary task is to break workers and the oppressed from the Democratic Party, which is equally the party of U.S. imperialism.

Back in the '80s, I argued with liberal anti-apartheid activists who called for American corporations to divest from South Africa, as if U.S. imperialism stood on the moral high ground. Rather than advising American capitalists where to invest their money, the working class needs to wage class struggle on the road to expropriating them. Recognizing that U.S. imperialism, whether led by the Democrats or Republicans, is the enemy of workers throughout the world is the beginning of wisdom. Every blow struck against American imperialism from within will have powerful reverberations in South Africa and in all countries oppressed and dominated by international capital. Revolutionary battles may not begin in this country, but they will ultimately have to be fought here in the bastion of world imperialism. We want to build a party that is up to that task and hope you will join us. Down with neo-apartheid capitalism! Forward to workers revolution in the belly of the beast! ■

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Wal-Mart...

(continued from page 16)

fleet is the largest private carrier in the U.S. Workers in the giant warehouses that handle the flow of imports to Wal-Mart and other large retail chains have the power to halt an important sector of commercial activity.

UFCW: A Strike Betrayed

There was an opportunity to have a spearhead for an organizing drive against Wal-Mart. But the trade-union tops threw it away. In the fall of 2003, the UFCW launched what was to become a bitter five-month-long strike by 60,000 grocery workers in Southern California demanding better pay and health care. A victorious UFCW strike could have provided the springboard for a campaign to organize Wal-Mart, including by inspiring pro-union Wal-Mart workers. In the end, however, the strike lost, with workers returning to work under new contracts containing deep concessions.

The responsibility for this defeat lies squarely with the trade-union bureaucracy. The UFCW workers fought like hell to win. Several times, the workers defied the treachery of the bureaucrats, including by appealing to Teamsters and other unions to keep the grocery stores' distribution centers shut down—a key task to cut off the flow of goods to the stores—despite the bureaucrats' efforts to let the distribution centers re-open. Tens of thousands of UFCW members—employed by some of the same chains struck in Southern California—were working under extended contracts that had already expired, and more than 280,000 grocery workers in eleven states had contracts that were about to expire. Yet, the labor tops did everything in their power to isolate the Southern California workers by refusing to extend the strike nationally.

Instead, the labor tops pushed consumer boycotts. Such pressure tactics can have some real effect, but only if they are an ***auxiliary*** to hard class struggle. For the labor tops, however, they are a ***substitute*** for class struggle. Rather than mobilizing for victory, the labor tops atomized the power of the workers and relied instead on public opinion.

For workers fighting to unionize Wal-Mart, it is vital to draw the lessons of the UFCW strike. Against Wal-Mart, the labor tops are essentially pursuing the same losing strategy they pursued during the UFCW strike. To win, however, the labor movement cannot play by the rules of the bosses and their government. It must use methods that the bourgeoisie deems "illegal"—mass picketing that shuts down operations and secondary boycotts and strikes by Teamsters and other transport workers. No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, militancy, organization and discipline and their relation to the means of production in modern capitalist society. The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear.

Rand Santos

John Kerry with AFL-CIO opposition leader Andy Stern at June 2004 SEIU convention. Stern spent millions for Democratic Party campaign.

A chief obstacle to class struggle in the U.S. is the labor bureaucracy. The labor tops are committed to the capitalist system and the logic of the "free market." Especially through the instrument of the Democratic Party, the union bureaucrats chain the workers to the capitalist class enemy and the bourgeois state. The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are a party of and for the capitalist class. The difference is that the Republicans make no bones about openly trying to screw working people; the Democrats do it while bemoaning the consequences or proclaiming themselves "friends of labor" who "support" the unions.

As we wrote in "Labor Tops Sell Out Militant Supermarket Workers—UFCW Strike and Class Struggle in America" (*WV* No. 821, 5 March 2004):

> "This strike—both the courageous determination of the workers and the venal treachery of the bureaucrats—underlined in the most stark terms the necessity of fighting for a new leadership in the unions. The unions are mass organizations of workers to defend their economic interests against the capitalists; but to consistently fulfill that role they must be led by a class-struggle, anti-capitalist leadership that understands that the interests of the workers and the capitalists are counterposed."

The forging of a new leadership in the unions is part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party, a party whose purpose is not to provide an electoral shill for the Democrats but to give conscious leadership to the workers, linking their struggles to improve present conditions to the necessity to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery and racist oppression.

No to "Corporate Campaign" Sellouts!

In their concerted effort to defeat the UFCW strike, the supermarket bosses used Wal-Mart's attempts to enter the California grocery market as an excuse to demand huge concessions from the workers. As a spokesman from UFCW put it, even before the strike: "Wal-Mart is essentially the third party at the bargaining table at every retailing negotiation in the country" (*Crain's Chicago Business*, 7 July 2003). Thus, the fight to organize Wal-Mart is critical to the labor movement as a whole. But instead of waging such a fight, the labor tops offer up anti-Communist China-bashing and protectionism, which posits foreign workers—not the capitalist bosses—as the enemy, and "community" and "corporate" campaigns that only highlight the impotence and weakness of the union leadership in this country.

The "corporate campaign" against Wal-Mart—exemplified by lawsuits and raising "public awareness" about the company's anti-labor practices—epitomizes the cohabitation that exists between the AFL-CIO tops and Democratic Party bigwigs. The campaign is modeled on the AFL-CIO's get-out-the-vote machine—with its mass mailings, phone banks and work-site visits—that serves to hustle votes for (mainly) Democratic politicians. Heading the effort is Ellen Moran, an AFL-CIO honcho with long experience in helping to organize Democratic election campaigns. Last year, Moran took a leave from her union post to work on the Democratic National Committee for the John Kerry presidential campaign.

Andrew Stern's Service Employees International Union (SEIU) also kicked off a "broad" anti-Wal-Mart campaign, putting up $1 million in seed money last year to launch an umbrella coalition, the Center for Community and Corporate Ethics, as well as a related group, Wal-Mart Watch. The SEIU's Center, which brings together feminists, environmentalists and others, is headed by Andy Grossman, former director of the Democratic Party's Senatorial Campaign Committee. Stern is leading opposition to AFL-CIO president John Sweeney in the run-up to this summer's national convention. The ten-point program of the Stern coalition, titled "Unite to Win," calls for allocating $25 million to a campaign for better jobs and benefits. "Challenging" Wal-Mart should be the first priority, according to this statement, but it does not even call for unionizing the retail giant. For all his talk of organizing workers, Stern's objective is not union action but building a cross-class alliance to put more effective pressure on the Democratic Party. The basic strategy of all wings of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is to pressure the capitalist government, the executive committee of the ruling class, for concessions.

The UFCW has also launched its own parallel campaign titled Wake Up Wal-Mart. It is headed by Paul Blank, who was previously national political director for Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean. Blank, who used the Internet to recruit to the Dean campaign thousands of enthusiastic youth (dubbed "Deanie boppers" by the press), promises to do the same for organized labor. "The UFCW has realized that it's not just a worker-based campaign any longer, but it's really America's campaign to change Wal-Mart," Blank declared. "So we have shifted the focus from just in-store organizing, which is the traditional union model of store-by-store organizing into a model where we're building a grass-roots movement of Americans who want to change Wal-Mart" (*Houston Chronicle*, 25 April).

The unions' "community organizing" campaigns have actually had some success in preventing Wal-Mart from setting up stores in a number of major cities (which, in turn, has reportedly helped drive down the price of the company's stock on Wall Street). But as Wal-Mart chief executive Lee Scott haughtily told his critics, as long as customers keep coming through the doors, their campaign "doesn't mean diddly squat" (*Denver Post*, 6 April).

Wal-Mart has launched its own counteroffensive, taking out ads in newspapers throughout the country as well as Asian language advertisements on Chinese, Vietnamese and Filipino television stations. In response to an article attacking Wal-Mart, the retail giant took out a two-page ad in the 7 April *New York Review of Books* titled: "Wal-Mart's Impact on Society: A Key Moment in Time for American Capitalism."

In trying to refurbish its image, Wal-Mart grossly portrays itself as a friend of poor people. In its *New York Review of Books* ad, Wal-Mart CEO Lee Scott, answering "our grocery union critics," wrote that if Wal-Mart "raised prices substantially to fund above-market wages, as some critics urge, we'd betray our commitment to tens of millions of customers, many of whom struggle to make ends meet." The reality is, being the largest employer in one of the fastest growing sectors of the economy, Wal-Mart, with its "standards" of low wages, speedup and intensified exploitation, serves to drive down the wages and standard of living of ***all*** workers.

China Newsphoto

Chinese textile workers. U.S. bourgeoisie seeks to restore capitalism in Chinese deformed workers state and turn it into one giant sweatshop.

By focusing on blocking new Wal-Mart stores instead of waging the hard fight to organize the retailer, the union bureaucracy has more than once found itself opposed by a section of the poor black and minority population looking for cheaper commodities. In Chicago and Atlanta, the NAACP and other black leaders sided with Wal-Mart against the unions' attempt to block the store from being built. Instead of organizing Wal-Mart, the labor tops have joined a campaign to defend the supermarket chains—including the very ones that defeated the UFCW strike—as well as high mark-

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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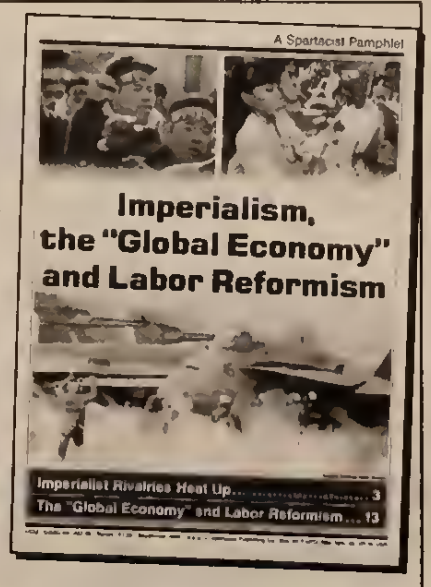

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard **skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated August 5.**

up, non-union, small-shop enterprises against the retail giant.

The utter disarray of the union bureaucrats in the face of Wal-Mart's PR offensive was exemplified by the following incident: In early May, Stern's SEIU publicly complained that the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was meeting with Wal-Mart management. A month later, Wal-Mart CEO Scott wrote to Bush asking him to "stand with me, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, other political and civil rights leaders" in supporting an extension of some of the Voting Rights Act provisions which come up for renewal in 2007. Wal-Mart Watch (whose board of directors includes Stern) was reduced to applauding Wal-Mart's position while blustering that it "shows our efforts are having an impact, because they are feeling the pressure." Stern's group lamely added that Wal-Mart could "now achieve even more justice in the world by providing its employees affordable health care and sufficient wages" (*Roll Call*, 16 June).

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

Wal-Mart is one of the largest buyers of China's growing volume of export goods, which are produced by firms usually owned, at least in part, by outside capitalists. The labor misleaders, in pushing protectionist poison, blame cheap foreign labor and demand U.S. imperialist-enforced "labor standards" as a mechanism to invoke tariffs. In the case of Wal-Mart, the bureaucracy's tirades are directed mainly against China.

China is a bureaucratically deformed workers state where capitalism was overthrown and replaced by a collectivized economy as a result of the 1949 Revolution—a victory for working people around the world. Despite the capitalist inroads created by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms," China's core economy is still based on nationalized property. The American bourgeoisie's counterrevolutionary aim is to restore capitalist rule and fully open up China to capitalist exploitation and turn it into one gigantic sweatshop. Just as workers defend their unions against the bosses—despite sellout leadership—it is in the interests of the international working class, including in the U.S., to defend China against capitalist counterrevolution despite the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy's accommodation to capitalism. The American trade-union bureaucracy's hostility to China is based on visceral anti-Communism, with the added convenience of scapegoating a "foreign enemy" for the loss of American manufacturing jobs instead of fighting the capitalists at home.

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is effectively acting as a labor contractor for the American bourgeoisie, offering up low-wage Chinese workers for the U.S. capitalists. The Chinese working class must sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has gravely weakened the system of nationalized property internally while conciliating imperialism at the international level. We stand for a proletarian political revolution to defend and extend the gains of the workers state, while placing power directly in the hands of workers and peasants councils. This could inspire proletarian socialist revolution throughout Asia, including in the industrial powerhouse of Japan.

Last fall, after the officially sanctioned trade-union organization, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), issued a list of foreign-owned companies that were blocking workers from setting up unions, Wal-Mart promised to comply with laws requiring it to allow the establishment of ACFTU unions in its 40 Chinese stores if the workers so wished. In the U.S., Workers World Party, which tails the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy largely uncritically, hailed this as an event that "could have tremendous repercussions for low-wage retail workers everywhere" (*Workers World*, 27 January). The question of the ACFTU is contradictory. On the one hand, as the only union body legally allowed in China, the ACFTU is an arm of the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose aim is to maintain its privileges and rule, including by policing the workers. At the same time, even the official unions have at times participated in some of the large-scale labor protests that Chinese workers have engaged in in recent years to defend their livelihoods against the bureaucracy's "market reforms."

An integral part of our program for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states is building unions free from bureaucratic control. Trade unions are necessary even in a workers state ruled by genuine workers democracy to protect against possible encroachments and abuses by the government, as well as to help plan production, work methods, etc. At the same time, anti-Communist forces, including the AFL-CIO officialdom, promote "free trade unions" as a club for capitalist counterrevolution in China. The struggle in China today for trade unions free from bureaucratic control must take as its starting point defense of collectivized property and opposition to capitalist restoration.

For International Labor Solidarity!

The pitiful wages and benefits at Wal-Mart are hardly unique. Of the ten fastest-growing sectors in the U.S economy, four had average wages under $11 per hour, including in retail. A successful fight to unionize Wal-Mart would be a giant step toward turning that situation around. Fighting simply to prevent the construction of new Wal-Mart stores does nothing to change it. Instead, the labor movement ought to be telling Wal-Mart that they can open as many stores as they want, ***so long as they are unionized***. In at least one instance, in heavily unionized Joliet, Illinois, UFCW leaders, instead of flatly opposing a new Wal-Mart store, demanded that Wal-Mart agree not to interfere in union organizing efforts at the store as a precondition for its construction. But for such demands to have any real effect, they must be followed up by a militant drive to actually organize Wal-Mart.

Boissinot/CP

Wal-Mart workers in Jonquière, Quebec, won union recognition in summer of 2004. In retaliation, Wal-Mart shut down the store.

The union tops virtually ignored Wal-Mart until the supermarket chains started losing market share to Wal-Mart Supercenters in the mid to late 1990s. They have given Wal-Mart a free (union-free) hand to develop to the point where an organizing drive must now address over a million workers—and must be carried out as a nationwide campaign. Asked what it would take to achieve that end, Ginny Coughlin, spokeswoman for UNITE (Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees), replied, "I was just talking about this with a colleague the other day. We figured 3,000 organizers at a minimum. And all the resources, political will and leadership of probably four or five major unions" (*Nation*, 28 June 2004).

At least. Above all, it comes down to political program. Labor, basing itself on those areas that are already unionized, needs to extend the organizing drive to the South. When Wal-Mart lauded itself as a "leading employer" of black people, a number of black leaders aptly noted that the same could have been said of the slave plantations. But today's union tops, though they often speak at MLK Day assemblies and invoke racial equality, disdain the kind of labor battles it will take to organize the South, where "right to work" laws are backed up by racist Klan terror. Unionizing the notoriously anti-union South—and Southern-based companies like Wal-Mart—poses the need for the labor movement to wage a determined fight against the deep racial oppression and pervasive anti-black racism that exist in this country.

It's not just in the South. In late 2003 during the Southern California grocery workers strike, when fascist skinheads attacked black and Latino strikers, the UFCW needed to organize picket defense guards, drawing in all of labor in the region as well as the minorities and immigrants who bear the brunt of fascist terror. But the union leadership did nothing. In the face of similar fascist provocations over the years in major cities, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations—drawing on the social power of trade unions—to stop the KKK and Nazis. This is what a fighting labor movement led by a revolutionary workers party would do, championing the cause of all the oppressed, combatting every manifestation of anti-black racism and demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Organizing Wal-Mart will require the active defense of immigrant rights. When Wal-Mart was forced to pay $11 million early this year to settle federal charges that it employed undocumented workers to clean its stores, the union tops, rather than fighting in defense of these workers, went after Wal-Mart for hiring "illegal" immigrants. Two weeks into the UFCW grocery strike in California, "Homeland Security" federal agents raided 60 Wal-Mart stores and rounded up more than 250 undocumented immigrant workers. But the UFCW leadership, which says it wants to organize Wal-Mart, did nothing to mobilize the unions on their behalf. As we wrote in "Labor: Defend Immigrant Wal-Mart Workers! No Deportations!" (*WV* No. 813, 7 November 2003):

> "By rising to the defense of these immigrant workers, the UFCW would be mobilizing in defense of ***all*** Wal-Mart workers, undercutting the company's rabidly anti-union maneuvers and facilitating the organization of Wal-Mart workers."

Working-class struggle must be consciously waged as an ***international*** fight. And it must be based on the understanding that the interests of labor and capital can never be reconciled. The only way to guarantee good living conditions for everyone, jobs for all and an end to capitalist exploitation and racist oppression is through the expropriation of the capitalist class through socialist revolution. As Trotskyist internationalists, our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of "defending American jobs" against foreign competition, but the words which Marx and Engels inscribed on their banner: "Workers of the world, unite."■

Jackson...

(continued from page 16)

arousing, appealing to, or gratifying the lust, passions or sexual desires of the person or the child.

Sex is a natural activity for humans—even children. We believe that in any kind of sexual relations, the guiding principle should be effective consent, regardless of age, gender or race. That is, if those involved have effective knowledge and desire to do whatever it is they will, that should be the end of it. We oppose arbitrary and reactionary state interference in such intimate matters. As we stated when the trial began:

> "The capitalist state is intent on banning all sex for young people to prepare them for a life of unfulfilled desires and urges by imposing abstinence, guilt and fear about wanting to have sex. These laws have nothing to do with protecting children; all they do is enforce puritanical values pushed by religion, and provide a moral justification for government interference in all other aspects of life. As Marxists, we reject all laws that criminalize consensual sex for youth, with or without adult partners. ***Down with all reactionary 'age of consent' laws!***"
>
> —"Stop Vendetta Against Michael Jackson!" *WV* No. 818, 23 January 2004

We fight for people's right to have consensual sex with whomever they choose. Or to look at pornography. Or to do nothing at all. The point is, absent coercion, it just isn't any business of the government—and we mean ***any*** government, including in a future workers state.

Though among blacks Jackson's support runs particularly strong, the case did not polarize the country along race lines as did the O.J. Simpson case in 1995. The combination of race and sex (particularly amid allegations of "pedophilia") made this case especially hot. Because Jackson is black, many black establishment figures who wouldn't normally go near a "sex case" felt obliged to come out in his defense. But no sooner had the trial ended in victory than these pompous types felt impelled to wag warning fingers at Jackson. The Reverend Jesse Jackson, parading as Michael's "spiritual adviser," promptly told WFLD-TV, Chicago, that the singer "must reassess his personal relations, reassess personal conduct." Why? He didn't do anything wrong. Jesse Jackson proclaims him guilty—even after he was found not guilty!

If Michael Jackson got off because he had the best defense money could buy, and because he is rich and famous—it is still a good thing. Look what often happens when you can't mount an effective challenge to the virtually unlimited resources available to state prosecutors. The case of Father Paul Shanley of Boston, convicted this February in the lynch mob hysteria over the Catholic priest sex scandal, is such an example. Shanley, a former radical "street priest," was convicted ***purely*** on the uncorroborated "recovered memories" of a man who claimed Shanley abused him 20 years earlier. The defrocked priest was unable to buy an effective defense team and received 12 to 15 years behind bars. We defended him as we do NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association) to which he was (falsely, as it happens) tied during the trial.

Young people whose sexuality doesn't fit the capitalist family model of abstinence (for young women anyhow) until marriage, then monotonous monogamy until you die, are treated like outlaws. There are still tens of thousands of people branded as "sex offenders" in this country who have committed no crime and hurt no one, and who have been abandoned by almost everyone, while their lives are made a living hell by computerized "predator" lists. There are hundreds of thousands of black men in prison, railroaded under the racist "war on drugs." All these victims of racist, puritanical America deserve freedom.■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

anti-racist protesters be dropped; that charges be filed against the driver of the car that had struck them; and that there be an independent investigation into the Garden Grove police department for its actions that night. In a clear act of retaliation, on June 16 the Garden Grove police raided Dang's home, claiming they were searching for a police flashlight that had been dropped by a cop at the May 25 protest!

As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a 1 June letter to the Orange County D.A.'s office, protesting the May 25 police rampage against anti-racist protesters: "In the name of the 'war on terror,' the government wants to squash any expression of dissent, hoping to frighten people into staying home with their curtains shut while the U.S. outsources torture in Iraq and elsewhere.... The domestic side of the war abroad is an all-sided attack on the rights of working people, minorities and immigrants at home. We demand that all charges against these protesters be dropped." Stop the vendetta against Theresa Dang!

Left: Protesters demonstrate against anti-immigrant Minutemen in Garden Grove, May 25. At protest, two demonstrators (right) were struck by local bigot driving minivan. Cops arrested five protesters, including a person in a wheelchair, but let the driver go!

Indymedia photos

Meanwhile, the capitalist media in L.A. and elsewhere has been enthusing over the election of Democrat Antonio Villaraigosa, the city's first Latino mayor in over 100 years. He ran on a promise to the bourgeoisie of 1,600 more cops on the street and a "vast expansion" of intelligence units of the LAPD, who are well known for their history of penetrating and spying on the left and the labor movement. Villaraigosa won as mayor with the endorsement of leading black figures such as the vicious former LAPD chief, Bernard Parks, and Congresswoman Maxine Waters. Predictably, Villaraigosa echoes the chorus of other Democratic Party politicians in denouncing California governor Schwarzenegger's praise of the racist, anti-immigrant Minutemen. But this has nothing to do with defense of immigrants; Villaraigosa opposes the courting of the Minutemen because "That's not the function of private citizens; that's the function of law enforcement" (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 May).

Democrats, Republicans Target Immigrants

California's two Democratic Senators, Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, often bait Bush from the right on immigration policy as they posture as tougher than the Republicans in the "war on terror." Thus, the reputedly ultraliberal Boxer recently opposed Bush's "guest worker" program by saying it would "open the floodgates" to illegal immigration (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 April). Dianne Feinstein in turn denounced an alternative bipartisan bill as a "huge magnet" for more illegal immigration. We oppose Bush's "guest workers" initiative because it "would give an employer near-total control over those undocumented workers who register for legal status. Such workers would have little defense against slave-labor working conditions imposed by their 'co-sponsor' employers" (*WV* No. 820, 20 February 2004).

While many Democrats have taken partisan advantage to bait Bush on his perceived laxity on immigration, the immigration issue is also polarizing the Republican Party, with the archreactionary chauvinists clamoring for a crackdown on "illegal aliens" and another wing trying to make a deal with similar-minded Democrats to initiate a "legalization" of some immigrant workers.

Bush has urged Congress to pass his so-called "guest worker" program. Yet, the Republican Senate in April blocked a similar measure, dubbed "AgJobs," which was sponsored by Senator Larry Craig, a conservative Republican from Idaho—who viewed the plan as a way of ensuring a stable supply of workers for the agribusiness industry—and liberal Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy. The measure has been promoted as the product of years of negotiations between unions like the United Farm Workers (UFW) and agribusiness.

Such "guest worker" programs are reminiscent of the notorious *bracero* program initiated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt during World War II. Spurred by the need to redress labor shortages after Japanese Americans, many of whom worked in agriculture, were interned in concentration camps, the *bracero* program resulted in millions of Mexican farmworkers being brought in over the course of the next two decades to be employed under conditions of virtual bondage to their American agribusiness employers. Part of their wages was typically withheld, supposedly to be paid when they returned to Mexico. Some *bracero* workers are still suing to this day for wages withheld from them by the U.S. and Mexican governments.

Ferazzi/L.A. Times

November 2003: Militant UFCW pickets confront scab truck at Vons distribution center in El Monte, California.

Because of the militarization of the California border, the deadly Arizona desert has become the largest immigrant corridor into the U.S. (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 November 2004). Though the Bush administration spent an additional $30 million last year trying to plug the Arizona-Mexico border using Apache helicopters, unmanned aerial drones, and hundreds more Border Patrol agents, the immigrant exodus has reached a five-year high. Last year, more than one million arrests were made along the U.S.-Mexico border, and detentions in Arizona have totaled more than in all the other border states combined. And out of the hundreds of migrant deaths every year, the bulk are in the "gateway to hell" of the Arizona desert. Initiated in the mid 1990s when the Clinton administration imposed a draconian militarization of traditional border-crossing points around urban areas such as San Diego and El Paso, U.S. border enforcement policy has consciously channeled the flow of migrants into vast areas of uninhabited wilderness.

What drives this desperate quest for employment in the U.S. is increasing impoverishment, landlessness and unemployment in Mexico and Central America, intensified by over a decade of U.S. imperialist "free trade" rape under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Today, even many *maquiladoras* (foreign-owned factories) in Mexico have closed and moved production to countries with even cheaper labor.

In May 2004, Bush concluded an agreement with several Central American states to implement the CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement), aimed at dismantling any remaining barriers to the complete U.S. domination of their economies. The agreement passed the Senate on June 30 and will be voted next month in the House. Opposition to CAFTA comes primarily from the viewpoint of the "America first" economic protectionism that characterizes the labor bureaucracy. In a statement calling to oppose CAFTA, the AFL-CIO tops call "for policies that allow American businesses and workers to compete and survive in the global economy." But "businesses and workers" have counterposed interests, not common ones. The labor bureaucracy seeks to deny this fact, helping the capitalists maintain their profit system at the expense of immigrants, black people and the working class as a whole. In contrast, as proletarian internationalists, we in the ICL oppose NAFTA/CAFTA imperialist subjugation while fighting against the nationalist protectionism with which the AFL-CIO bureaucracy infects the workers movement.

"War on Terror" Is War on Working Class

The "war on terror" is today the main rationale behind numerous local police agencies, from Florida to California, revamping their relationships with federal immigration authorities, marking a distinct increase in state repression against undocumented immigrants that, in effect, makes street cops into agents of the hated *la migra*. In Los Angeles, the LAPD plans to scrap its decades-long policy of formally distinguishing between police and federal immigration authorities, and is now directing officers who see suspects they "believe" to be in the U.S. illegally to run a check with immigration officials before making the arrest. The Orange County and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Departments also recently announced that they planned on training deputies to enforce federal immigration laws. These changes in local police policies provide a new pretext for cops to harass "foreign-looking" individuals of Latino, Arab, African and Asian background, including American citizens, all with "reasonable suspicion."

Giving such new powers to the police comes at a time when the black and Latino population of L.A., in particular, has been under a virtual state of siege by the racist cops. Coming on the heels of the killing of black 13-year-old Devin Brown in February, a marauding posse of L.A. County Sheriff's deputies in Compton this May unloaded over a hundred rounds of ammunition at an unarmed black man in a car, Winston Hayes. With many bullets plowing right through people's doors and windows, the cops were so trigger-happy that they wounded at least one of their own in the crossfire in addition to Hayes! State authorities are increasingly giving the green light to the cops to terrorize minorities, crack down on immigrant rights protests and immigrant unionization efforts, and step up deportations.

The Rampart Division of the LAPD was notorious in the last decade for meting out daily racist abuse and violence against the largely Central American residents of the area. Officers turned over people who had witnessed police abuse to immigration so they would be deported and unable to inform on the cops. Today, the Rampart Division is already working with immigration officials on a "special task force" designed to crack down on "international gangsters" who supposedly go back and forth between the U.S. and El Salvador. Recently in the Rampart Division, special "immigration detectives" arrested 18 "alleged gang members" on suspicion of the federal crime of illegal reentry into the U.S., which can carry a prison sentence of ten years or more.

In June 2004 the U.S. Border Patrol began patrolling the streets of the greater Los Angeles area, making arrests in Riverside and San Bernardino counties—far from the U.S.-Mexico border—and rounding up about 400 people in widespread raids. Residents in heavily Latino neighborhoods said they were afraid to venture out to markets and even schools. Threatening more random and spontaneous raids in the future, Border Patrol agents called the subsequent deportations "routine business" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 December 2004).

The ruling class stokes the fire of anti-immigrant racism in order to create a toxic brew of racism and chauvinism, seeking to keep the workers and oppressed at each others' throats rather than engaged in struggle against their common exploiters. This time-honored ruling class strategy has a particular history in California. In 1994, after the capitalists pushed the lie that fewer crumbs for immigrants would mean more for blacks, some 50 percent of black California voters supported Proposition 187, which sought to deny social services, health care and public education to undocumented immigrants. But the same sinister forces behind Proposition 187 had their sights set on black people as well, and within a few years they had pushed through a slew of racist, anti-black and anti-immigrant measures: Proposition 209, which gutted affirmative action for all minorities; "English only" Proposition 227, which eliminated bilingual education; and the draconian "Three Strikes Initiative," which vastly strengthened the repressive power of the capitalist state under the rubric of the racist "war on drugs/crime."

Numerous racist ballot measures have now passed in other states in past months, such as Arizona's Proposition 200, which denies public services to the undocumented. The passage of this racist referendum has spawned similar movements in other states such as Colorado, Wash-

ington, Virginia and California. Proposition 200, supported even by a substantial percentage of Latino Arizona voters, requires applicants for public benefits to present proof of legal residence.

Whipping up racial and ethnic hatred has long served the American ruling class in furthering the exploitation of all workers. Descendants of the African slaves who were brought to America beginning nearly 400 years ago, much of the black population remains today at the bottom, while immigrants have historically been more able to advance up the economic ladder. As we noted in "Down With Capitalist Rulers' War Against Blacks, Immigrants!" (*WV* No. 724, 26 November 1999): "It is true that Asians and Latinos are considered not white in this society and suffer accordingly. But they are deemed a lot less 'not white' than blacks." Black oppression forms the bedrock of American capitalism, and it is vital that immigrant workers fight for black freedom. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

Many immigrants are taught by the bourgeoisie to believe that the desperate conditions of life faced by much of the black population are their own "fault," reflecting insufficient "values" placed on education, family, work and advancement. There is a great deal of antipathy between blacks and immigrants, as well as between immigrants with "legal" status and those without.

The way to break down these divisions propagated by the bourgeoisie is to wage a multiracial fight to organize the unorganized, including immigrant labor and in the historically anti-union, racist South. This requires that labor fight for immigrant rights, black equality, and jobs for all at union wages. Labor must break with the racist Democratic Party of the bosses. The pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats in the AFL-CIO are an obstacle to this perspective. What's required is the mobilization of labor's power, led by a class-struggle leadership of the unions, as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party.

WV Photo

9 February 2002: Labor contingents at Oakland united-front mobilization initiated by PDC and Labor Black League against anti-immigrant witchhunt.

Based on the struggles of many immigrant workers in Southern California, who have brought with them the legacy of social and class struggles in their homelands, in the past decade there have been key strikes to unionize and fight the bosses. L.A., a historically "open shop" city, today can more aptly than any other place in the U.S. be dubbed "Strike City" thanks to such class battles as the Justice for Janitors organizing campaign in the early 1990s and the hard-fought strike in 2003-04 of the UFCW grocery store workers. This strike was sold out by the union bureaucrats who refused to spread the strike nationally and refused to shut down the distribution centers for the duration of the strike, even though there was sentiment to support the UFCW coming from the rank and file of the Teamsters.

The trade-union tops represent an obstacle to the unions taking up the necessary fights to organize the unorganized and defend immigrant rights because they agree with the bourgeoisie's "right" to make a profit—the phony "partnership" between labor and capital, expressed politically in their support for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party.

The labor bureaucracy pushes national protectionist chauvinism which encourages hostility to immigrant workers, even while some AFL-CIO officials talk about organizing immigrant workers and "solidarity" with workers in other countries. If they meant that, they would be mobilizing unions to defend Mexican immigrants against the posse of "immigrant hunters" that has been patrolling the Arizona border. The malign influence of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy helps breed chauvinist anti-immigrant consciousness among "legal" workers, be they white, black or Latino. The same sinister forces being mobilized against immigrants either are already or will be gunning for blacks, unionists and all workers. A class-struggle leadership in the labor movement would fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants as an elementary democratic demand, and to organize the unorganized by mobilizing the social power of the working class in its own class interests.

The fight to build a class-struggle leadership in the unions is part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party. Demonstrating in microcosm what a revolutionary workers party would do, we attempted to punch through the reactionary logic of the "war on terror" with a labor/black mobilization in Oakland on 9 February 2002 against the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act, involving a critical core contingent of black longshoremen protesting side by side with immigrant day laborers. The mobilization was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League and heavily built by the SL and SYC. We fight for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist parties and their state. Break with the Democrats! For a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government!

It is necessary to understand that the outmoded capitalist profit system, which is based on the outdated division of the world into competing nation-states and poisonous nationalism, is the real source of the oppression of immigrants. And as the sharp decline of capitalism continues, the bourgeoisie will increasingly resort to more repression in an attempt to contain the explosive anger at the base of this increasingly cruel, oppressive and unequal society. Only workers socialist revolution can do away with capitalism and the reactionary, anti-immigrant chauvinism that it perpetuates. On the basis of an international socialist planned economy, there will be jobs and decent living conditions for all, and people will migrate of their own free will, not out of economic or political coercion.■

40 Years Late...

(continued from page 2)

intervened in the South only when black people began to arm themselves and fight back against the deadly violence of racist whites (see "How *Mississippi Burning* Rewrites History," *WV* No. 470, 3 February 1989).

The murder of Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman marked a critical turning point in the civil rights movement. While the hunt for the bodies proceeded (and only ended when the FBI greased the palm of a Klan informant with $30,000 and shielded him from prosecution), pictures of Schwerner and Goodman covered the front pages of Northern papers, while Chaney's photo disappeared. When the FBI's search uncovered the bodies of other murdered blacks, the Feds didn't bother to investigate. At Chaney's funeral, Dave Dennis of CORE gave voice to the rage many black activists felt:

> "As I stand here I not only blame the people who pulled the trigger or did the beating or dug the hole with the shovel. I blame the people in Washington D.C., and on down in the state of Mississippi for what happened... I've got vengeance in my heart tonight, and I ask you to feel angry with me.... We've got to stand up. The best way we can remember James Chaney is to demand our rights."

The summer of 1964 saw growing disillusionment within civil rights organizations such as Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE with Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism, the federal government and the Northern liberal establishment. Many civil rights organizers, taking a cue from the black sharecroppers they lived with, began to arm themselves. But a real eye opener came at that summer's Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. After civil rights activists risked their lives to register over 80,000 black voters, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was denied seating in favor of the all-white, Jim Crow delegation. The Democratic Party's black "leaders," including King, worked overtime to sabotage their effort, effectively telling the Southern civil rights workers to remain at the back of the bus.

Bob Adelman

Protesters at 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City raise portraits of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman.

We do not look for justice from the capitalist state that assassinated 38 Black Panthers and framed up hundreds more, that keeps fighters for black freedom like Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row, that guns down black youth every day in the streets. Today, the few remaining gains of the civil rights movement are under siege by both the Democratic and Republican parties, while a Christian fundamentalist president wages imperialist wars and grinds down working people from the Oval Office. To finish the Civil War, to fulfill the promise of black liberation, will require revolutionary struggle by black and white workers against America's capitalist rulers. We've got vengeance in our hearts, too, and no trial of a damn Klansman in a wheelchair will change that.■

Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

blacks from the jury. On June 30, Jamal's attorneys filed a motion in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals asking the court to also consider additional issues on appeal—the ineffectiveness of Jamal's trial counsel, denial of Mumia's right to represent himself at trial, the removal of Mumia from the courtroom and Judge Sabo's blatant bias.

Last month, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the 1985 murder conviction of Thomas Miller-El by a jury of eleven whites and one black on the grounds that prosecutors contrived to exclude blacks from the jury. Two weeks later, the Court decided to reconsider the stringent rules on presenting new evidence of innocence. These are welcome developments. But it would be foolish to pin hopes for Mumia on favorable outcomes in these legal challenges. Court after court has disregarded its own precedents when it comes to Mumia, and the U.S. Supreme Court has already turned Jamal down three times. In 1992 the Supreme Court threw out the death penalty conviction of one David Dawson on the grounds that the prosecution improperly used his political affiliation as a member of the racist White Aryan Brotherhood to prejudice the jury. But the same court refused to even hear Jamal's appeal that his Black Panther Party membership was central to the state's argument for the death penalty.

Mumia's case is a textbook example of what the capitalist state is all about. The state consists at its core of armed bodies of men—the cops and military and their adjuncts, the courts and prisons—whose role is the suppression of one class by the other. While the state vendetta against Jamal shows that there is no justice in the bourgeois courts, the reformists of Workers World Party and Socialist Action continue to promote illusions in the courts, subordinating the call to free Mumia to the demand for a "new trial." As Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein noted in her speech at an April 23 rally for Mumia in Harlem:

> "Not only should it be clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a 'fair trial' only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were *political*, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom."

Now more than ever, what's needed is mass protest, based on the social power of the multiracial labor movement organized independently of the capitalist parties and their spokesmen. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

Militarism...

(continued from page 5)

peoples against the brutal occupation. There is no neutral ground. We are for the military defense of the Iraqi forces on the ground when they aim their blows against imperialism and its local henchmen. At the same time, we condemn every act of communalist, ethnic and religious violence, often carried out by the same forces targeting the U.S. occupiers. The blows directed against the U.S. imperialist occupiers are part of a just struggle by Iraqis against a neocolonial occupation. We say: ***Defend the peoples of Iraq against the occupation forces! For the unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and other imperialist troops and their allies!***

Capitalist society is divided into two fundamental classes. On the one side is the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, which owns the means of production, that is, the industries, the mines, transportation systems. The bourgeoisie extracts as much profit as it possibly can from the workers who are its wage slaves. On the other side are these workers, the proletariat, who produce the fabulous wealth that the capitalists say belongs to them. The social power of the working class derives from its economic position and it is through the organized working class with its massive numbers, bringing its social muscle to bear through strike action—shutting down the wheels of production, flipping the switch—that the power of the capitalists is challenged.

Some people argue that if you could just stop enough people from signing up for the military and get enough soldiers to refuse to serve then the U.S. would have to end the occupation. This idea may appeal to youth who've never seen a serious mobilization of the social power of the proletariat and have been sold the lie, the myth, that the Vietnam War was ended through a mass pacifist movement of antiwar protesters and draft resisters. We'll return to this myth a little later.

Capitalist militarism regiments the population for war. Seeing soldiers in town, seeing soldiers on the campuses, serves to accustom people to the idea that wars are a normal part of everyday life. The ideology of militarism instills patriotism in workers and the oppressed in an attempt to line them up on the side of "their own" government. Such is the import of the patriotic "support our troops" line pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans during the war and occupation, and echoed by much of the reformist left. Despite the working-class background of most of the rank and file, once they don their uniforms they are soldiers in a bourgeois army who serve to defend the rule of the capitalist exploiters. For working people, these are not "our" troops, but the troops of the U.S. imperialist butchers. The call "Bring the Troops Home" is an accommodation to those who appeal to the U.S. rulers to get the American troops out of harm's way—the concern is for the loss of *American* lives only and not for the victims of U.S. imperialist terror. But make no mistake—the responsibility for the deaths of

Young Socialist

National Guard threatens striking sanitation workers in Memphis, 1968. Racist U.S. rulers mobilized military against civil rights, labor and student struggles.

John Filo

Kent State student, Jeffrey Miller, gunned down by National Guard during campus antiwar protest, 4 May 1970.

American soldiers lies entirely with the U.S. ruling class and its officers of war, and ROTC trains those officers.

The Left and the War

During the war we called for defense of neocolonial Iraq against the predatory U.S. imperialist attack, while giving no political support whatsoever to the reactionary Saddam Hussein regime. While many reformist left groups such as the ISO, Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Workers World Party (WWP) today vicariously cheer the "Iraqi resistance," they rejected the call for defense of Iraq during the war. Why? Because the bourgeois liberals in the United States, the Democrats, whom they see as their ticket to "political heaven," won't and *can't* side against U.S. imperialism. The few who did oppose the war simply didn't think it was the best way to advance the interests of American capitalism. Remember, the rape of Iraq, a one-sided slaughter and occupation of that country, was prepared by over 12 years of crippling United Nations sanctions and thousands of murderous bombing attacks ordered by Democratic Party president Clinton.

In February 2003, before the American empire invaded Iraq after fabricating "weapons of mass destruction," millions of people around the world took to the streets to protest. These were the largest antiwar demonstrations since the Vietnam War, but despite all the felt outrage across the globe, Commander in Chief Bush and the American capitalist ruling class went ahead with their mass murder as planned.

On the one hand, Bush and his flotilla of reactionaries and racist Christian fundamentalists reacted to the protests as you would expect: with contempt, with lies, with newly enacted repressive codes of law, and with the use of force to counter political opposition. But on the other hand, the stability of the American ruling class in wartime was never challenged by the political appetites, the program or the burnt offerings made by the dominant antiwar coalitions. In this country, this would mainly be the WWP backed up by the group misnamed ANSWER, and the ISO. How many thousands of people carried the sign "War Is Not the Answer"? What is the answer? The answer is the mobilization of the social power of the working class in its own interests, independent of the bourgeois political parties. We have a political program rooted in the understanding that to eliminate imperialist wars and colonial plunder the proletariat must take political power and rule in its own name.

The various organizations that made up the leadership of these protests have been trying to explain why these huge demonstrations for the most part reached their vanishing point after Bush declared victory in Iraq and set up the occupation. In our view, the problem with WWP, ANSWER and the ISO was that they were building an antiwar movement that the Democratic Party, a capitalist party, could call its own, and that's why much of the antiwar sentiment got flushed down the drain. These groups like to call themselves "socialist" but they call to unite the working class and oppressed peoples with their oppressors, with Democratic Party politicians or other capitalist politicians, like the Greens, who oppose the war for their own reasons. This includes those who think that Iraq is in fact a lesser threat and the real "enemy" to target is North Korea and China. These two countries are deformed workers states where capitalism was overthrown that must be defended unconditionally against imperialist provocation and capitalist restoration, including their right to possess nuclear weapons.

Helping the imperialists keep the opposition to the Iraq war and occupation safe for capitalism is what the ISO and WWP are all about. It's like amazon.com—they're looking around for some sort of antiwar Democrats to add to their shopping carts. ***But you can't fight imperialist war with imperialist politicians!*** It's just such false consciousness—that capitalism can be reformed and that the Democratic Party is a supposed "lesser evil"—that is the key obstacle to the kind of working-class struggle that is so badly needed. How many wars that the Democratic Party started are the likes of the ISO and WWP going to ignore? All of them!

The "leadership" of the antiwar movement relies on pressuring capitalist politicians in an attempt to reform capitalism instead of seeking to mobilize the power of the organized working class fighting against the capitalist system as a class for itself and for minorities and the oppressed. And a major player here is the trade-union bureaucracy which refuses to fight for the class it supposedly "leads." There is no mass, independent working-class party in this country to wage a real struggle against the occupation of Iraq and to fight for workers power, to fight for a workers revolution. We say: ***Break with the Democratic Party of racism and war! Build a revolutionary, integrated workers party!***

The War at Home and Abroad: The 1960s and '70s

ROTC's presence on campuses was a major focus of protest by students who were outraged by the waves of atrocities committed by American imperialism's armed forces in Vietnam. Our comrades at Columbia University in 1965, which is the year the Democrats started the aerial bombing of Vietnam, marched against the recruiters then with signs that said "NROTC: Training for Colonial War" and "End U.S. Aggression—Stop NROTC." The NROTC is the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps. At Columbia today, attempts to restore ROTC on campus have been temporarily halted. So that's good, but it's very reversible.

On February 7, 1965, the day the U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam began, our organization sent a short and to-the-point cablegram to Hanoi (there was no Internet then) addressed to Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The contents read: "Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution." What did the International Socialists (I.S.), the forerunners of the ISO, have to say initially? They initially took a ***neutral*** position on the war because they opposed Vietnamese Stalinism, but there was such a reaction to this lunatic position that they felt compelled to come up with some left-sounding slogan, and settled on calling for self-determination. But the Vietnam War was more than a national liberation struggle. It was a revolutionary war, a conflict of forces of counterposed class character, pitting the Vietnamese workers and peasants under Stalinist leadership against the U.S. imperialists and the capitalist South Vietnamese regime. The I.S. position meant washing their hands of taking the side of Vietnamese workers and peasants in the revolution.

UC Berkeley was the site of the largest anti-ROTC protests. ROTC was kicked off the campus as the result of student demonstrations in April 1970 that were so militant that the campus newspaper frantically headlined, "GUERRILLA WAR ROCKS CAMPUS" (*Daily Californian*, 16 April 1970). I was involved in the protests at UC Berkeley against ROTC in the 1970s before I joined the Spartacus Youth League. But I was won to the SYL based on the politics of the organization, centrally on the question of the state, that the capitalist state must be smashed, must be dismantled. One of the things we say when we look back is that it's possible to drive recruiters off campus, from one campus or another, high school, from this job fair or that, and that is good, but the question is still that the capitalist military as an institution remains.

In Vietnamese "*Giaiphong!*" means "Liberation!" and for us Vietnam was a victory—"Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" Nixon's slogan was "No More Vietnams" and that was also the slogan of the ISO. I mentioned earlier that there is a myth told by the liberals of the 1960s and '70s that it was they who brought the Vietnam War to a positive end through their peace marches, which we called peace crawls. Of course, the right-wingers also said that the U.S. could have won the war if it weren't for all the lily-

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livered liberals and hippie peaceniks. Both of these are self-serving tall tales. But, again today, the liberals of the WWP and the ISO have resurrected this falsehood. The U.S. imperialists were stopped in their tracks on the battlefield.

The reformist political program of groups like the ISO and WWP results in fostering illusions that *that* bourgeois party, the Democrats—the other party of imperialist war and racism—can be brought to heel, even though the Democrats support the capitalist system. By the early 1970s, a wing of the bourgeois political spectrum in the U.S., predominantly in the Democratic Party, had become defeatist on the Vietnam War. They saw the U.S. was losing and therefore wanted to pull out the troops. They were watching out for their class. Two senators of this type ran for president—Gene McCarthy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972. The year 1973 was significant in several ways. This is when the Paris Peace Talks occurred among the parties at war, and the American troops began to be withdrawn—through a "negotiated settlement" which was really a negotiated sellout by the Stalinists. The war dragged on for another two years.

But let's fast forward to victory. On April 30, 1975, the North Vietnamese military and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front entered and took Saigon, smashing capitalist class rule and driving the American imperialists out. The North

Independent-Gazette

Spartacus Youth League protests against attempt to bring ROTC back to UC Berkeley, January 1975.

and South were reunified. Like the Vietnamese, we celebrate the 30th anniversary of this imperialist defeat. I hope you've all seen the photo wired across the world of the U.S. agents and their local henchmen in Saigon trying to scramble up to a rooftop, swinging on helicopter rope ladders, trying to get the helicopter to take them to the U.S. naval carrier and then hightail it home. They lost! The U.S. was defeated. *It was the heraic Vietnamese warkers and peasants wha inflicted a stunning battlefield defeat against U.S. imperialism.*

The Vietnamese Revolution—the overturn of capitalism in the South—was a historic conquest for the working people of the world and one which must be defended unconditionally by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack. Although the state that issued out of this revolution modeled itself on Stalin's Russia, the overthrow of capitalism meant major gains in the living standards of the Vietnamese people. The main popular slogan of the liberals of the Vietnam antiwar movement was "Bring Our Boys Home," to which we replied, "*Our* boys are the North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese National Liberation Front." Thanks to the antiwar movement's leadership, most of the students and workers who opposed the war were not won to the position of solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution. When the American troops were brought back in 1973 and the draft was abolished shortly thereafter, the size of the antiwar protests dropped from hundreds of thousands to a few tens of thousands. Meanwhile, the ruling class was able to defuse an escalating political crisis in the U.S.

Campus Struggle Against the Vietnam War

But it is important to understand the large-scale youth radicalization caused by the Vietnam War, not only on the campuses but also in the armed forces. In 1968-69, supporters of the Spartacist League who were in the army did some antiwar work in the military, and put out a newspaper called *G.I. Voice*, which sought to intersect the growing opposition to war among soldiers who were forced by American imperialism to kill or be killed.

By 1969-70, antiwar sentiment on campuses had become so widespread that radical leftists were able to disrupt the normal functioning of the university system. In the spring of 1970, U.S. president Richard Nixon ordered American troops stationed in South Vietnam into neighboring Cambodia, which was seen as a major escalation of the war. In the campus protests that followed, Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire and killed four students at Kent State University. Ten days later, police killed two black student protesters and injured twelve at Jackson State University in Mississippi, a state in the American Deep South, where the students were also protesting the murder of the Kent State students. The dormitory at Jackson State where this assault and murder happened was riddled by hundreds of bullets.

I wanted to discuss an example of the intersection between labor struggle and campus protest, because the state turned the same military that was slaughtering the Vietnamese against workers and students. In the spring of 1970 there was a wildcat strike by Teamsters in Akron, Ohio. In attempting to break the strike, James Rhodes, then Ohio governor, called out the National Guard in riot gear to intimidate the strikers. (By the way, the official tops of that union, who didn't authorize the strike, fully stood by the governor's decision to call out the Guard.) It was only a few days after the strike was over that Rhodes again called out the same National Guard, this time to Kent State University, where there were mass student protests against the escalation of the Vietnam War, with "ROTC Off Campus!" as a central slogan. The Guard planted itself on campus and on May 4 there was another rally of two to three thousand students at noon, on the commons. The Guard ordered the students to disperse to no avail, and the volleys of tear gas began. Minutes later, they fired something like 60 shots straight into the crowd, killing two young men and two young women, and wounding another nine. Our organization quickly put out a leaflet under the headline, "Blood and Nixon—Rulers Invade Cambodia, Massacre U.S. Students."

These events triggered a nationwide antiwar strike which shut down hundreds of colleges around the country. Four and a half million students were involved in these protests and many colleges were even shut down for the remainder of the semester. Yet the war continued as before. In the U.S. in the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a heightened level of labor struggle—in March 1970 there was a nationwide postal strike, the first national strike of federal government employees in U.S. history.

UPI

U.S. mass murderers scramble to flee Saigon following Vietnamese Communist victory, April 1975.

Bringing the War Home: A Bipartisan Offensive

The direct link between the war against Iraq and the war on labor in the U.S. was brought home with a vengeance in Oakland on 7 April 2003. Early in the morning on that day, riot-equipped police opened fire with wooden projectile bullets, pellet-filled "sting bags" and concussion grenades on antiwar protesters and ILWU longshoremen at the Port of Oakland who had set up picket lines against the "war merchants at the Oakland docks." Protesters were beaten and dragged to the ground, 50 were injured. Twenty-five were arrested, charged with "interfering with business," "disturbing the peace," "failure to disperse."

This attack was orchestrated under the local Democratic Party in Oakland, California. One agency, called the California Anti-Terrorism Information Center (CATIC), helped out with the April 7 attack. Their spokesman said: "You can almost argue that a protest against that is a terrorist act." CATIC was set up by recalled Democratic governor Gray Davis and his attorney general Bill Lockyer, also a Democrat. The mayor at the time of the attack was the current mayor Jerry Brown. This throws another harsh spotlight on the capitalist class character of the Democratic Party.

But there is more background to this attack. During the ILWU's 2002 contract battle, Bush threatened the union with military strikebreaking precisely because it is a strategic union with the ability to shut down all West Coast shipping. It was the spectre of that union power being mobilized against the bloody imperialist slaughter in Iraq that triggered the violent police response on the waterfront.

What we mean by class-struggle actions by the organized working class can be seen in the following examples, all of which we covered in our press and publicized in the antiwar and union demonstrations. In November 2001, in Japan's southern port of Sasebo, near Nagasaki, dockworkers refused to load armaments and military supplies onto *Japanese* naval ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror against Afghanistan. In January 2003, Scottish railroad unionists halted a freight train loaded with tanks and munitions destined for the Gulf. On 21 February 2003, Italian trade unionists and antiwar activists blocked railway lines being used to transport 26 convoys loaded with weapons, amphibious vehicles and armored cars from a NATO base in Vicenza to another NATO logistics depot in Tuscany. In addition to pointing the way forward to how to make a dent in the war drive, these courageous unionists aimed their class-struggle opposition at their "own" capitalist government, key allies of the American-led expedition.

Many youth I have talked to say that socialism is a great idea, it just isn't practical, or it's utopian. But the material and objective prerequisites for socialism have been around for a long time. No amount of reforms and tinkering will change the fundamental purpose of the military itself: to uphold the capitalist system. This necessarily means that for the fight against militarism to be successful, it must go beyond the boundaries of the schools and colleges, and become a part of the struggle to overthrow the entire capitalist system. The working class uniquely has both the power and material interest to end this system by expropriating the means of production and abolishing private property through socialist revolution, which is what happened in 1917 when the working class in Russia took state power under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, tossed out the capitalists and expropriated the factories as their own.

For such a struggle to achieve victory, a revolutionary workers party is essential to lead and organize the class. You may have heard of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky—they were the co-leaders of this first workers revolution. Trotsky wrote:

> "To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it."

If you like what we're saying, why don't you join us? We have a world to win!■

Spartacist Forum

A Revolutionary Program to End Imperialist War

30th Anniversary of Vietnamese Victory Over U.S. Imperialism

Speaker: Helen Cantor, Workers Vanguard *Editorial Board*

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NEW YORK

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Class Struggle, Not "Corporate Campaigns"

Labor: Organize Wal-Mart!

It is an anti-labor behemoth, a modern monument to capitalist greed and pitiless exploitation. Wal-Mart, the world's largest profit-making enterprise, today sets the standard in this country for union-busting and wage-gouging. A growing legion of American companies, inspired by the giant retailer's relentless drive for ever greater profits, has sought to adopt its brutal methods to cut costs—above all, by slashing workers' wages and benefits. Wal-Mart stands as a mortal challenge to the organized labor movement: Unionize this goliath or suffer ever greater setbacks.

With 1.6 million workers, Wal-Mart is the largest employer in the U.S. and Mexico as well as the largest retailer in Canada. This fact underlines that such a struggle must be international. Wal-Mart not only *must* but also *can be* brought to its knees by the social power of the unions. The labor movement must mobilize in the kind of hard class struggle that built the country's industrial unions in the 1930s—strike action, not "corporate" and "community" campaigns.

The enormous economic weight that Wal-Mart has acquired is unprecedented for a retail chain. If Wal-Mart were a country, its yearly revenue of well over a quarter of a trillion dollars would make it the 29th largest economy in the world. It would also be China's sixth-largest export market, accounting for 10 percent of all Chinese goods imported into the U.S. Meanwhile, fewer than half of Wal-Mart's employees can afford to pay for the company's health plan. The average wage for a full-time Wal-Mart worker in the U.S. is a meager $9.68 an hour. At that rate, someone working 34 hours a week—Wal-Mart's definition of full-time—earns well below the federal poverty line for a family of four.

On *Forbes* magazine's 2004 list of the ten richest people in the world, five are members of the Walton family, the major shareholders of Wal-Mart (their combined worth totals a cool $100 billion). Originating from Arkansas, Wal-Mart is a Southern company that has moved into the rest of the country and brought with it the racist, anti-union "open shop" of the Southern bourgeoisie. The Walton family is a major backer of George W. Bush and his family. And much like Bush, the Waltons are ideologically driven reactionaries who often censor what books, music or magazines are sold at their retail empire; Wal-Mart pharmacists are not allowed to sell the morning-after pill.

Carey/L.A. Times

Oxnard, California, October 2003: Five hundred UFCW strikers and supporters march from a rally at Vons supermarket to nearby Wal-Mart store.

Wal-Mart managers force workers to clock out and then do unpaid overtime; they lock the doors during work shifts supposedly to prevent theft. In one case, Michael Rodriguez, a worker at a Wal-Mart store in Texas, was forced to wait for over an hour, trapped beneath fallen machinery, as his co-workers searched for a key. Last February, the Department of Labor fined Wal-Mart $135,540—the equivalent of no more than 15 seconds' worth of retail sales—for violating child labor laws by having 16-year-olds operate dangerous machinery like forklifts, chain saws and box crushers. Discrimination against women is so egregious that Wal-Mart is being sued by 1.6 million current and former women employees. This is the largest civil rights class action lawsuit against a private company in U.S. history.

The impact of Wal-Mart on the rest of corporate America has been enormous. According to a 2001 study by the McKinsey Global Institute, almost 4 percent of the U.S. economy's gain in productivity from 1995 to 1999 could be traced directly or indirectly to Wal-Mart. Wal-Mart is relentless in demanding that its 21,000 suppliers adopt its methods—from the use of cost-cutting technology to viciously slashing wages and benefits.

Wal-Mart bosses retaliate ruthlessly against any hint of unionization, firing union supporters, delaying union certification elections while transferring in union opponents and buying votes by promising raises and promotions. A federal grand jury is investigating accusations that Wal-Mart's former vice chairman siphoned off half a million dollars of company funds for such things as paying snitches to rat out union supporters. Five years ago, when barely a dozen meatcutters at a Wal-Mart store in Jacksonville, Texas voted to join the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), Wal-Mart bosses shut down the meatcutting departments in stores across the country and switched to prepackaged meats. When workers at the Wal-Mart store in Jonquière, Quebec, voted last summer to join the UFCW, making it the only unionized Wal-Mart in North America, the company simply closed down the store. In subsequent union certification elections—such as in New Castle, Pennsylvania, and Loveland, Colorado—Wal-Mart workers voted to reject the union. As a UFCW spokesman said, the aim of the Jonquière shutdown was "to instill fundamental fear in every Wal-Mart employee that if they try to mix with the union, this is what is going to happen" (*Inter Press Service*, 18 April).

But Wal-Mart cannot shut down all its stores. Wal-Mart has enormous weight in the U.S. economy. By the same token, workers in that company have considerable social power. Many large corporations depend on Wal-Mart to market anywhere from 20 to 80 percent of their production and would be crippled by a strike or lockout at Wal-Mart. Its trucking

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Michael Jackson Defeats Racist, Anti-Sex Vendetta

Reuters

In a victory against racist and social reaction, on June 13 pop megastar Michael Jackson was acquitted of charges of "lewd acts on a child" and of all ten charges against him. This trial was the culmination of over a decade of relentless government anti-sex witchhunting that could have put Jackson in jail for 18 years if he had been convicted on all counts. The acquittal was an exception to the American "justice" system's norm of racist frame-up. Still, as Wilbert Tatum, publisher of the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, put it in an angry editorial (16 June) noting Jackson's lengthy ordeal: "We are bitter about what happened to Michael Jackson and about what happened to so many other Black stars who have been falsely indicted by criminal prosecutors who wanted to make a name for themselves." Kobe Bryant and R. Kelly, too, were recently dragged through government courts in vendettas aiming to whip up hysteria over race and sex. The Jackson verdict was a victory—not only because he beat a racist frame-up, but also because it struck a blow for everyone who believes in the right to privacy and the right to consensual sexual relations. It was a blow against the government's anti-sex campaign that is aimed at increasing social control and regimentation of the population.

The jury found the prosecution's case paper-thin. It rested on contradictory testimony of two boys and their mother, whose appearance on the stand was actually a boon for the defense. The jury was treated to over a week of projected porn images. To prove what? Jackson owns porn magazines. Unimpressed, one juror said, "Things just didn't add up." Ominously, the prosecution was permitted to use relaxed requirements for introducing evidence, including "hearsay," which were devised specifically in response to the 1993 witchhunt of Jackson. This allowed the introduction of "past allegations" that hadn't even come to formal charges!

A prosecution "expert" called in to explain away damaging inconsistencies in the accuser's testimony invoked the kind of pseudo-scientific "syndrome" that was a hallmark of the sham day-care trials of the 1980s. For example, if a witness shows signs of instability or has contradicted or even recanted his testimony, this, it is claimed, is simply a symptom of the abuse. If the witness is credible and claims no abuse occurred, it is alleged that he is suppressing the memory.

Jackson steadfastly maintains that he has been asexual in his relations with boys, which is certainly possible—but for us, that is irrelevant. The state's vendetta against Jackson rested upon anti-sex laws that we oppose on principle. We pointed out when the trial began that the law used by Santa Barbara County District Attorney Thomas Sneddon to go after Jackson clearly and willfully *did not distinguish* between coerced and consensual sexual acts. Jackson was charged under a part of the California penal code that prohibits acts with the intention of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 852 | GCU C-701 | 5 August 2005

Down With "War on Terror" Government Repression!

AP

Read/NY Times

"War on terror" is pretext for government attack on civil liberties. New York City: Cops terrorize five British tourists of South Asian descent on July 24 (left), search bags of subway riders.

U.S./British Troops Out of Iraq Now!

AUGUST 2—The horrific terror bombings of the London subway and bus systems have provided yet another pretext for the capitalist rulers in the U.S. as well as Britain and elsewhere to expand their murderous "war on terror," further curtailing democratic rights. Two weeks after the July 7 bombing, a failed bombing attempt against the London transit system occurred on July 21. Two days later, on July 23, the Egyptian Red Sea resort town of Sharm el Sheik was hit by bombs, with over 200 wounded and 64 people dead, including many Egyptian workers. Like those who bombed the World Trade Center in 2001 and the Madrid commuter trains in 2004, whoever was responsible for these new atrocities shares the vicious mindset of the imperialist rulers, identifying the working class and the population as a whole with their brutal capitalist rulers.

For the ruling class, such terrorist attacks against civilians provide an opportunity to whip the frightened populace into an anti-terror hysteria in order to vastly expand the state's deadly powers of repression. Particularly since the September 11 attacks, the capitalist rulers have been passing legislation, issuing executive orders and enforcing policing measures that have marked a qualitative diminution in democratic rights. And with every new terror attack, they see an opportunity to squelch more democratic rights. The capitalist rulers want the populace to accept as "normal" what only a few years ago would have been seen as a gross violation of people's rights.

In London, cops have been given shoot-to-kill orders against suspected "terrorists." The meaning of this policy was shown by the brutal killing of Jean Charles de Menezes, a 27-year-old electrician. On July 22, plainclothes cops chased and gunned down the young Brazilian immigrant. He had had a recent confrontation with a gang, and horrified eyewitnesses said he looked terrified as he was pushed to the subway floor by the cops. He was shot *seven times* in the head and once in the shoulder. The police then nearly killed the driver of the train on which Menezes was killed. The driver was tackled by police and a gun put to his head, despite the fact that he was in uniform.

ABC News

Criminal Terror Bombings in London

In May 2002, American citizen Jose Padilla was seized at a Chicago airport and has since been detained by the government without charge—i.e., disappeared. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Padilla, noting, "Padilla could have been shot to death in the Chicago O'Hare airport, just as well as being taken into custody. Thus the rationale of the 'war against terrorism' is a construct justifying not only the right to disappear citizens, but the right to assassinate them as well." That's exactly what happened to Jean Charles de Menezes. And, indeed, the next day the London cops arrogantly said it could happen again.

In the United States, authorities launched an outrageous assault on already beleaguered New Yorkers. In an unprecedented move, New York City cops are now authorized to "randomly" search commuters' bags and belongings on the city's subway system and suburban mass transit. These measures have nothing to do with stopping terrorism. Their purpose is to get people used to unquestioning obedience to the police and to the wanton violation of their rights. In London, chillingly, an average person may already be recorded on video 300 times daily by the city's more than 650,000 closed-circuit cameras. That and more is what the rulers want to do here.

And the panic and fear they want to spread was on display on the Sunday morning of July 24, when the police held up a whole busload of tourists in NYC's Times Square after a panicky Gray Line supervisor said there were "suspicious" men on the tour. The cops cordoned off the bus, forcing all the tourists to put their hands up and be searched, while five men of South Asian descent were handcuffed and forced to kneel on the sidewalk. The five men turned out to be British citizens on holiday. The torturers of Abner Louima, the killers of Amadou Diallo and Ousmane Zongo, have now been given greater license to go after the population as a whole.

We have repeatedly warned that the repressive measures instituted after September 11, which initially targeted immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries, would be directed against black people and the entire labor movement. But the labor bureaucrats have signed on to the government's "war on terror." Most recently, the head of New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, Roger Toussaint, who was accused of leading a "jihad" during the 2002 contract negotiations, used union funds to hire the former head of security at Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport to train workers in sniffing out potential terrorists. TWU bureaucrats want union workers to act as auxiliaries to the cops, enforcing racist "ethnic profiling" and treating subway riders like the Israeli occupation forces treat the oppressed Palestinian people. TWU members must oppose this reactionary political stunt—what transit workers need to do is fight for their rights, including safe working conditions and transportation service and against the government's repressive measures.

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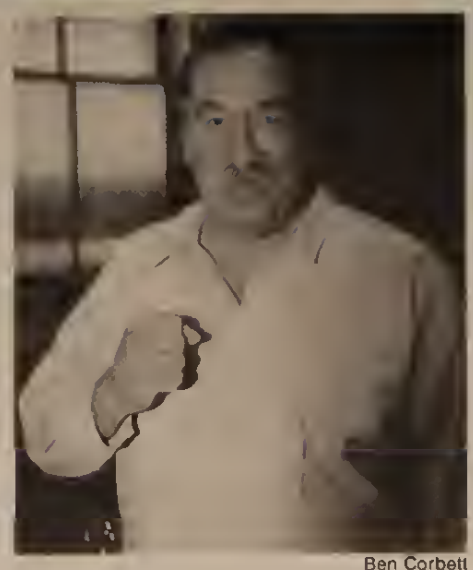
Free Leonard Peltier Now!



Ben Corbett

On June 30, with no advance warning to his family or lawyers, Native American class-war prisoner Leonard Peltier was transported from the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas to the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. He is being held in solitary; all his privileges—telephone, visitation, even painting and the right to practice his religion—were suspended. Currently, his medication, which was running dangerously low, has been refilled; he has been visited by his lawyer and is allowed one phone call per month. At sixty years old, Peltier suffers from diabetes, arthritis, bone spurs and he recently suffered a stroke. The authorities' line is that the treatment meted out to Peltier is "normal" for transferred prisoners. The reality is that this cruel and vicious treatment—a "domestic version of rendition" in the words of Russ Redner, executive director of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee—endangers Peltier's failing health and possibly even his life. We urge *Workers Vanguard* readers to send protest letters to: Warden Mark Bezy, USP Terre Haute, U.S. Penitentiary, 4700 Bureau Road South, Terre Haute, IN 47802.

It has been 30 years since FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents, along with local vigilantes, attacked American Indian Movement (AIM) militants and their supporters on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Two FBI agents died in the firefight, and an international manhunt was launched against AIM leader Leonard Peltier and three other activists. It's been 28 years since Peltier was convicted in a frame-up trial, characterized by coerced, false affidavits, doctored ballistics reports and suppressed evidence. On 1 June 1977, he was sentenced to two consecutive life terms for a crime the government knows he did not commit (see "Free Leonard Peltier!" *WV* No. 847, 29 April). A judge later ruled that the original jury might well have acquitted Peltier had they heard the evidence improperly withheld from the defense. This case is one of those that define the vindictiveness with which this government tries to destroy its opponents.

Peltier and his lawyers have been battling for the release of tens of thousands of pages of FBI files from the 1970s, documenting surveillance of, and COINTELPRO activity against, AIM and Peltier. The enormity of Peltier's frame-up becomes even clearer with the revelation that at the time of the 1977 trial, the prosecutors gave only some 3,500 pages of material to Peltier's defense team, claiming this was all they had. But Michael Kuzma, one of Peltier's lawyers, has stated that the FBI has 142,579 pages. He knows this only because in 2001, after years of FBI stonewalling, attorneys working for Peltier sent Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to every single FBI field office in the country, and followed up with two lawsuits in federal court!

On paper, the FOIA assures public access to government records, and, supposedly, documents are automatically declassified after 25 years. Yet, at every turn, Peltier's lawyers have had to engage in painstaking and expensive legal battles to pry any documents out of the FBI. And the courts routinely rule in favor of every FBI maneuver. Just a few examples: the Buffalo FBI field office released 797 pages but claimed an exemption for 15 that Peltier's lawyers believe would provide evidence of government attempts to place sources near Peltier's original legal team. On March 31 of this year, the judge ruled in the FBI's favor. The Minneapolis office that ran the original investigation into the killings has 90,000 pages of documents. But an AP article posted on April 26 (www.twincities.com) stated that U.S. District judge Donovan Frank had rejected Peltier's lawyers' request for immediate release and upheld a previous ruling allowing the FBI to prolong the process until December 2005. Meanwhile, the FBI office in Manhattan has been "looking for" its Peltier files for three years!

Going up against the full resources of the U.S. government is a daunting task that requires lots of money. Just recently, on July 22, Peltier suffered another setback when U.S. District judge Ralph Erickson rejected his appeal, which argued that the U.S. government did not have the right to try him for alleged crimes that took place on land belonging to Native Americans, not the United States. Not only does Peltier's defense committee need money for these battles, but the entire defense operation is in the process of being moved from Kansas to Indiana to stay close to Peltier. We urge readers of *WV* to donate generously to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, c/o Toni Zeidan, 2626 N. Mesa #132, El Paso, TX 79902.

We have no illusions that the courts are neutral. They are part of the capitalist state with its apparatus of repression along with the police, the prison system and the military. We place our full confidence in the social power of the working class at the head of the poor and oppressed to struggle against the capitalists and their "justice" system. At the same time, no legal avenue to free this innocent man should be left untried, and Peltier's lawyers need the resources to carry on the most powerful legal defense possible.

Leonard Peltier said at his sentencing 28 years ago: "No, I'm not the guilty one here; I'm not the one who should be called a criminal...." In fact, the racist, capitalist government is punishing Peltier for being an implacable opponent of its genocidal policies against Native Americans. ***Free Leonard Peltier!***

Even though he is in solitary, write to him; make sure the authorities know he is not forgotten. Leonard Peltier #89637-132, USP-Terre Haute, P.O. Box 12015, Terre Haute, IN 47801.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Germany 1933: Nazism and the Betrayals of Stalinism

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II when the Red Army, despite Stalin, defeated Hitler's Nazi regime. Writing in 1933, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined the spectacular failure of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Communist International under Stalin to lead the struggle against Hitler's rise to power earlier that year. Central to this was the sectarian refusal by the KPD to engage in united-front anti-fascist actions with the reformist Social Democratic Party, which the KPD equated with the fascists and labeled "social fascist." Such united actions were necessary not only to stop the fascist gangs in the streets but also to win Social Democratic workers to the fight for socialist revolution. The Stalinists' cynical idiocy in Germany and the utter silence of the entire Communist International in the face of Stalin's disastrous policy led Trotsky to call for a new, Fourth International.

The point of departure of the German Communist Party was that there is nothing but a mere division of labor between the Social Democracy and fascism; that their interests are similar, if not identical. Instead of helping to aggravate the discord between Communism's principal political adversary and its mortal foe—for which it would have been sufficient to proclaim the truth aloud instead of violating it—the Communist International convinced the reformists and the fascists that they were twins; it predicted their conciliation, embittered and repulsed the Social Democratic workers, and consolidated their reformist leaders. Worse yet: in every case where, despite the obstacles presented by the leadership, local unity committees for workers' defense were created, the bureaucracy forced its representatives to withdraw under threat of expulsion. It displayed persistency and perseverance only in sabotaging the united front, from above as well as from below. All this it did, to be sure, with the best of intentions.

No policy of the Communist Party could, of course, have transformed the Social Democracy into a party of the revolution. But neither was that the aim. It was necessary to exploit to the limit the contradiction between reformism and fascism—in order to weaken fascism, at the same time weakening reformism by exposing to the workers the incapacity of the Social Democratic leadership. These two tasks fused naturally into one. The policy of the Comintern bureaucracy led to the opposite result: the capitulation of the reformists served the interests of fascism and not of Communism; the Social Democratic workers remained with their leaders; the Communist workers lost faith in themselves and in the leadership.

The masses wanted to fight, but they were obstinately prevented from doing so by the leaders. Tension, uneasiness, and finally disorientation disrupted the proletariat from within. It is dangerous to keep molten metal too long on the fire; it is still more dangerous to keep society too long in a state of revolutionary crisis. The petty bourgeoisie swung over in its overwhelming majority to the side of National Socialism only because the proletariat, paralyzed from above, proved powerless to lead it along a different road. The absence of resistance on the part of the workers heightened the self-assurance of fascism and diminished the fear of the big bourgeoisie confronted by the risk of civil war. The inevitable demoralization of the Communist detachment, increasingly isolated from the proletariat, rendered impossible even a partial resistance. Thus the triumphal procession of Hitler over the bones of the proletarian organizations was assured.

—Leon Trotsky, "The German Catastrophe: The Responsibility of the Leadership" (May 1933)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 2 August.

No. 852 **5 August 2005**

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"Deep Throat"

COINTELPRO Top Cop Finked on Imperialist Pig

"Mark Felt is one of America's greatest secret heroes," proclaimed the July *Vanity Fair*, revealing that the former No. 2 man at the FBI was "Deep Throat." Felt was the secret source who helped *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncover the Watergate conspiracy that brought down President Richard Nixon in the context of the U.S.' losing war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. Felt's action reflected the sentiment of a wing of the ruling class that resented *their* government's agents using the kind of illegal surveillance and sabotage normally reserved for communists, black activists and unionists against another wing of the bourgeoisie. But while Felt was tipping off Woodward and Bernstein about Nixon administration dirty tricks at night, during the day, under the rubric of the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), he was running the most massive domestic spy, sabotage and outright assassination campaign in American history against all manner of government opponents.

When FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover promoted Felt to the No. 2 slot in 1971, COINTELPRO was already literally going great guns. The first COINTELPRO operation was directed against the Communist Party in 1956 at the height of the Cold War. Disruption and sabotage had always been components of the government's suppression of the left and labor movement. But Hoover's COINTELPRO unleashed a dramatic escalation of these covert activities, with some 900 agents and informers. In 1961 COINTELPRO was extended to the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and over the next five years the FBI conducted at least 90 burglaries ("black bag jobs") of the SWP's national office.

Polaris

"Deep Throat" Mark Felt, with wife, honored by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (center). Felt was an architect of Hoover's COINTELPRO campaign of surveillance, disruption, frame-up and outright killing of leftists and black activists.

With the radicalization of the black movement and the explosion of black anger in the northern ghettos in the '60s, President Lyndon Johnson's attorney general Ramsey Clark instructed Hoover and the FBI to use

> "the maximum resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts bearing upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity."
>
> —quoted in Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The Cointelpro Papers* (1990)

(In the 1960s Clark was notorious not only for targeting black militants, but also for prosecuting anti-Vietnam War liberals like pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock. But since the early '90s, LBJ's top prosecutor has been closely associated with the Workers World Party [WWP] through the International Action Center, of which he was a founder, and is a frequent speaker on the platform of WWP's class-collaborationist outfits, such as its current antiwar lash-up known as ANSWER.)

In August 1967, Hoover directed COINTELPRO in a murderous campaign against black liberation organizations. Representing the best of a generation of black radicals, the Black Panther Party was COINTELPRO Target No. 1. In 1968, FBI director Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." In coordination with local police forces, the FBI masterminded the murder of 38 key Panther activists. Those they couldn't kill they framed up and penned up in America's prison hellholes. Former Panther and renowned journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal had been in the cross hairs of COINTELPRO since age 15. Framed up for killing a cop, America's foremost political prisoner has been on death row since 1982 despite the confession of the actual killer.

Under Felt's watch, COINTELPRO was expanded to include the American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican activists, feminists—just about anyone critical of the Vietnam War or other government policies. Before COINTELPRO was curtailed in 1975, 1,100 organizations were under surveillance. A 1980 federal jury trial convicted Felt and a fellow agent of having conspired to "injure and oppress citizens of the United States" in their dragnet against the radical, New Left Weathermen. They were the only FBI personnel ever convicted for their COINTELPRO crimes and were pardoned the following year by the Reagan administration without ever serving a day in jail.

Watergate and the Capitalist State

To move decisively and quickly as the top imperialist power in the world, the American ruling class requires its bourgeois democracy to have an effective bonapartist component in the form of the strong executive. In 1968, they turned to Nixon as the strong "law and order" president to crush the rebellious anger of the black ghetto, shackle a restless labor movement and silence a radical student movement that was opening up to proletarian, Marxist politics. Indeed, Nixon imposed wage controls on the labor movement with the assistance of the AFL-CIO tops, and expanded FBI and police

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Muslim Professor Sentenced to Life for "Thought Crime"

Free Ali al-Timimi!

On July 13, the government's "war on terror" dealt another heavy blow to the rights of anyone who would speak out against government policies. Muslim scholar Ali al-Timimi, a U.S.-born American citizen, was sentenced to life in prison on charges of "conspiracy," "soliciting treason," "soliciting others to wage war against the United States" and "aiding and abetting the use of firearms and explosives." Did al-Timimi carry out any terrorist acts? Did he plan any? Did he provide support or financially assist in any terrorist plot? No, no and no! Ali al-Timimi, a cancer researcher, is condemned to a life of prison hell for nothing more than exercising the right of free speech supposedly guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution. The prosecution, conviction and sentence of a living death are a clear and present danger to labor, blacks, leftists—to anybody who speaks out against the policies of this increasingly greedy and bloodthirsty ruling class.

What did al-Timimi do that would require that he be locked away forever as a "terrorist"? According to the government, five days after the criminal attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, al-Timimi allegedly told his students that it was their "Muslim duty" to defend the Taliban in Afghanistan against the impending U.S. invasion, adding that the U.S. military was a legitimate target. The other evidence that sent him to prison: al-Timimi's young students played paintball, a typical, youthful activity that was portrayed by prosecutors as

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paramilitary training for international *jihad* because some of his students traveled to Pakistan seeking to join up with the Taliban; and, in an Internet message following the destruction of the Columbia space shuttle in 2003, al-Timimi described it as a "good omen" that "Western supremacy (especially that of America) that began 500 years ago is coming to an end, God willing." Such views are hardly the exclusive purview of Muslim fundamentalists. Christian fundamentalist Jerry Falwell, a close friend of the Bush administration, saw the World Trade Center attack as "probably what we deserve," adding, "the pagans and the abortionists and the feminists and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way, all of them who try to secularize America...I point the thing in their face and say you helped this happen."

That this was a speech and "thought crime" prosecution is not in dispute. Reporting in the *Washington Post* (14 July), Jerry Markon characterized al-Timimi as "a man convicted for what he said." Writing in a 2 May piece on the Front-Page Magazine Web site of racist ideologue David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes hails al-Timimi's conviction as "momentous" because "the U.S. government has put away a terrorist not for his deeds, such as raising money or blowing something up, but for his words." This is not the rantings of an isolated right-wing nut. Pipes is part of the Project for the New American Century, which has included Vice President Cheney, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense and now head of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz.

Upon sentencing, al-Timimi made an eloquent statement to the court:

> "I will not admit guilt nor seek the Court's mercy. I do this not out of any disrespect to the Court. I do this simply because I am innocent....
>
> "For to accept these charges we must believe that a solitary man who would spend his days working full time at one of *Fortune* magazine's one hundred best companies and then spend his evenings and weekends engaged in cancer research for a doctorate in computational biology; an individual who never owned or used a gun, never traveled to a military camp, never set foot in a country in which a war was taking place, never raised money for any violent organization would be—could be—the author of so much harm....
>
> "Imprisonment of any term, as this Court well knows, is a crisis for the incarcerated and his or her loved ones. I am no exception to that.
>
> "But the real crisis brought on my imprisonment, I sincerely believe is America's. For if my conviction is to stand, it would mean that two hundred and thirty years of America's tradition of protecting the individual from the tyrannies and whims of the sovereign will have come to an end. And that which is exploited today to persecute a single member of a minority will most assuredly come back to haunt the majority tomorrow."

For almost four years the Bush administration, abetted by the Democrats, has been using September 11 as a pretext to increase the power of the American capitalist state to repress and stamp out expressions of political dissent. As we said from the outset, though initially targeting men from largely Muslim countries, the police-state measures are ultimately directed against blacks, labor and the left. In testimony to the Senate Committee on Intelligence on February 16, FBI director Robert Mueller cited among the "domestic terrorists" they are watching, "black separatists, animal rights/environmental terrorists, anarchists," specifically citing the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. The massive police mobilizations in the name of "fighting terrorism" that met the protesters at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions last summer had nothing to do with Al Qaeda, but rather antiwar protesters.

As an unvarnished prosecution for nothing but speech, the al-Timimi case represents a dangerous escalation of the government's war on democratic rights. Labor, blacks and all defenders of civil liberties must demand: "Free Ali al-Timimi!" ■

German Trotskyists on World War II

May 1945: Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime!

We print below an article, abridged and translated from Spartakist *No. 158, Spring 2005, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTAKIST

Yevgeni Khaldei

Soviet soldiers raise red flag over Berlin's Reichstag, 1945. Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich and freed Europe from scourge of Nazism.

May 8th of this year marks the 60th anniversary of the liberation from the Nazis' reign of terror by the Red Army. Twenty-eight million Soviet citizens gave their lives to smash the Third Reich of German imperialism. The Red Army put an end to the Holocaust, the industrial murder of six million Jews, of Roma and Sinti [Gypsies], communists, Red Army soldiers, homosexuals and countless others. It liberated Europe from the enslavement and bloody oppression of the Nazis. May 8th is a day of celebration for the working class and all oppressed worldwide. World War II provided a bloody demonstration of the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist system of exploitation—it's socialism or barbarism. It was from this standpoint that Trotskyists fought internationally for workers revolution. In December 1941, shortly after the entry of the U.S. into the war, James P. Cannon, the leader of our predecessor organization, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), presented the revolutionary position on the Second World War (while President Roosevelt, using the Smith Act, was making preparations to jail Cannon and other SWP leaders):

> "The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation.
>
> "We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist war*.
>
> "This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist—oppressing other nations or peoples—or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan change nothing in this basic analysis....
>
> "This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its 'democratic' allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October Revolution. That is a *progressive war*."
>
> —"A Statement on the U.S. Entry into World War II" (22 December 1941), first published in *Fourth International* (January 1942)

Yad Vashem

Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp, 1944.

Today the Social Democratic/Green government is exploiting the various memorial celebrations to advance the interests of German imperialism vis-à-vis its imperialist rivals and its own citizens. The goal is to enable German imperialism, despite its history of unspeakable crimes, to play the role of a world power. Chancellor Schröder showed himself satisfied with the results so far of how the government has "come to terms with the past": "And this is recognized—I learned this last June, when I was invited to the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of the invasion of Normandy, or when I spoke recently in Berlin for the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Those who matter in the world know that the political, cultural and economic elites in this country don't want the past to be forgotten" (*Welt am Sonntag*, 13 February). Centrally what is being preached is the fairy tale that the German bourgeoisie and their state have made a clean break with the Nazi past. [Foreign Minister Joschka] Fischer encapsulated this in his 24 January speech to the UN General Assembly on the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz: "The new, democratic Germany has drawn the lessons from this. It has been molded by the historical-moral responsibility for Auschwitz."

In reality, the Federal Republic of Germany is the self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich. It was built up by the U.S. following World War II as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. By the early '50s at the latest, the last capitalists who had supported and financed Hitler and brought him to power were out of jail and back at the levers of power. It was with Nazi cadres that the West German capitalist state was constructed—the judges who, as members of [Roland] Freisler's People's Court of Justice [a court established by Hitler to prosecute political offenses], had earlier sent communists and oppositionists to concentration camps and their deaths were now enforcing the "free, democratic" constitution. It was SS killers and Gestapo torturemasters who constructed the police and the *Bundeskriminalamt* [Federal Criminal Office, German counterpart of the FBI]. [Reinhard] Gehlen's Nazi *Fremde Heere Ost* [Foreign Armies East, a military intelligence agency directed against the Soviet Union] was turned into the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* [Federal Intelligence Service, German counterpart of the CIA]. By 1945, a circle of Nazi generals was already cooperating with the Western Allies in a meticulous evaluation of the Second World War and planning the rebuilding of the West German army. Like its predecessor, the *Wehrmacht*, the *Bundeswehr* was a tank-supported, land-based army—this time supported by tactical nuclear weapons—aimed at smashing the Soviet Union. The so-called "rat line" was set up by the CIA and Vatican to funnel Nazi war criminals out of Germany. They were provided with new identities and brought to Latin America and other countries, where they then used their murderous experience to set up and preserve the bloody local military dictatorships. Much of this is dealt with quite well in Jörg Friedrich's *Die Kalte Amnestie* [*The Cold Amnesty*] (1984). At the same time the U.S. imperialists, who had not forgotten the indispensable services of the German Social Democratic Party [SPD] in maintaining the capitalist order in Germany following the First World War, were helping to rebuild the Social Democracy. Their aim was to use it as an anti-Communist bulwark within the West German working class to beat back the influence of the Stalinist KPD [German Communist Party] and purge the unions of Communists.

Fearing that the Soviet working masses could be inspired to overthrow the Soviet bureaucracy, the last thing Stalin wanted was workers revolution in Germany and Europe. He was striving for a neutral, capitalist Germany as a buffer state. But the imperialists were not interested in a deal and preferred, as [German Chancellor Konrad] Adenauer expressed it, to get half a Germany completely rather than the reverse. Therefore, in 1948 the Kremlin established a deformed workers state and expropriated the German bourgeoisie in eastern Germany. The DDR [German Democratic Republic] was constructed on the model of the Soviet workers state following its decades of Stalinist degeneration. Thereby, in contrast to West Germany, fascism was deprived of its social basis, capitalism. The greater part of the cadre who built up the DDR came directly from the Nazi concentration camps or from exile.

Schröder's Commemoration of the Soviet Sacrifice: Hypocrisy for Imperialist Cooperation

As part of the anti-Communist consensus of the Cold War against the Soviet

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Left: German troops outside Kosovo, 1999. SPD/Green government joined U.S./NATO imperialist war against Serbia. Right: Cops unleashed by SPD/PDS Berlin city government shield Nazis, brutalize leftist protesters, 1 May 2004.

Preachers of "Collective Guilt" Justify U.S./British War Crimes

German Nationalism and the Bombing of Dresden

We print below a translation of an article from Spartakist *No. 158, Spring 2005, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internatianalist).*

SPARTAKIST

The 60th anniversary of the bombing of Dresden [in World War II by the Americans and British] has polarized the entire country, with the question of how to deal with today's Nazis of the NPD [National Democratic Party] dominating. The NPD had cynically made a motion in the [state of] Saxony parliament proposing a minute of silence on January 21 for the victims of the bombing. Following this, the NPD launched revanchist tirades that attempted to use the victims of the Dresden bombing in the service of their genocidal program by speaking of a "Holocaust by Bombing." The social-democratic PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and the petty-bourgeois Greens had nothing with which to counter this. *Spiegel* online (11 February) headlined "Uprising of the Clueless," explaining: "They [the Nazis] have modernized their terminology. The Holocaust is no longer denied; it is integrated into their own argumentation. Instead of saying, as earlier: there was no Holocaust, now they say: the Holocaust was against the Germans. We weren't the perpetrators, we were the victims." The reason for the bourgeois-democratic cluelessness is that Nazi revanchism and liberal collective guilt complement one another, for both equate the populace with the Nazi rulers and the German bourgeoisie. To the Nazi demagoguery of a "victim people," the liberals oppose the "collective guilt" lie of a "perpetrator people." Thereby the liberals whitewash the German bourgeoisie and play into the hands of Nazi demagoguery.

In World War II, we Trotskyists offered unconditional military defense to the Soviet degenerated workers state. In the war among the imperialist powers—between Germany and Japan on the one side, the U.S. and Britain on the other—we took no side, since these powers were fighting only over redividing the world so as to exploit it more intensively. The strategy of Allied saturation bombing was one of consciously targeting the German working class:

> "In its 'Area Bombing Directive' of 14 February 1942, the [British] Aviation Ministry set as Bomber Command's future 'main goal' destroying 'the morale of the opposing civil population, especially the industrial workforce' through saturation bombing. To avoid misunderstandings, the Ministry added 'that the target points should be settled areas and not, for example, shipyards or aircraft industry. This must be made very clear'."
>
> —*Spiegel Special* No. 1/2003

In early 1943 at the latest, with the victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad, it was clear that German imperialism would lose against the Soviet Union. One of the central motivations for the bombing of German workers' quarters was the fear that the German working class might overthrow capitalism—and turn all Europe red—as it had already attempted to do at the end of World War I, but this time with the aid of a victorious Red Army. Stopping the Red Army and preventing workers revolution were also the only reasons for the haste in suddenly opening the second front in Normandy [France] in June 1944. Churchill and Roosevelt had earlier been in no hurry to open a second front as they had assured Stalin they would in 1942 and again in 1943. They were hoping Germany and the Soviet Union would bleed one another white, and that they would get to laugh from the sidelines.

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

Firebombing of Dresden, February 1945. American and British imperialists slaughtered tens of thousands of civilians.

In fact, coal liquefaction factories, where fuel essential to Hitler's tanks was produced, were hardly bombed until 1944. *Der Spiegel* wrote:

> "Only 1.1 percent of all bombs dropped up to May 1944 landed on the oil refineries that produced the fuel for the tanks clattering through Russia. Speculations [why this was the case] range from the suggestion that the plants were built in part with Anglo-American capital, e.g., Standard Oil of New Jersey and the British Royal Dutch Shell, to the musings of the Berlin historian Groehler that it might have been in the interests of the Western Allies for the German tanks on the Eastern Front to have enough fuel to keep the Russians far from Germany as long as possible—long enough anyway for the Anglo-American invaders to advance far enough to be able to limit Communist influence in postwar Europe."

Groehler is absolutely right. Regarding the bombing of Dresden, it was even explicitly stated [in January 1945] in the daily orders of the Royal Air Force that this should also constitute a warning to "the Russians":

> "The intentions of the attack are to hit the enemy where he will feel it most, behind an already partially collapsed front, to prevent the use of the city in the way of further advance, and incidentally to show the Russians when they arrive what Bomber Command can do."
>
> —*Die Welt*, 20 February 2004

The criminal U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer of 1945 had the same aim—intimidating the Soviet Union and demoralizing the working class [see article below].

Dresden mayor Ingolf Rossberg (FDP [Free Democratic Party]) utilized the arguments of the British historian Frederick Taylor, who, while criticizing Churchill's bombing of Dresden as inhumane, claims nevertheless that it was completely justified militarily: "In February 1945, Dresden was the largest extant center of the German armaments industry. Hence we must abandon the formula of the 'innocent city'." Only, the bombing of Dresden didn't target the armaments factories, which were situated on the outskirts! These were barely hit, as Taylor himself honestly admits in his book, *Dresden: Tuesday, 13 February, 1945*, which is well worth reading. Because of the favorable weather conditions and absolute lack of flak, the bombers were able to take precise aim at their target, the Dresden inner city (where there was scarcely a plant, let alone armaments factories), murdering 25,000 to 40,000 Dresden civilians and refugees, above all women, the elderly and children. This was a war crime.

A feature article in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (14 February) justifies the incineration of Dresden with the argument that some of the few remaining Dresden Jews were thereby able to escape deportation to Auschwitz: "The Saving Inferno—The Destruction of Dresden in February 1945 Protected 20-year-old Henny Wolf from the Concentration Camp." One can, of course, only rejoice over every single person who, through whatever fortunate circumstances, was able to escape alive from the Nazi machinery of genocide. Henny Wolf had incredible luck in not being blown to bits by a British bomb or engulfed by the firestorm. This is also indirectly stated in the *FR* article: "Some time in the middle of the night, in a narrow alley, the suction from the fire seized people. 'My mother suddenly floated into the air. We all held each other's hands'." What the article attempts to conceal is that the fate of the European Jews was a matter of total indifference to the British and American Allies.

A *Spiegel* interview (29 October 2001) with Gerhart Riegner, who informed the World Jewish Congress of the Holocaust in 1942, encapsulates the bitter truth about U.S. and British imperialism:

> "Riegner: The will to save [the Jews] was lacking. The Americans told us in

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Hiroshima, Nagasaki: U.S. Imperialist Mass Murder

This August marks the 60th anniversary of one of history's greatest crimes: the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by U.S. imperialism. Over 200,000 civilians were killed by the atom bombs dropped on August 6 and 9, and tens of thousands more continue to suffer from horrific illnesses and genetic defects. The racist rulers of imperialist America used Japan as a human testing ground to show the world—and above all the Soviet degenerated workers state—that they would stop at nothing in their drive for global domination.

The deliberate targeting of Japanese civilians reflected the deep-seated anti-Asian racism of America's rulers. U.S. war propaganda depicted Japanese as subhuman "yellow monkeys." In 1945, the U.S. launched a massive terror-bombing campaign against Japan, destroying 58 cities by August. On the night of March 9-10 alone, the American firebombing of Tokyo killed some 100,000 people. In the U.S., Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered 120,000 Japanese Americans in the western United States to be rounded up beginning in February 1942, put them into concentration camps located in the barren desert and forced many to harvest the fields as slave laborers.

Apologists for the war crimes of U.S. imperialism claim that the atom bombing

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Japan Peace Museum

The "Atomic Bomb Dome," at center of August 1945 Hiroshima A-bomb blast, is now a memorial to victims of this heinous U.S. war crime.

The Lynching of Emmett Till and the Fight for Black Liberation

50 Years Later

> "Before Emmett Till's murder, I had known the fear of hunger, hell, and the Devil. But now there was a new fear known to me—the fear of being killed just because I was black. This was the worst of my fears.... I didn't know what one had to do or not do as a Negro not to be killed. Probably just being a Negro period was enough, I thought."
>
> —Anne Moody, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Organizer, 14 years old in 1955, in *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968)

Fifty years ago this month the name Emmett Louis Till became synonymous with the brutal American tradition of lynching. Till was only 14 years old that summer when he left his home in Chicago to join his cousin on a trip to stay with relatives in Mississippi. Within days of his arrival, young Emmett was kidnapped, tortured and brutally murdered for allegedly whistling at a white woman. Till's gruesome murder, and his mother's courageous campaign to ensure that the world saw at first hand the stark reality of race-terror by displaying her son's mutilated body at his funeral, provoked horror and outrage against racist oppression in America. The lynching of Emmett Till, along with Rosa Parks' defiant stand in Montgomery, Alabama in December of that same year, were key in galvanizing many thousands to join the burgeoning civil rights movement.

Today, a half-century later, black people still sit in the cross hairs of this bloody capitalist ruling class. The explosive struggles of the civil rights movement smashed Jim Crow segregation in the South and broke the back of the anti-Communist McCarthy era. But the social reality remains—black oppression is the cornerstone of capitalist class rule in America. Contrary to assertions that the worst abuses against black people are a thing of the past, a quick survey of the massive prison population, unemployment, miserable ghetto conditions, poverty, deteriorating health care and increasingly segregated schools proves the opposite, not only in the South but throughout the country.

The current federal investigation of the Emmett Till atrocity is one of a handful of decades-old cases reopened beginning with the 1994 conviction of Byron De La Beckwith for the 1963 assassination of Mississippi civil rights leader Medgar Evers. One reason these cases are being opened is to polish the tarnished image of the South. But union-busting "right to work" laws, attacks on black voting rights, Ku Klux Klan terror like the cross-burnings in Durham, North Carolina this May along with Confederate flags, monuments and Dixie anthems still mark the landscape of the "New South." Meanwhile, Northern ghettos trap black people into holding pens, and kill-crazy cops stalk the streets.

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Emmett Till with his mother, Mamie. Chicago, 1955: Emmett Till's funeral drew as many as 250,000 people to Roberts Temple Church.

Chicago Defender

Bush's Republican regime pushes ahead to wipe out the remaining gains of the civil rights movement that had been under attack by Democratic as well as Republican administrations for the last three decades. On the heels of the government launching a vindictive IRS tax investigation of the NAACP, the chairman of the Republican National Committee cynically professed at the NAACP's convention in July, which Bush refused to attend, that the Republican Party's decades-long campaign of courting the racist Southern vote away from the Democrats by opposing civil rights legislation, the "Southern Strategy," was "wrong."

The re-opening of Till's case was largely sparked by the determined nine-year effort of a young filmmaker, Keith Beauchamp, and his 2002 documentary *The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till*. The Feds recently exhumed Till's body to seek forensic evidence, additionally claiming it is necessary to verify that it was indeed Till in the grave. The only people who ever cast doubt on this question were the defenders of the lynchers. For America's capitalist rulers, such re-investigations are nothing more than hypocritical attempts to foster the illusion that today's FBI and Department of Justice are different from the very same state institutions that worked hand in hand with the Klan in the South. By the mid 1960s, nearly 20 percent of Klan members were FBI "informants" serving as loyal double agents of both organizations. Even when the Senate passed a meaningless resolution this June apologizing for never passing anti-lynching legislation, several senators, including the two from Mississippi, refused to sponsor the bill.

Capitalism is a system based on exploitation of labor, and, in the U.S., a unique and critical mainstay continues to be the subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society. American Trotskyist Richard Fraser wrote in the same year that Emmett Till was murdered: "The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a whole people regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class" ("For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle," January 1955). We of the Spartacist League base our program for black liberation upon Fraser's perspective of ***revolutionary integrationism***, premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. One of our founding documents written at the time of the ghetto upheavals of the 1960s states:

> "The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."
>
> —"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," 1967, *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

The Lynching of Emmett Till

By all accounts Emmett Till was an amazing kid. He was bright, fun-loving and considerate. His mother, Mamie Till-Mobley (earlier known as Mamie Till Bradley), and her family had migrated from Mississippi along with hundreds of thousands of other black farmers and sharecroppers fleeing the Jim Crow South in hopes of finding a better life in the "Promised Land" known as Chicago. She knew firsthand the strict social and racial codes of the South that literally spelled life or death if not followed to the letter. So, when she reluctantly allowed Emmett to accompany his cousin Wheeler to Mississippi, she did her best to instill some sense of the dangers and she recounted that she held "the talk that every black parent had with every child sent down South back then" (*Death of Innocence: The Story of the Hate Crime That Changed America* by Mamie Till-Mohley and Christopher Benson, 2003).

By the summer of 1955, white racists in Mississippi were seething in bitterness in the aftermath of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, which opened the door for integrating schools, albeit hedged with limitations and the reservation of "deliberate speed." The Supreme Court decision to allow school integration was a reflection of a growing movement for black civil rights, for the right to vote and for integration. Black men fought on the front lines in World War II, a war proclaimed to make the world "safe for democracy." Black women migrated to the cities to toil in defense

Florence Mars Collection

UPI

All-white jury (above) took just over an hour to acquit Till's lynchers. Right: At enormous personal risk, Mose Wright identified in court Klan thugs who abducted his nephew Emmett Till.

plants. When the soldiers returned, they were determined to have a hetter life. The end of the war ushered in the beginning of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the preparation for new imperialist wars to "roll back Communism" everywhere on the planet. Most black people were concerned ahout the "cotton curtain," the iron grip of the racist Southern police state here at home, and were less likely to huy into or embrace the American hourgeoisie's propaganda about an "Iron Curtain" Soviet threat.

The response of the racist Southern Democrats (the Dixiecrats) to the *Brown* ruling was one of organized terror and defiance from the highest-ranking officials on down. Francis M. Wilhoit described the role of the Democratic Party in *The Politics of Massive Resistance*:

> "For it was, after all, the region's political parties—particularly the dominant Democrats—that bore the chief responsibility for politicizing the segregationist masses and getting them to the polls on election day to vote for anti-integration candidates. Furthermore, since membership in Southern parties overlapped with membership in the Klan, the Councils, and other resistance groups, it appeared for a time that the segregationists would get a stranglehold on policy making in the racial area, and prevent even tokenism."

White Citizens' Councils, the suit-and-tie incarnation of the Ku Klux Klan, formed to terrorize blacks through vigilante violence and uphold Jim Crow segregation, flourished throughout Mississippi. These councils, claiming a membership of 60,000, were headquartered in the very county that Emmett was preparing to visit. In May that year in Belzoni, Mississippi, Reverend George Lee, local NAACP organizer, was shot to death from a passing car. Just days prior to Till's arrival, WW II veteran Lamar Smith was gunned down in broad daylight on a crowded courthouse lawn in Brookhaven, Mississippi for urging black people to vote. This was the murderous atmosphere that a lively, self-confident teenager from the North journeyed into that fateful August.

On August 24, after picking cotton all morning, Emmett, his cousins and some friends drove into Money, Mississippi to purchase some candy and sodas at the local grocery store that serviced the black population. The white owner, Roy Bryant, was out of town and his young wife, Carolyn, was tending the store. There are conflicting stories of what happened at the store. Did he whistle? Was he trying to control his stutter? Did he speak up? The only thing that happened that day at the store for sure is that Emmett Till was seen as having "stepped out of line," ignoring "the customs of the South" in the presence of a white woman where this was punishable by death. On August 28, Roy Bryant and his half brother, J.W. Milam, came looking for Emmett at his relatives' home, kidnapping him in the dead of night. Three days later the hideously battered corpse of Emmett Till was found in the Tallahatchie River with a 75-pound cotton gin fan tied around his neck with barbed wire. Mose Wright, Emmett's great uncle, was able to identify his body only by a ring belonging to his father that the child wore on his finger.

For the vast majority of unnamed lynch mob victims that have filled American history, the story would end here and would have also for Emmett Till if not for the courage and determination of his mother and family. Mamie Till-Mohley immediately alerted the press upon hearing that her son was missing. She fought to have her son's body returned to Chicago after the local sheriff hastily tried to bury the evidence—literally. She defied the Mississippi authorities by opening the padlocked and sealed casket. Most courageously, she insisted that the casket be displayed openly for the world to see, and ensured that graphic photos circulated internationally. An estimated 100,000-250,000 people waited in line for hours at Chicago's Roberts Temple Church of God in Christ to view the open casket. So

Library of Congress

NYC: NAACP flew this flag outside its headquarters to announce reports of lynchings in 1930s. Right: Excerpt from NAACP chronicle of lynchings.

shocking was Emmett's horrifically mutilated body that an estimated one out of every five individuals needed assistance out of the building. Emmett's death was transformed from "just another lynching" into an internationally known scandal. Although there had been thousands of Southern black men, women and children that met such horrible deaths, this was one that would spark a generation into action.

Mamie Till-Mobley set the tone by immediately demanding an investigation and publicizing the case. Although President Eisenhower and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover stonewalled her requests for an investigation, she persisted in bringing national attention to her son's lynching. Till-Mobley, her father and her cousin Rayfield Mooty, an Inland Steel worker, traveled to Sumner, Mississippi for the trial of Emmett's murderers and braved a gauntlet of white racists each morning as they entered the courthouse. Her uncle, Mose Wright, who had pleaded with Bryant and Milam not to take his nephew, did what virtually no black man in Mississippi had dared to do for nearly a century. He stood up in court and identified the two white men as the kidnappers. According to Wright's son, Simeon, who was in the same bed when Emmett was dragged away, Mose Wright was determined to testify. Knowing full well that he was risking the same fate as Emmett, he told his family that he didn't know if he would live or die, but he knew for sure that he was going to testify. Before Wright testified, the rest of his family had to he spirited away to Chicago. He joined them immediately following his testimony. Similarly an 18-year-old field hand, Willie Reed, came forward as a surprise witness for the prosecution to testify that he had heard Emmett's screams coming from Milam's barn. As soon as Reed stepped off the stand, he went directly to the train station and left for Chicago, rightly fearing for his life. He suffered a nervous breakdown upon arriving in Illinois. It took a tremendous amount of courage for these black witnesses to stand up to white racists in Mississippi, knowing they might not live to see another day, knowing that the only way to save themselves from the lynch rope was to leave everything behind and escape North. Their actions were not unlike slaves fleeing on the Underground Railroad nearly one hundred years earlier.

At this time, Medgar Evers, a Mississippi NAACP organizer, gained national attention. Evers understood that the only way a case would be built against Bryant and Milam was if he took it into his own hands and mobilized his forces. The NAACP recruited volunteers to dress as sharecroppers and sent them out to gather information. These brave individuals knew full well what lay in store for them should they be detected. Civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn worked on the case and identified others involved in the killing, but they were never prosecuted. Dr. T.R.M. Howard, leader of the all-black town of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, helped organize and contributed to pay the costs of the investigation and relocation of the witnesses. He also was eventually forced to flee North. He made speaking tours of the country to expose the reign of terror in Mississippi. For the smallest shred of hope that justice might be served, these people put their lives on the line.

But that smallest shred was really no shred at all in the mid '50s in the Mississippi Delta. The ensuing murder trial of Bryant and Milam was exactly what one would expect. All five lawyers in the county joined the defense team so that none could be appointed special prosecutor in the case. Neither of the defendants denied kidnapping Emmett. The jury came back with a verdict of not guilty in just over an hour. It took them "that long" because they stopped to get a soda, hoping to stretch the time for appearance's sake. The jury came up with the lie that the bloated, rotting body that was dragged out of the Tallahatchie River might not be Emmett at all, but a body planted by his mother and the NAACP. Emmett was supposedly alive and well in Detroit, according to the Southern racists. A grand jury would not even indict them on kidnapping charges. Then, just months after the acquittal, *Look* magazine published a confession by Bryant and Milam boasting of their lynching of Till.

A campaign orchestrated by plantation owner, arch-segregationist Mississippi Senator, James O. Eastland, tried to smear Emmett Till and his dead father Louis as rapists. The U.S. army had executed Louis Till in 1945. While serving in Italy, he was charged with raping two white women and killing another, charges that many who served with him stated were lies. The same man, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who as a general signed the execution order of the elder Till, sat as U.S. president and refused to investigate the lynching of the son. When Eastland managed to secure the army death records of Louis Till—the same records that Mamie Till-Mobley had been denied—and leaked them to the press, the

continued on page 8

Dec. 14—Rock Springs, Wyo.—Wade Hampton, hanged; annoying white women.
Dec. 15—Matter, Ga.—Claxton Deckle, hanged; killing in quarrel.

1918

Jan. 17—Hazelhurst, Miss.—Sam Edwards, burned to death; charged with murder of Bera Willes, seventeen-year-old white girl.
Jan. 26—Benton, La.—Jim Hudson, hanged; living with a white woman.
Feh. 7—Fayetteville, Ga.—"Bud" Cosby, hanged; intent to roh and kidnap.
Feh. 12—Estill Springs, Tenn.—Jim McIllheron, hurned; accused of shooting to death two white men. G. W. Lych, who hid McIllheron, was shot to death.
Feh. 23—Fairfax, S. C.—Walter Best, hanged; accused of murder.
Feh. 26—Rayville, La.—Jim Lewis, Jim Jones, and Will Powell, two hanged and one shot to death; accused of stealing hogs. In the fray one white man and one Negro were killed.
Feb. 26—Willacoochee, Ga.—Ed. Dansy, shot; he had killed two white officers and wounded three others.
Mar. 16—Monroe, La.—George McNeel and John Richards, hanged; alleged attack upon a white woman.
Mar. 22—Crawfordsville, Ga.—Spencer Evans, hanged; convicted of criminal assault upon a colored woman at the Fehruary term of court and sentenced to he hanged, but a moh took him from jail and lynched him.
Mar. 26—Lewiston, N. C.—Peter Bazemore; alleged attack upon a white woman.
April 4—Collinsville, Ill.—Rohert P. Praeger (White) hanged; accused of making disloyal remarks.

The American Labor Year Book 1919-1920

WV Photo

Atlanta, 21 January 1989: PDC-initiated 3,500-strong mobilization met Klan provocation with show of labor/black defiance.

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Emmett Till...

(continued from page 7)

NAACP took a step back from the case, concerned to maintain their image of "respectability."

Louis Till was not the only man to be executed or "disappear" under such dubious circumstances during World War II. In her autobiography, Mamie Till-Mohley spoke to the chilling stories she heard from other black soldiers and friends of Louis Till of the "problem that followed them overseas from the United States." She described 3 a.m. line-ups of black soldiers by racist white officers and Military Police. A woman would be brought in to identify one of the soldiers and the "black soldiers who got pointed out at three in the morning were always taken away. They were not brought back." As Mamie Till-Mohley astutely pointed out,

> "It seemed that the army really didn't need much more proof than a late-night identification to take black soldiers out. But based on what Louis's friends told me, it seemed the real offense wasn't always against white women. Often, it was really against white men. A number of women in those late-night lineups, it seems, were only identifying the men who slept with them, not men they were accusing of rape.... But for many of the white officers and soldiers from the South, there also was a custom about that sort of thing.... Louis died before he could see what would happen to his son. Bo [Emmett's nickname] died before he could learn about what had happened to his father. Yet they were connected in ways that ran as deep as their heritage, as long as their bloodline.... Maybe Emmett did wind up like his father, an echo of what had happened ten years earlier. Maybe they were both lynched."

Lynching—"As American as Baseball and Church Suppers"

In 1924, a young Communist from Indochina named Nguyen Ai Quoc—later known as Ho Chi Minh—wrote:

> "It is well known that the Black race is the most oppressed and the most exploited of the human family. It is well known that the spread of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as an immediate result the rebirth of slavery, which was for centuries a scourge of the Negroes and a bitter disgrace for mankind. What everyone does not perhaps know is that after sixty-five years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of lynching."

The story of Emmett Till lays bare the harsh reality of black life in a country built on human bondage. The fight for genuine black equality remains an unfinished task of the American Civil War. The 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern blacks who fought in that war helped turn the tide of the war in favor of the Union Army, but the victorious Northern capitalists betrayed the promise of equality. Radical Reconstruction was the most democratic period in U.S. history. But the Northern capitalists looked at the devastated South and saw opportunity—not for building radical democracy, but for profitably exploiting Southern resources and the freedmen. With the "Compromise of 1877," the last of the Northern troops were pulled from the South and Reconstruction came to an end. Freed blacks were disenfranchised, politically expropriated and kept segregated at the bottom of society. The institution of Jim Crow segregation began to take shape, marked by strict racial codes, returning the black population to a position of complete subservience, enforced by violence. How or when to address whites, where to live, eat, sit, shop, wash your hands, or take a drink of water were all strictly regulated and backed up through a system of race terror—the omnipresent threat of the lynch rope.

In the period following Reconstruction, in the late 19th century, lynching reached its height. Lynching is rightfully equated with the summary torture and execution of black people. But this was not always the case. The term "lynch law" is believed to have come from Judge Charles Lynch, a patriot in the American Revolutionary War. Upon discovery of a Tory conspiracy in 1780, Lynch was said to have presided over an extralegal court that meted out summary punishment to the pro-British Loyalists. Such methods were given free rein in a burgeoning young country with a vast frontier and a roughly established legal system. The evolution of lynching into an act of race terror is organically linked to the history of black chattel slavery. Lynching became a form of sadistic black subjugation in reaction to the rise of the anti-slavery abolition movement, developing into a widespread social phenomenon in the wake of the defeat of Reconstruction. By the end of the 19th century, "lynch law" had a specific meaning. At its height in the 1880s and 1890s, as many as two to three black people were lynched per week. Sociologist John Dollard wrote in 1937: "Every Negro in the South knows that he is under a kind of sentence of death; he does not know when his turn will come, it may never come, but it may also be any time."

American historian Leon F. Litwack has found that of the thousands of *recorded* lynchings, about 640 involved "accusations of a sexual nature"—the most notorious and hysteria-inducing accusation. The targets of the race terrorists were often those who owned competitive businesses and farms, the man who managed to acquire some property and was deemed by the racists to not have enough humility, the man who challenged the system, the man who was educated and/or prosperous. W.E.B. Dubois put it this way: "There was one thing that the white South feared more than Negro dishonesty, ignorance and incompetency, and that was Negro honesty, knowledge, and efficiency" (Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* [1998]).

In many cases, lynchings were not spontaneous mob violence but planned and advertised events bringing trainloads of spectators from near and far. These were ordinary, "church-going, upstanding" citizens, drawn together in a grotesque racist ritual. The "pillars of the community" were often directly involved or had prior knowledge, and they always approved afterward. "Lynching was an undeniable part of daily life, as distinctly American as baseball and church suppers. Men brought their wives and children along to the events, posed for commemorative photographs, and purchased souvenirs of the occasion as if they had been at a company picnic" (Philip Dray, *At The Hands of Persons Unknown* [2002]). Celebratory postcards of mutilated and charred bodies were sent through the U.S. mail to friends and relatives. James Baldwin noted on seeing the red clay hills of Georgia for the first time, "I could not suppress the thought that this earth had acquired its color from the blood that had dripped down from these trees."

The Civil Rights Movement

As Mamie Till-Mohley remarked in a TV documentary, "When people saw what had happened to my son, men stood up who had never stood up before.

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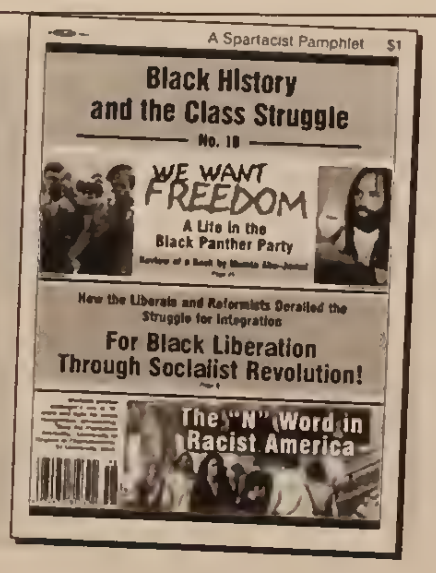

People became vocal who had never vocalized before. Emmett's death was the opening of the civil rights movement." Ten thousand people rallied in Harlem the Sunday following the acquittal. Thousands packed meeting halls and overflowed into the streets to hear Mamie speak around the country. Labor rallies and demonstrations were held to protest the lynching of Emmett Till and race-terror in Mississippi. The CIO Steelworkers Union to which Till's grandfather belonged wired the Mississippi governor demanding justice.

In the convulsive years that followed, social protest exploded into the civil rights movement. Eventually, Jim Crow, the poll taxes and sham rules that prevented black people from voting were abolished, and segregated schools and other public facilities were formally opened up. However, the civil rights movement was stopped cold when it came North and confronted the hardened economic foundations of black oppression, rooted in American capitalism. The heroic struggles of many thousands of black and white activists were betrayed by the liberal perspective of the leadership of the civil rights movement. Much as the organizers of the demonstrations against Till's murder appealed to Eisenhower, the strategy of the liberal-led civil rights movement was based on appeals to a section of the American bourgeoisie to right the historic wrongs done against black people, as though black freedom could be attained under the capitalist system.

There were important exceptions to this, exemplified by militant black leaders such as Robert F. Williams, the head of the NAACP branch in Monroe, North Carolina, which heavily recruited from the black working class of the area. Williams, who was denounced by liberal civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King, put forward a program of armed self-defense to fight race-terror as opposed to reliance on the capitalist state and its politicians. This earned him the enmity of the liberal NAACP, which disowned him, as the FBI hounded him out of the country. Williams found refuge in Cuba in 1961 and then China, before returning to the U.S. in 1969. In 1965, the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice organized patrols to protect blacks and civil rights workers. At about the same time, in Gulfport, Mississippi, the black longshoremen's union threatened to close the port down if civil rights activists were injured or arrested.

Danny Lyon

SNCC activists stage sit-in at segregated diner in Atlanta in early 1960s.

But despite determined struggle to fulfill the unfinished promise of the Civil War—the promise of black freedom—the civil rights movement could only go so far. The Democratic Party co-opted many of the black leaders into their ranks. They and their political heirs today sit on Capitol Hill, in the statehouses and city halls, administering this system which is based on racial injustice and class oppression, while posing as defenders of black and working people.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The lynching of Emmett Till was not an aberration. Such inhuman acts of violence were part of the fabric of the American Jim Crow South—a system that could only be enforced through violence. Nor did the smashing of Jim Crow mark the end of racial oppression in the U.S., in the North or the South. The laws enforcing segregation may be abolished, but segregation and inequality remain as facts. The death penalty represents the lynch rope as the ultimate form of institutionalized state terror, backed in the streets by racist cops who carry out their own summary executions. The continued oppression of black people some 40 years after the inauguration of formal, legal equality demonstrates that black oppression is an intrinsic component of the capitalist order in the U.S.

The capitalist rulers promote the poison of racism to keep the working class divided—to pit white workers against black workers—in order to more easily maintain their rule. But black people are not simply victims. Black workers represent a large component of the organized labor movement. The way forward lies in multiracial class struggle. A key obstacle to this perspective is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which ties the working class to its exploiters, particularly by promoting illusions in the Democratic Party as a "friend" of labor and blacks.

The road to black freedom lies in the struggle to shatter this racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution, and the power to do that lies with the working class. But this power cannot and will not be realized unless a class-struggle labor movement actively champions the cause of black liberation. The key to unlocking the chains that shackle labor to its exploiters is the political struggle to build a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class.

At the time of the Civil War, Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, captured a fundamental truth of American society in his statement that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The Spartacist League fights to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will wrest the tremendous productive resources of this country out of the hands of the capitalist owners and put these resources into the hands of the working class, those who produce the wealth of this society. Only then will racial oppression be a thing of the past. ***Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution!*** ■

Join the Spartacus Youth Club!

SYC Ten Point Program

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles armed with the revolutionary internationalist program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We work to mobilize youth in struggle as partisans of the working class, championing the liberation of black people, women and all the oppressed. The SYCs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the Leninist vanguard party that will lead the working class in socialist revolution, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter.

1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized! Unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

2 Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

3 For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Down with the racist purge of higher education—defend affirmative action, no to tuition hikes! No to budget cuts! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against consensual activities, called "crimes without victims," like pornography, gambling, drug use, prostitution and "statutory rape"!

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

6 Down with the "war on terror," which is a war aimed at immigrants, labor, the left and minorities! Free all the detainees! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religions, private or "charter" schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! U.S. and allied forces out of Iraq now! Down with the colonial occupation! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, Afghanistan, Haiti! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

9 For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

10 Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

May 1945...

(continued from page 4)

Union, the U.S. imperialists assisted their German ally generously in deeply burying the history of Nazi crimes. Since the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, interimperialist rivalries between the U.S. and Germany, France, etc., have increased, a fact reflected in the memorial celebrations. Thus, when French president Jacques Chirac invited Schröder to the 60th anniversary memorial celebration of the Allied landing in Normandy last year, he was the first chancellor so invited. "The invitation," said [government spokesman] Steg (2 January 2004), "is a sign of the new form of cooperation with our French partners and of the fact that times have indeed changed."

This "new form of cooperation" came into being above all via the joint opposition of Germany, France and Russia to the U.S.-led war against Iraq. This opposition had absolutely nothing to do with any kind of love of peace, as the imperialist deployment of the *Bundeswehr* in Kosovo and Afghanistan or the French army in Sierra Leone show. Rather, German imperialism is pursuing its own interests and is attempting to check U.S. claims to sole world domination. For its part, with the Iraq war and its "unilateralism," U.S. imperialism is seeking to put its rivals in their place. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. explained (*WV* No. 843, 4 March):

> "The unchallenged global hegemony of the U.S. stands in sharp contrast to its declining economic base.... Having presided over the deindustrialization of the country and driven by the pursuit of greater profit margins exacted from the labor of workers abroad, the American capitalist class cannot now easily reverse its industrial decline. This is the material basis for the rabid behavior of the Bush administration. Its outlook brings to mind the siege mentality of the Afrikaners in South Africa, the Ulster Protestants in Northern Ireland and the Zionists in the Near East."

With a GNP about one-third that of the U.S., Germany is necessarily forced to rely on imperialist partners. Hence its efforts to transform the EU [European Union], an imperialist trade bloc, into an instrument for its ambitions of political dominance. However, as the Iraq war once again clearly illustrated, the EU is torn apart by counterposed imperialist interests, including differences between France and Germany. In order to even approach the military and technological level of the U.S., the German bourgeoisie would have to massively increase its military budget; this can be financed only by drastically raising the rate of exploitation of the working class. And thus the German bourgeoisie's plans for becoming a world power depend to a great extent on the course of class struggle in their own country.

Like Chirac, Russian president [Vladimir] Putin also invited Schröder to the 60th anniversary festivities. Gernot Erler, foreign policy spokesman for the SPD parliamentary fraction, commented:

> "The day will be one of remembrance of the 30 million victims of the war in the Soviet Union and of the desolation Hitler's armies left behind. But the memorial celebrations—that's the wish of the hosts—should also send a signal for European reconciliation. For the first time, the head of the German government is invited to participate. And the very next day, the EU-Russia summit in Moscow will meet and direct its gaze to the future."
>
> —*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12 March

Putin used his 27 January Auschwitz speech to justify the "war on terror," in whose name Russia is carrying out its genocidal colonial war against Chechnya: "We also must be clear that modern civilization today is confronted with a new and no less horrific threat. Terrorists have taken over the role of the hangmen in their black [SS] uniforms." The Russian army of today is a capitalist army that stands in the tradition of the tsarist army. It no longer has anything to do with the Red Army, army of the Soviet workers state, that Trotsky founded. For the sake of an alliance with capitalist Russia—which with complete injustice crowns itself with the laurels of the heroic victory of the Soviet Red Army—the rabidly anti-Communist SPD that fought the Soviet Union for the whole term of its existence today cries crocodile tears for the Red Army and the sacrifices made by the Soviet working class.

Putin's invitation for May 9 has led to a controversy with the conservative CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic parties]. They reject the SPD/Green government's strategy of acting more independently of the U.S. in coalition with France and Russia. They believe that German interests are more readily realizable if Germany follows more closely in the wake of the U.S. Not the least thing they're worried about is too great a dependence of Germany on Russia, which they find neither so reliable nor stable, with concomitant possible international isolation. For example, the CDU/CSU parliamentary fraction's foreign policy spokesman, Friedbert Pflüger, warned:

> "Germany is presently dependent on Russian gas for about 47 percent [of its requirements], some of the new EU states like Slovakia for 100 percent. An accidental or intentional delivery failure would have great consequences. As important and sensible as Germany's energy alliance with Russia is, it cannot ignore the fact that Russia sees its trade in energy as a potential means of pressure on dependent states."
>
> —www.friedbert-pflueger.de, 9 March

Pflüger accordingly solidarized with the disgusting anti-communist hue and cry of the Baltic governments, who termed Putin's invitation for May 9th an "insult" and warned Schröder he should "promulgate the historical truth": "In the Baltic states, May 9 stands not only for the end of the National Socialist dictatorship, but rather 'today much more for the continued occupation by the totalitarian Soviet Union'" (3 March). The same ruling elite of the Baltic states that rails against the former Soviet Union honors the former Baltic SS troops, which carried out frightful crimes against Jews and Communists during the Nazi occupation.

Spartakist

January 1990, East Berlin: Spartacists initiated 250,000-strong rally against Nazi desecration of Treptow Park memorial to Red Army liberators.

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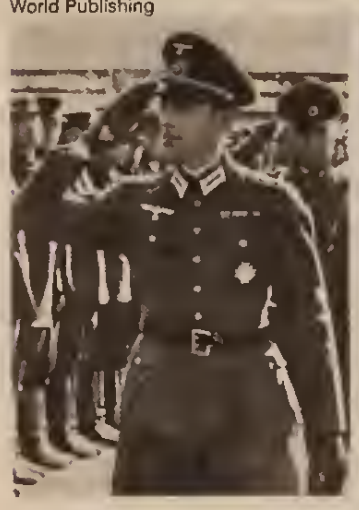

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Anti-Soviet Cold War rehabilitated Nazi war criminals. Following World War II, General Reinhard Gehlen (far left in Nazi uniform) worked for U.S. intelligence and joined West Germany's intelligence service. Near left: Gehlen feted at Yale University.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Internally, the politics of the memorial ceremonies are dominated by the issue of the NPD [neo-Nazi party]. It is a bitter result of Germany's capitalist reunification that the Nazi filth can dare to attempt to march through the Brandenburg Gate on May 8, the 60th anniversary of liberation from Hitlerite fascism. We Trotskyists intervened with all the forces of our international in the fall of 1989-90 in the unfolding proletarian political revolution in the DDR. Against capitalist *Anschluss* [annexation], we fought for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy through political revolution in the DDR and for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its expropriation through socialist revolution in the West. We called for a red Germany of workers councils.

A high point of our intervention was the 3 January 1990 workers united-front protest we initiated against the Nazi desecration of the memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park, where the Soviet soldiers who gave their lives in the battle for the liberation of Berlin from the Nazis rest and are honored. In our protest call we warned: "Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all mankind, as soon as the first crises in a reunified Greater Germany appear. Today, however, the SPD/SDP is the chief instrument to bring about such a Greater Germany." Speaking before the quarter-million working people who came to this pro-socialist, pro-Soviet, anti-fascist protest, we called for the founding and rule of workers and soldiers councils.

As we warned, counterrevolution has led to mass unemployment, a massive increase in institutionalized racism, and, encouraged by these, Nazi terror. The fake Trotskyists, from the SAV [Socialist Alternative, affiliate of Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International] and Linksruck [affiliate of the International Socialist Tendency], to Workers Power [affiliate of the League for the Fifth International], talk big today about the fight against fascism and attempt to paper over their reformism with Trotsky quotes. But they all actively supported capitalist reunification in 1990, thereby doing their bit for the strengthening of the Nazis. In order to defeat fascism, it is necessary to understand that it is generated by capitalism. The German bourgeoisie wanted Hitler in power and in the early '30s cast its weight—money, power and countless connections—onto the scales. The German bourgeoisie set its hopes on the fascists because it saw its rule as being threatened by the working class.

The recent electoral gains of the fascist NPD are a result of the social attacks by the SPD/Green government (and the Berlin SPD/PDS-run Senate is not one iota better) like Agenda 2010 or Hartz IV [that slash pensions and welfare and devastate unemployment benefits]. These intensified assaults have especially catastrophic effects in eastern Germany, which has been deindustrialized as a consequence of capitalist reunification. Simultaneously, the racist "war on terror," directed against Muslim immigrants, puts wind in the sails of the Nazis. As Trotsky stated in 1929, the social democracy, which is committed to capitalism, is not an obstacle to the Nazis but rather paves their way:

> "In Austria as in all other countries, fascism appears as a necessary supplement to the Social Democracy, lives off of it and comes to power with its help.... Fascism nourishes itself from the Social Democracy, but it must smash its skull to come to power. The Austrian Social Democracy does what it can, to make this surgical operation easy for them."

Today, when the destruction of the DDR and the Soviet Union has cast back the consciousness of the working class, and the bourgeoisie does not see its rule as being threatened, it holds the Nazis in reserve, utilizing them both as a means of political pressure and for terrorizing leftists and immigrants. Thus the growing strength of the NPD finds expression above all in an increase of its murderous terror in the streets. To organize the fight against the slashing of benefits, against racist oppression by the state and against Nazi terror, it is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against the Social-Democratic misleaders and their fake-leftist water boys. We must fight to construct a party capable of breaking the working-class base from the social democracy, both of the SPD and the PDS. These parties are, as Lenin explained, bourgeois workers parties, i.e., they rest on a proletarian base but have a fully bourgeois program. Forging a political instrument with which to do battle, a revolutionary multiethnic workers party, is urgently necessary. We Spartacists have committed ourselves to the struggle to build such a party. ***For the reforging of the Fourth Internationol, world party of proletarion revolution!*** ■

Action Press

German workers protest against SPD/Green government economic austerity plan, 2004.

Dresden...

(continued from page 5)

> June 1944 that they couldn't bomb Auschwitz. It was too far away, the airplanes couldn't make the flight back. But at the same time bombers were repeatedly attacking I.G. Farben's Buna plant in Monowitz, five kilometers away from Auschwitz. Why were we lied to?
>
> "*Spiegel*: The other Western governments also were hardly ready to help the victims.
>
> "Riegner: That's true, unfortunately. Most of the countries were worried they'd get stuck with the Jews. For them it was preferable that they be killed, somewhere far away. That's the most frightful thing of all, but that's how it was."

Thousands of Dresdeners streamed to the official memorial for the victims of the Dresden firestorm [on 13 February]. They wanted to remember their loved ones and the tens of thousands of other innocent people who were murdered, and to send a message that such a thing should never happen again. Like workers and immigrants all over Germany, they were enraged at the Nazi provocation taking place at the same time. The [London] *Guardian* (14 February) reported: "'This is a horrible day for Dresden—I'm angry,' said Ursula Hamann, 77, who was living in the city in 1945 and survived the attack. 'It's sad to have to see such a thing happen again in Germany.' Edeltraud Krause said: 'Just look at them. You only have to look at their stupid faces. They don't represent us'." Adding to the Nazi deployment, the so-called "anti-Germans" mobilized against the populace of Dresden and cynically cheered its incineration: "No tears for Krauts" and "Bomber Harris, do it again" [original in English] were their slogans. These ex-leftists regurgitate the "collective guilt" ideology, as represented by [Foreign Minister Joschka] Fischer and a whole series of bourgeois liberal feature writers. An example is the historian and journalist Götz Aly, who recently published an article with the unbelievable title "The Feel-Good Dictatorship" in *Der Spiegel*. The article is intended to provide a foretaste of Aly's book *Hitlers Volksstaat* [*Hitler's People's State*], and embodies the lie of "collective guilt" which is aimed at whitewashing the German bourgeoisie: "Anyone desiring to comprehend the criminal dynamic of National Socialism should no longer fixate on the giant banks and big companies." Another example is *Frankfurter Rundschau*'s justification of the incineration of Dresden referred to above.

ARBEITER und SOLDAT

BEI EUCH LIEGT DIE ENTSCHEIDUNG !

Heroic Trotskyists in Brest, France built cell in German army, distributed *Arbeiter und Soldat*.

The "anti-Germans" are in fact not part of the left, but rather Fischer's "clean-up crew," who seek to destroy the left by any means and rant against immigrants of Muslim origin. With their "Solidarity with Israel," the "anti-Germans" are marching in lockstep with the Foreign Ministry. In his 24 January commemorative speech at the United Nations for the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, Fischer said: "The right to exist of the state of Israel and the security of its citizens will always remain non-negotiable fundamentals of German foreign policy. Israel will always be able to rely on this." "Solidarity" with the Zionist rulers of Israel, who bloodily oppress the Palestinian people, has *nothing* to do with the fight against anti-Semitism. We defend the dispossessed and impoverished Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. At the same time, we give not one iota of support to Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. We are for the right to self-determination of both the Palestinian and the Hebrew-speaking nations, even if the latter is not presently threatened. Within a capitalist framework, a just solution is impossible when two nations lay claim to one and the same territory, as in Israel/Palestine. Only a workers revolution in the Near East that sweeps away the sheiks and the colonels, the mullahs and the Zionist rulers can lay the foundations for a just, democratic solution of the national question. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!* While Fischer was weeping media-minded crocodile tears over Auschwitz at the UN, the German state interior ministers were consulting on how to stop the immigration of Jews from the ex-Soviet Union. [Federal Interior Minister] Schily & Co. are supported in this by Israel, whose rulers flip out not only because Jewish refugees would prefer to immigrate to Germany rather than to the deathtrap of Israel (which is quite embarrassing) but also because they have been emigrating from Israel back to East Europe, in order to travel from there to Germany or somewhere safer. Jewish refugees justifiably do not want to be used as cannon fodder for the racist, and, in the long term, suicidal war of the Zionist rulers against the Palestinians. Of course the "anti-Germans" have no objection to the anti-Semitic act of halting immigration by East European Jews to Germany.

In our article "Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism" [*WV* No. 697, 25 September 1998] we wrote: "Only Leninist internationalists, fighting to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, can draw the lessons of Hitler's rise to power and advance a strategy to defeat the growing fascist danger today. This is the task of the International Communist League and its German section, the Spartakist Workers Party."■

Statements issued by ICL sections in 1995 in German, Polish, English and Russian for 50th anniversary of liberation of Auschwitz by Red Army.

Hiroshima...

(continued from page 5)

of Japan was carried out to hasten the end of the war, echoing Truman's justification years after the war that it "saved millions of lives." In fact, by the summer of 1945, the U.S. had full control of the air and sea surrounding Japan, and as early as May 1945, Japan's rulers had indicated their willingness to negotiate terms of surrender. Japan was already defeated.

The truth is that 200,000 human beings were incinerated in a ruthless display of American military might intended to intimidate the Soviet Union and proclaim to all the hegemony of U.S. imperialism in the postwar order. According to A-bomb scientist Leo Szilard, U.S. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes argued for use of the newly developed atomic bomb because "our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable." The Truman administration sought to diminish the need for concessions to the Soviet Union, which had defeated Nazi Germany and liberated much of East Europe.

At the end of World War II, U.S. imperialist propagandists hailed the beginning of an "American Century"—a century of U.S. imperial domination. U.S. nuclear superiority was to be a cornerstone of that policy. Truman exulted after the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces.... We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely." In 1946, the U.S. threatened to use atomic bombs against the Soviet Union if it did not withdraw its troops from Iran; it made some 25 additional threats to use nuclear weapons between 1946 and 1980.

It was fortunate for humanity that the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons capability by the end of the 1940s, and that they ultimately attained a measure of nuclear parity with the United States. The USSR, with its powerful nuclear arsenal and conventional military, acted as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. The counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in the USSR in 1991-92 has created a "one superpower" world where the U.S. imperialists feel they can ride roughshod over anyone they declare to be an "enemy." In early 1992, as the USSR collapsed, a leaked memorandum by the Defense Department and Pentagon declared that the goal of U.S. military strategy was to enforce a "new order" in which the "first objective" was to "prevent the emergence of a new rival" to the military hegemony of the U.S.

Today, America's rulers bellow about "rogue states" possessing "weapons of mass destruction." But it is the U.S. that has the largest stockpile of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons in the world. From the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo during World War II, to the blood-soaked fields of Vietnam, to the "shock and awe" bombings in Iraq, U.S. imperialism is responsible for the deaths of countless millions of civilians around the world. The U.S. is the only country to have ever used nuclear weapons in war. We call on the international proletariat to defend the right of the North Korean and other deformed workers states to possess nuclear arms as a deterrent against the U.S. imperialist madmen.

We in the Spartacist League/U.S. stand in the tradition of the Socialist Workers Party at the time, which, as the U.S. Trotskyist organization, stood in revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II. The Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan was part of the interimperialist Second World War. Trotskyists fought for revolutionary defeatism—calling for the proletariat in all the warring imperialist powers to overthrow their bourgeoisies through socialist revolution—while calling for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. Speaking in August 1945, James P. Cannon, principal leader of the Socialist Workers Party, stated in the aftermath of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

> "Long ago the revolutionary Marxists said that the alternative facing humanity was either socialism or a new barbarism, that capitalism threatens to go down in ruins and drag civilization with it. But in the light of what has been developed in this war and is projected for the future, I think we can say now that the alternative can be made even more precise: The alternative facing mankind is socialism or annihilation!...
>
> "We believe that the people of the world will waken to this frightful alternative and act in time to save themselves.... Simultaneously with that uprising, and coordinating our struggle with it, we, the Trotskyist party, will lead the workers and plebeians of America in a revolutionary attack against our main enemy and the main enemy of mankind, the imperialists of the United States."■

Leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II.

Spartakist

Publication of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany

One-year subscription
(4 issues): €4
Airmail: €10 (US$10)
includes *Spartacist* (German edition)

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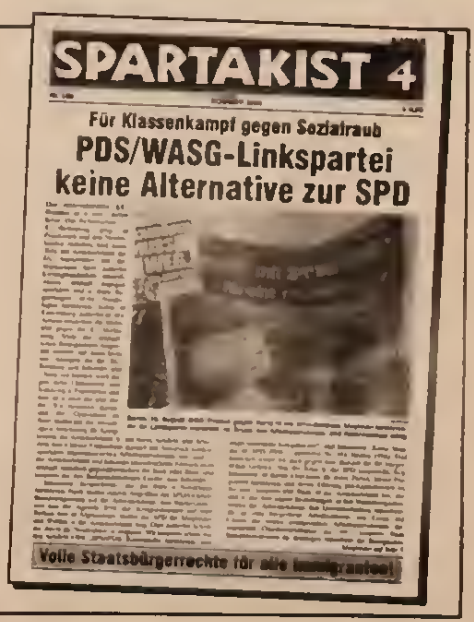
SPARTAKIST 4
Für Klassenkampf gegen Sozialraub
PDS/WASG-Linkspartei
keine Alternative zur SPD
Volle Staatsbürgerrechte für alle Immigranten!

Mexico...

(continued from page 16)

the day the postage stamps with the *Memín Pinguín* illustration were put on sale, crowds of people lined up to huy them despite, or rather because of, the scandal over the racist illustrations (the edition of 750,000 stamps has sold out!). Ohscenely, a new edition of the comic strip was just launched.

The capitalist rulers push the hypocritical ideology of nationalism—that we are all Mexicans and our interests are common—as a smokescreen that covers class distinctions and the counterposed interests of workers to the bosses, glorifying the most backward and openly racist aspects of "Mexicanity" and "popular culture." Thus, racist stereotypes of indigenous people as lazy and ignorant are also everyday occurrences. Anti-Semitism is so widespread that *Mein Kampf* is one of the most "popular" and easily obtainahle books, availahle at nearly every book kiosk in downtown Mexico City. In a particularly grotesque example of blindness to racist oppression, the cartoonist Rogelio Naranjo said: "In the U.S. displays of racism are different from those in Mexico. Here, poor people, not races, are discriminated against. Here, indigenous people are discriminated against not for 'belonging to another race, but for being poor" (*La Jornada*, 1 July). Tell that to the Zapatistas and the ten million indigenous people in the country! The Zapatista uprising in 1994 called the attention of people around the world to the reality of racist Mexican capitalism, which *adds* racial oppression to capitalist exploitation.

The denunciations of racism in *Memín Pinguín* by the imperialist Bush government—that a large part of the Mexican population rightly views as the most racist and immoral murderer of peoples in the world—are thoroughly hypocritical. The imperialists condemn the black population to the ghettos, prisons, unemployment, misery and police brutality. They also terrorize Mexican and Central American immigrants, unleashing the brutal *migra* and, as in the case of "governator" Schwarzenegger, supporting the fascist, paramilitary "Minutemen." At the same time, they whip up racism through derogatory stereotypes of these immigrants. Racism occupies a privileged place among the points of ideological affinity between the Mexican and American rulers.

Capitalism, in Mexico as well as in the U.S., is inherently racist. Capitalist parasites, who live by exploiting the work of the population, see a danger to their regime in the joint struggle of workers that overcomes national and racial divides, and for that reason they foment racism every day as a means of keeping the workers divided by stupid prejudices. Those who want to take part in the struggle for workers' interests must declare a battle to the end against these stupid prejudices. Our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. fight to break down the divisions between black people and Mexican immigrants pushed by the imperialist rulers; they fight to mobilize the entire working class to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and simultaneously for immigrants and workers to take up the struggle for black emancipation as their own.

As a legacy of slavery, black people in the U.S. suffer from *special oppression*, as a race-color caste relegated to the bottom of society. This oppression has historically been the cornerstone of American capitalism. At the same time, blacks are integrated into key sectors of the working class. Due to their position as the most oppressed, but also the most conscious and experienced sector of the proletariat, revolutionary black workers are called on to play a *leading* role in the coming American socialist revolution. That's why for Marxists the struggle for black emancipation in the U.S. is absolutely central. The Mexican exploited and oppressed will find no better ally in the struggle for their emancipation than the powerful, multiracial American proletariat, especially its black component. Unlike what nationalist ideologues assert, it is not with their exploiting "fellow countrymen," but with their class brothers and sisters, the exploited of the world, that workers share a fundamental interest: to put an end to this system of exploitation and oppression and replace it with the international rule of the workers.

The communists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México are proud to share with our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. the Marxist struggle against imperialism and racism, for the world workers commune. We call on workers to repudiate racist propaganda like *Memín Pinguín* and its official endorsement by the Fox government. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán! Workers of the world, unite!■

Down With Anti-Black Racism

U.S. Imperialist Hypocrisy Over Mexico's Racist Stamp

The following leaflet was issued jointly by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the newly founded Los Angeles Labor Black League for Social Defense on 30 July.

Images borrowed from the U.S. legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation are featured in the Mexican Post Office's recently issued series of stamps with racist depictions of Sambo-like cartoon character Memin Pinguin. Jesse Jackson has called on President Bush to pressure Mexico to withdraw the stamps from the market, saying they "insult people around the world." The White House, the chief purveyor of violence against non-white people globally, responded: "Racial stereotypes are offensive no matter what their origin."

The hypocrisy of the racist American ruling class and its government, Republican and Democrat alike, is boundless. When Mexican president Vicente Fox made his comment in May, that superexploited Mexican migrants would do jobs that "not even blacks want to do in the United States," he was describing the U.S. rulers' own social policy. The Bush administration wagged a finger at Fox while Jackson and Al Sharpton grandstanded as "black leaders," demanding Fox's apology for the benefit of the media. Not so long ago Attorney General John Ashcroft, an admirer of the slaveholding Confederacy, guided efforts in drafting repressive legislation against workers and minorities like the "Patriot Act" recently extended by a bipartisan vote in Congress.

In America, the exploitation of labor is wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. Today the desperate conditions of life for blacks, a race-color caste segregated at the hottom of capitalist society, and non-white immigrants are increasingly the reality for all American workers. U.S. imperialism has historically exported the practice of racial segregation along with its ideological props to the exploited semicolonial world. Mexico's anti-black racism shares this common origin which finds resonance with its native and pervasive anti-Indigenous racism.

But black workers in the U.S. are a powerful component of the trade-union movement; while Latino workers are a dynamic sector forming a human bridge to the toiling masses of Central and South America. The social power of organized labor must be mobilized against our common foe, U.S. imperialism, to champion the cause of all the oppressed around key demands such as full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

There will be no effective resistance to the exploitation of working people on hoth sides of the border without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black and Mexican poor. This united struggle would be the goal of a revolutionary, multiracial workers party fighting for working-class interest independent of and in opposition to the capitalist parties, Repuhlican and Democrat. The Lahor Black League for Social Defense, in fraternal alliance with the Marxist Spartacist League, seeks to build such a party. We are joined in this effort hy our Mexican comrades, Grupo Espartaquista de México, who wrote in a July 15 protest statement, "We call on workers to repudiate racist propaganda like *Memîn Pinguin* and its official endorsement by the Fox government. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán!"

Deep Throat...

(continued from page 3)

powers to suppress domestic dissent.

After the June 1972 break-in of the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate complex in Washington was linked to Nixon's Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP, appropriately pronounced Creep), the Senate convened public hearings in 1973 as an exercise in damage control. Under mounting pressure to leave office, Nixon acted in characteristic fashion, like a cornered rat, firing subordinates left and right and suppressing evidence including tapes of his efforts to get the CIA to stop the investigation. On 8 August 1974, with the House of Representatives clearly moving toward impeachment, he resigned.

Nixon's violation of hourgeois democracy disturbed his masters mainly because it was aimed against one of their own political institutions, the Democratic Party, and not representatives of the class enemy—the left, labor movement and oppressed. Nixon's second crime in their eyes was to get caught. The "law and order" presidency was exposed as a gang of petty crooks. This brought discredit on the Republican Party as well as the "Washington Establishment," something the rulers seek to prevent.

Chicago Tribune

UPI

1969: Chicago police and FBI brutally killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton (inset) and Mark Clark. Bloodsoaked mattress on which Hampton was sleeping.

The working class is certainly not indifferent to questions of political democracy. While exposing the corruption, machinations and state violence of the capitalist rulers, we demand the fullest possible democratic rights to allow the working class to organize itself around its own class interests and program. While it was necessary for the working class to support Nixon's impeachment, we proclaimed: "Impeachment Is Not Enough!" (*WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973). Watergate—i.e., Nixon's crimes against his own class—pales before his crimes against the world's working class. We stated at the time that his saturation bombing of the workers and peasants of Indochina earned him a place beside the worst Nazi war criminals at the Nuremberg trials.

Impeachment, like Nixon's resignation, only provided for the orderly transfer of power to the equally reactionary Vice President Gerald Ford. And the Senate hearings on Watergate in no way curtailed U.S. sabotage and subversion abroad, demonstrated by its all-sided support, at the same time, to Pinochet's bloody 1973 military coup in Chile. The worst excesses of domestic covert and COINTELPRO subversion may have been reined in, but those already ensnared or targeted by COINTELPRO continued to rot in American dungeons. For example, Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was imprisoned for almost three decades with full government knowledge of his innocence.

By 1983, the FBI had adopted the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. We called this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." What the FBI had done in secret and "illegally" in the '60s and '70s, Reagan's anti-terror red-hunt could carry out openly with the full sanction of the law. We responded with a lawsuit, as a result of which the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot he equated with violence or terrorism. However, as we wrote at the time:

> "We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government."
>
> —*WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984

What we stated during the Watergate crisis resounds even more profoundly today as the bipartisan "war on terror" moves to shred everyone's rights. The democratic rights of the working class can be defended and extended only through the class-struggle means by which they were won. Exposures of the machinations and naked violence of the bourgeois state must lead to the inescapable conclusion that those who labor must rule.■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated September 2.

London...

(continued from page 1)

The Bush and Blair administrations are using the London terror attacks to grease the skids for even more repressive laws, many of which have been in the works for some time. In the U.S., the September 11 attack led to the authoritarian, anti-immigrant, deeply sinister USA-Patriot Act. It was supposed to be "temporary," but just a few days ago the U.S. Congress, including by a unanimous vote in the Senate, re-authorized and made permanent nearly all the provisions in the Patriot Act. Congress also recently passed the anti-immigrant "Real ID" Act, a step toward a national identification system. The American Civil Liberties Union recently discovered, as the result of a suit it brought under the Freedom of Information Act, that in the last several years the FBI has collected over a thousand pages of documents about the ACLU itself, and thousands more on antiwar groups such as United for Peace and Justice, as well as civil rights and environmental groups. The frame-up conviction of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart for vigorously defending her client is also an attempt to crush political dissent.

As detainees in the U.S. torture chamber at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba went on hunger strike to expose their desperate plight, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in July upheld the Bush administration's "military commissions," again denying the detainees any right to due process of law (something the Center for Constitutional Rights had fought for and got the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold last year). Now, Vice President Richard Cheney is leading a White House charge to stop legislation barring torture by American forces.

In Britain, which already has some of the most draconian "anti-terror" legislation, the Blair regime is discussing a bill to criminalize *speech* that could supposedly "indirectly incite" terrorism. Since the London bombings, heavily armed cops have been patrolling the streets and subways, an unusual sight for the city where cops historically did not carry guns. And the racist backlash against Muslims has been growing daily. There have been terrifying and relentless police raids on people's homes, targeting especially Muslims from Somalia and Ethiopia. One home that was raided by the cops was later firebombed after the address was printed in the press, and the fascist British National Front staged a rally in front of a mosque in London's Regents Park. In this atmosphere of racist hysteria, Anthony Walker, a black teenager in Liverpool, was murdered on July 29, an ax embedded in his skull, after being subjected to torrents of racist abuse as he waited at a bus stop with his white girlfriend.

Indymedia

Reuters

London, 25 July: Hundreds protest killing of Brazilian immigrant Jean Charles de Menezes (inset) by British cops.

The vicious mindset of the capitalist rulers was captured by Condoleezza Rice, who, following the September 11 attacks, told the National Security Council to think about "how do you capitalize on these opportunities"! The Bush gang, supported by the Democrats, capitalized all right—launching an assault on democratic rights at home, invading Afghanistan and then devastating Iraq, which has been turned into a hellhole where terror attacks claiming dozens of lives have become the daily norm. Working people and all defenders of democratic rights must mobilize in opposition to the government's brutal and racist crackdown at home and imperialist adventures abroad.

Ayer/World Picture News

Rescue workers at Ghazala Gardens hotel in Egyptian resort town of Sharm el Sheik. July 23 terrorist bombings killed 64, including many Egyptian workers.

We reprint below a July 21 statement issued by the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League, following the London attacks.

* * *

Following Criminal London Terror Bombings:

Down With U.S./British Imperialist Occupation of Iraq!

Defend Muslims Against Labour's Racist Witchhunt!

Within hours of the horrific London bombings that killed over 50 people and injured hundreds, Tony Blair seized on this atrocity as a pretext to escalate the "war on terror." Let's be clear: these bombings were a criminal act of indefensible terror. Like the attack on the World Trade Center and the bombing of commuter trains in Madrid last year, the perpetrators share the same mindset as the imperialist rulers, identifying the working class and the whole population with the policies of the capitalist exploiters and oppressors. The bombs were aimed not at Bush or Blair, who were in Scotland for the G8 summit, but at the multiethnic working people of London: areas such as Edgware Road, which is overwhelmingly Arab; Aldgate, the heart of the Bangladeshi community; Kings Cross and Russell Square, through which hundreds of thousands of ordinary people of every race and ethnicity travel every day.

Bush and Blair, whose savage occupation of Iraq has cost the lives of an estimated 100,000 people, self-righteously condemned the terrorists for taking innocent lives. Behind their crocodile tears for those killed and wounded in the London bombings they seek to deflect the justified outrage and sympathy of the population for the victims and their families in order to reinforce their rule at home and abroad. As *Guardian* journalist Seumas Milne noted, even to link the bombings to Britain's role in Iraq or Afghanistan, which is obvious to millions, can get you denounced as a "traitor"; to question Blair's assertion that the bombings were an attack "on our way of life" is to be branded "an apologist for terror."

For millions around the globe, British imperialism's "way of life" has meant untold terror. Kurds in what is now Iraq, a country manufactured by British imperialism, were bombed from the air while Arabs were shelled by the British colonial overlords in 1919-20. The 1917 Balfour Declaration set the scene for carving the state of Israel out of the homeland of the Palestinians. The bloody partition of India under the Labour government of Clement Attlee ushered in communalist slaughter on an unprecedented scale. This laid the basis for murderous religious and ethnic conflicts that persist to this day, as well as the poverty, destitution and desperation of countless people from the Indian subcontinent to the Near East to Africa.

Millions in this country took to the streets in protest against the impending imperialist slaughter of Iraq in 2003 and Britain's role in the brutal occupation of Iraq cost Blair in the last elections. In that context, London Mayor Ken Livingstone's prominence in the demonstrations protesting the war on Iraq made him an ideal candidate to lead a patriotic "unity" crusade against "terrorism." Addressing the crowd at a 14 July vigil for the victims, flanked by leaders of all the main religions, Livingstone intoned "you see the world gathered in one city, living in harmony, as an example to all." Livingstone's speech could have been written by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who was in the vanguard of this "unity" chorus. Their 7 July statement on the bombings proclaimed: "London is a centre of peace, the most multiracial city in Europe and a global centre of opposition to the war and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan."

This is a shameless and grotesque denial of the reality of life for London's working class and poor, especially immigrants and minorities whose daily grind means long hours and pitiful pay while being routinely vilified by the racist press, the government and police. Since September 11, police dragnets have rounded up more than 600 foreign nationals under "anti-terrorism" legislation, the overwhelming majority of whom were later released. The handful detained, on no charges other than being "terrorist suspects," are confined in Britain's own Guantánamo—Belmarsh prison—or else electronically monitored under "house arrest."

To be Muslim is to be suspect. No sooner had bombs ripped through the Underground than a further wave of racist attacks was unleashed. Muslim organisations received 30,000 hate-filled e-mails; mosques had windows smashed and one was firebombed. In Nottingham a Muslim man, Kamal Raza Butt, was murdered by a gang who shouted "Taliban" before beating him to death. In London, the putative "city of peace," the fascist BNP put out a leaflet with a picture of the bombed bus, declaring that people should now "start listening to the BNP." Muslims fear an even more severe racist backlash now that the police say the bombings were supposedly carried out by British Muslims.

The government is planning more round-ups, more deportations and more sweeping police-state measures. A range of new offences will be created for what are essentially "thought crimes," such as "acts preparatory to terrorism," which might mean visiting "terrorist" Web sites; "indirect incitement," which includes "glorifying the acts of suicide bombers" as well as "attacking the values of the West"! While aimed most immediately at Muslims, the "war on terror" is designed to strengthen the capitalist state's machinery of repression, to be imposed with a vengeance against anyone the government perceives as an opponent as most recently demonstrated by the mass arrests outside the G8 summit. But the ultimate target is the multiethnic working class.

Today, Blair and Livingstone have the audacity to salute the heroism of the Tube workers, firefighters, ambulance drivers and others who put their bodies on the line to help the victims of the bombings. But, for years the government has savaged the living, working and safety conditions for these and other workers. And when the unions have fought back, like the firefighters did on the eve of the Iraq war, they were branded the "enemy within" and threatened with the full force of capitalist state repression. Last summer, Livingstone—the boss of transport workers in the capital—called on London Underground workers to scab on their own strike. And greed for profit and the policies of the government pose the biggest threat to the lives of passengers. The 1987 Kings Cross fire, the 1999 Paddington rail crash and other rail disasters have claimed far more lives than any terrorists. Now, the government is trying to scrap the legislation—introduced after the inferno in Kings Cross took 31 lives—which mandated stricter fire regulations!

For Class Unity of the Multiethnic Working Class!

It is a sign of the times that we have to point out today that London is a class-divided city, not to mention the seat of power of the blood-soaked British ruling class. Despite Britain's industrial decline,

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London...

(continued from page 13)

the City is still a hub for international capital. Share prices tumbled the day of the bombs, which in its own way shows that the workforce in the Underground and buses has tremendous social power—the City banks and stock exchange are dependent on the transport system. It is this social power that must be brought to bear in a class-struggle fight in defence of immigrants, minorities and the unions themselves against the racist "war on terror." As revolutionary internationalists we took a side in the war, calling for defence of Iraq, without giving any political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. So too must the proletariat be mobilised in defence of the Iraqi peoples against the savage British and U.S. occupation forces through class struggle against the British imperialist rulers at home! ***All U.S./British troops out of Iraq now! Down with the racist "war on terror"! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! For trade union/minority mobilisations against fascist terror!***

We vehemently oppose the appeals for the "unity" of all classes, which only serves to strengthen the hand of the imperialist rulers by binding the working class and oppressed to their very exploiters and oppressors. Not so the Socialist Party which blatantly appeals to mobilise the proletariat behind the so-called "war on terror," calling on the unions and the Stop the War Coalition to organise a mass protest on the slogan "no to terrorism, no to war." This dovetails with the politics of "antiwar" Labour MPs [Members of Parliament] like Alice Mahon who opposes Blair's invasion of Iraq, from the standpoint that it is not in the best interests of British imperialism at present, while arguing that it's a diversion from the "war on terror" at home.

As Marxists we oppose terrorism as a strategy, even when it derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses and targets genuine institutions of state repression—which the London bombing clearly did not. Substituting individual acts against the symbols of imperialist exploitation and oppression is directly counterposed to the task of mobilising the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. But the Socialist Party's declared opposition to "terrorism" is nothing more than an appeal to mobilise the proletariat behind the government's "war on terror." Placing an equals sign between the imperialist powers and the Islamic terrorists, the Socialist Party is in fact capitulating to British and U.S. imperialism, who constitute the mightiest and most dangerous terrorist forces on this planet. This is not particularly surprising coming from an organisation which prides itself on *not* calling for British troops out of Northern Ireland now—a call which is the most elementary act of opposition to British imperialism.

Class independence of the working class is the precondition for any genuine socialist opposition to imperialism—both against imperialist war and attacks on the working class and minorities at home. But the whole premise of the SWP-built antiwar protests is based on peddling another version of "national unity"—between the working class and oppressed who oppose the occupation of Iraq, and a more "rational" wing of the ruling class that believes British imperialism's interests are being damaged by acting simply as a "pillion passenger" behind the Bush White House. For the reformist SWP, the solution lies not in the overthrow of capitalism but in persuading the British government to break with Bush. An SWP statement (13 July) argues: "There has to be a dramatic reverse in policy, at home and abroad. Pulling the troops out of Iraq will begin to drain the swamp of bitterness that nurtures terrorism," adding that "the majority of people in the US have turned against Bush's war—we must intensify the pressure on the British government to break from him as well."

It is ludicrous to suggest that Britain can somehow "opt out" of the world system of imperialism, short of workers revolution and the establishment of a workers state that expropriates the capitalist class. It is downright grotesque to blame the alliance with the U.S. for British imperialism's brutality. Although today reduced to a decrepit junior partner of the U.S., when they did have the economic and military clout the British imperialists wrote the book on racist divide-and-rule and ruthless exploitation of their colonial "subjects." The "spirit of the Blitz" in World War II that has been invoked almost daily since the terrorist bombings in London is a persistent Labourite myth that all classes were united behind King and country in a common defence of British "democracy." Far from a war for "democracy," for the British imperialists this was a scramble to protect their imperialist "interests"—among which India was a prized possession. Thus they denied India its right to independence and even caused a famine in Bengal, while the Labour Party played a vital role in whipping up patriotic "unity" at home. And contrary to the main myth propagated about the "democratic" allies, it was the Soviet Red Army that smashed Hitler's fascism, at a cost of well over 20 million Soviet citizens' lives.

Zaklin/EPA

Savage occupation of Iraq: U.S. troops in Mosul brutalize man accused of supporting insurgents, January 2005.

Moreover, the British imperialists hardly need any lessons from the Americans on police-state repression, having inflicted it for many years on the oppressed Catholics in Northern Ireland. Similar to today's anti-Muslim hysteria, "anti-terrorism" campaigns of the 1970s led to outrageous frame-ups of innocent people such as the Birmingham Six, the Maguire Seven and the Guildford Four, who were wrongly convicted in a wave of anti-Irish hysteria following civilian bombing atrocities in British city centres.

Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces at Kabul airport, December 1979. Trotskyists hailed Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against Islamic reactionaries backed by U.S. and British imperialism.

Imperialist Hypocrisy and Islamic Fundamentalism

The British press is in a lather about the fact that this "democratic" country could produce "home grown" Islamic terrorists. Ken Livingstone stated the obvious when he said: "I suspect the real problem was that we funded these people as long as they were killing Russians. We gave no thought to the fact that when they stopped killing Russians they might start killing us" (*Daily Telegraph*, 20 July). For "we," read the British imperialists who, together with the U.S. and the Pakistan authorities, pulled off the largest covert operation in the CIA's history throughout the 1980s to boost the most extreme Islamic reactionaries, including Bin Laden, for a *jihad* in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. The SWP, the Socialist Party and most of the so-called socialist left were in the camp of the imperialists against the USSR. We hailed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, noting that this was a progressive act by the Stalinist bureaucracy that offered the possibility of extending the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples, particularly to the hideously oppressed women. Following counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, when imperialist funding to the Islamists dried up, the latter turned on their erstwhile backers, most dramatically in the criminal attack on the World Trade Center. Counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union gave an enormous boost to the forces of religious reaction around the globe, while also leading to a "one superpower world" in which U.S. imperialism and its allies feel they have free rein to ravage the semicolonial world.

The perpetrators of acts such as the London bombing, whoever they may be, demonstrate the mindset typical of religious zealots who believe they have a God-given right to exterminate all nonbelievers. Islam has no monopoly on this outlook: it parallels that of Christian fundamentalists who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S.; the Protestant bigots who justify "ethnic cleansing" against Catholics in Northern Ireland; and the Zionists who seek to "cleanse" the Palestinians from what they deem to be the Jewish "holy land." Terrorist attacks in the name of nationalist or religious forces tend to be aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many of the ordinary, multiethnic working-class people as possible. It is unlikely you would find the remotest representative of the upper classes of this country on the London Underground or buses. Moreover, two of the bombings were in heavily Muslim areas. So whoever perpetrated these attacks, the message can only be that Muslims should go back to their "own" countries.

In Britain Islamic fundamentalism has grown, nurtured by international factors as well as the prevalence of Islamophobia and economic decline. In 2001, Asian youth in Oldham, Bradford and Leeds had to fight pitched battles to defend their homes from fascists who, backed by the police, laid siege to neighbourhoods. In these former textile towns, the factories once provided a degree of racial integration, but economic decline and factory closures has increased the polarisation between rich and poor and led to a level of racial segregation which has been compared to the American South before the civil rights movement.

For the imperialist rulers "Islamic terrorism" has become the surrogate for the war against "Godless communism," the new enemy against which they seek to rally the population in support of imperialist terror abroad and increased state repression at home. Our purpose is to fight to infuse the working class with the consciousness that it has the class interests and the social power to eradicate the system of capitalist imperialism. The 1984-85 British miners strike, among whose most stalwart supporters were blacks and Asians, gave a palpable sense of how class struggle can unite all of the oppressed behind the power of the proletariat. We seek to forge a multiethnic revolutionary workers party which can take this power forward to victory through proletarian socialist revolution which alone can lay the material basis for ending racism, oppression, exploitation and war. ■

WORKERS HAMMER

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AFL-CIO...

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system and are tied to the capitalist state. This is exemplified by the fact that one of the most unionized workforces in the U.S. today is one that does not belong in the labor movement—cops. Both the Teamsters and SEIU as well as AFSCME in the AFL-CIO have made a point of organizing cops, as well as prison and security guards. These forces are not part of the labor movement; it is the job of the police—with security guards as their auxiliaries—to defend the interests of the capitalists over the workers, including through strikebreaking violence. The cops and prison guards, along with the courts, are part of the same capitalist state that is today threatening to take over the International Longshoremen's Association through a federal civil racketeering suit against "union corruption," which, if successful, would seriously weaken the union. By organizing such forces, the union tops are committing class treason, taking a stand for more "law and order," more jails and more racist repression. Cops, prison and security guards out of the unions!

Stressing as primary the call for "complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state," Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky noted in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

The trade unions are mass organizations to defend the economic interests of the working class against the capitalists and their state. To consistently carry out that role, they must be independent of the capitalists and their state. The labor tops promote collaboration and class peace with the capitalists. But the class struggle also has its own logic, and struggles that the labor misleaders may want to rein in could just as well erupt—through the workers' determination and militancy—into something that the bureaucrats can no longer control. A new leadership in the labor movement must be forged through class struggle, a leadership that begins with the understanding that the interests of labor and capital are irreconcilably counterposed.

The working class needs its own party, not the sham "independence" of tacking between the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, but a party that will mobilize all of the oppressed behind the social power of the working class. It needs a revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government and the abolition of the system of capitalist exploitation.

The backdrop to the AFL-CIO split is the sharp decline in union membership in the U.S. and corresponding declines in union economic and political power. Union membership rose to a high-water mark of 35 percent in 1953 when there were few government, white collar or service unions. Today, union membership accounts for about 13 percent of the workforce, but even that figure masks an underlying shift—a great decline in manufacturing workers and a shift to government, white-collar and service industries unions. From the 1970s on, manufacturing jobs started to move from the Midwest (once the industrial center of the U.S.) to the South and offshore—to places such as Mexico, Asia and, most lately and massively, China.

The decline of the organized labor movement goes hand in hand with the increasing immiseration of the workers and further curtailment of labor rights. The smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, conceived by Democrat Jimmy Carter and implemented by Ronald Reagan, was the model for what the bourgeoisie had in store for the labor movement. In turn, the supine surrender of the labor tops to Reagan's busting of PATCO has become a sad model for union response to the capitalists' drive to gut the labor movement.

With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the American ruling class was emboldened to drive back social gains which had been won through decades of social struggle by workers and all the oppressed. Now, with George W. Bush occupying the White House, the smug, complacent and brittle union bureaucracy has realized that

UAW

Detroit auto sit-down strike of 1937: Industrial trade unions were built through militant class struggle, including factory occupations.

it has a problem. The decline in membership and dues combined with waning influence in an increasingly weak Democratic Party is driving both wings of the labor bureaucracy to "reform."

Unions still provide their members considerable benefits compared to non-unionized workers. That is why the capitalists spend around $1 billion per year to fight unionization. The union-busters have been very successful. Strikes have been few, victories fewer. In 1974 there were 424 major strikes; last year there were 17. The wages, pensions, benefits and jobs of unionized workers have been under attack by employers who receive the full backing of the courts and government. Yet the union tops have done next to nothing to defend their members.

One does not have to be a Marxist to see how remote the AFL-CIO convention was from the needs and concerns of most union members, who were likely not even aware of the gathering or impending split until they were informed by the union-hating capitalist press. Far from reflecting a union membership that is at least 42 percent women, 15 percent black and 11 percent Latino, the roughly 900 delegates, representing millions of members, were overwhelmingly white and male.

The decline in manufacturing has particularly impacted black jobs, especially in industrial centers like Detroit, Chicago and Flint. More than 50 percent of union jobs lost in 2004 had been held by black workers. In one of the most ambitious organizing drives currently targeting the South, Stern's SEIU recently announced a campaign to unionize the 8,000 janitors in the Houston operations of ABM, the nation's largest cleaning contractor. Unionizing the notoriously anti-union South poses the need for the labor movement to wage a determined fight against the deep racial oppression and pervasive anti-black racism that exist in this country. Yet the union tops have largely disdained the kind of labor battles it will take to organize the viciously racist, "right to work" South. The failure of the AFL-CIO to organize the South has meant that fanatically anti-union corporations like Arkansas-based Wal-Mart, the world's largest retailer, are now driving down wages and living standards throughout the country.

Organizing Wal-Mart, the largest private employer in both the U.S. and Mexico, will also require the active defense of immigrant rights. Immigrant workers, often bringing with them traditions of militant labor struggle from their countries of origin, have played an important role in helping to revitalize the U.S. labor movement. Yet by and large the labor tops have signed on to the bosses' anti-immigrant "war on terror"—a war on the democratic rights of the American populace whose ultimate target is black people and the labor movement itself.

How can the unions fight for immigrant rights when their leaders promote protectionist poison, which amounts to blaming the loss of jobs in the U.S. on workers abroad rather than the American capitalists? While most of the Change to Win union leaders are in service industries, where many of the workers are black or immigrant and where the pressures toward protectionism are not so strong, they stand shoulder to shoulder with the Teamsters' Hoffa, who has sought to keep Mexican truckers off the roads in the U.S., appealing to gross national chauvinism. Meanwhile, as the first day of the AFL-CIO convention ended, the union leaders handed out signs denouncing CAFTA, the equivalent of the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico for Central America and the Dominican Republic, which was then awaiting a vote in the U.S. Congress. But despite occasional rhetoric about "global justice," the union tops' opposition to CAFTA is not based on international solidarity but protectionism and chauvinism.

Sweeney came to office in 1995 promising to turn things around through a massive organizing effort. Yet the unions continued to decline. Ten years later, Stern is now claiming that the split by the Change to Win Coalition is "a dramatic step that we hope will open up opportunities similar to the surge in worker unity and organization when the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was created in the 1930s" (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 July). This is simply cynical. The struggles to organize the mass industrial unions of the CIO were born out of the three citywide general strikes of 1934 (Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo)—all led by "reds"—and were built through militant class-struggle tactics like the sit-down strike. The right to organize was not won by lobbying Washington, but through pitched battles with scabs, cops and National Guard troops. But the reformists, the social democrats and the Stalinized Communist Party channeled the turbulent class battles of the '30s into support for Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its "New Deal" coalition (which included the die-hard Dixiecrat segregationists of the Deep South). The current impasse of labor goes back to that betrayal and the McCarthyite purge of reds and other militants from the unions beginning in the late 1940s.

One of Stern's organizational gimmicks is to merge most of the AFL-CIO's unions into about 15 "mega unions." This has nothing to do with industrial unionism, the principle that workers in an industry should be organized into a single union regardless of their particular skill or craft. A case in point is last year's merger of UNITE, representing apparel workers, with HERE, representing hotel and restaurant workers. When formerly UNITE laundry workers at the Wilshire Grand Hotel in Los Angeles were locked out last September, formerly HERE workers continued to work in that hotel, scabbing on their UNITE HERE union brothers and sisters.

Stern's program is one of business unionism based on a model that the union is simply a service organization for workers, something like a welfare agency rooted in a mythical alliance between workers and their employers. Stern himself said that the unions "should be elastic and expandable to meet different employers' needs. Unions created barriers to change as the world changed. We became a drag on change. Now the question is how do we become strong voices for workers. We need a new set of ideas that aren't going back 70 years" (*Chicago Tribune*, 31 July).

What the workers need is a militant labor movement that can challenge the bosses' continual assaults. The reality is that most of the unions on both sides of the split are "general unions," like the Teamsters or Communication Workers, seeking to encompass groups of workers from various unrelated industries. The AFL-CIO still includes craft unions that are organized on the basis of a particular skill and are likewise inimical to industrial unionism. Change to Win has trumpeted the necessity for organizing in a union's "core industry" in order to increase the power of the union. Yet the Teamsters organize everyone from printers to pharmacists while FedEx remains non-union. In Sweeney's camp, the United Auto Workers have been busy organizing graduate students while tens of thousands of jobs in auto remain non-union.

Rather than striking for union recognition, the union tops push "neutrality" agreements with the employers, as though companies are going to stand by and let the unions organize without interference. Unions seeking recognition through "neutrality" agreements often foreswear such fundamental rights as the right to strike, their most effective weapon against the employers. Rather than mobilizing in struggle, they petition the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to authorize an election while pro-union workers suffer harassment and firings. Both wings of the bureaucracy are busy lobbying for an "Employee Free Choice Act" to allow employees to get union recognition without employer interference. Each Democrat at the AFL-CIO convention solemnly pledged his support for this measure, which will pass the capitalist Congress just after hell freezes over.

To go forward, the trade unionists must break with any illusions in the Democratic Party as a "friend" of workers and be won to the understanding that a fight for their class interests requires complete independence from the bosses' parties and the capitalist state. The labor movement must stand for international working-class solidarity, fight for black rights, women's rights, full citizenship rights for immigrants. As we wrote in "Labor: Organize Wal-Mart!" (*WV* No. 851, 8 July):

> "Working-class struggle must be consciously waged as an ***international*** fight. And it must be based on the understanding that the interests of labor and capital can never be reconciled. The only way to guarantee good living conditions for everyone, jobs for all and an end to capitalist exploitation and racist oppression is through the expropriation of the capitalist class through socialist revolution. As Trotskyist internationalists, our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of 'defending American jobs' against foreign competition, but the words which Marx and Engels inscribed on their banner: 'Workers of the world, unite'."■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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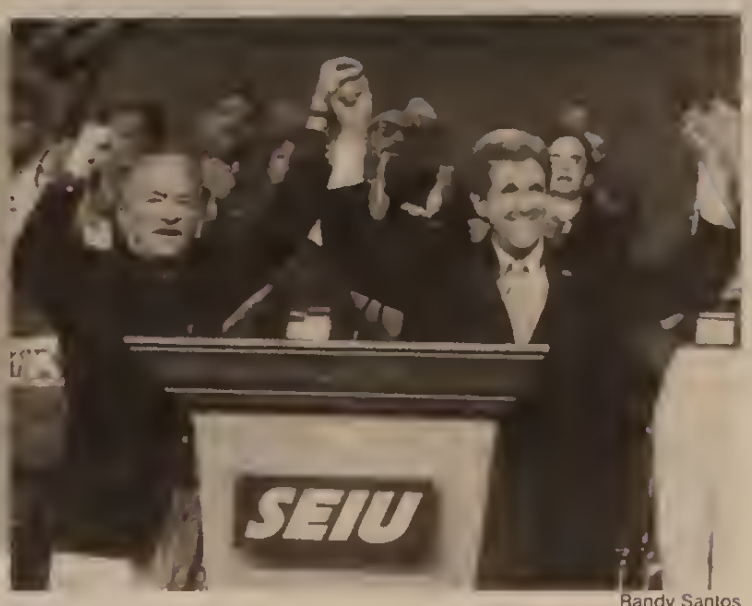
AFL-CIO Split: Sellouts Fall Out



Randy Santos

Both sides in AFL-CIO split tie labor movement to capitalist politicians. Left: AFL-CIO president John Sweeney with Ted Kennedy. Right: SEIU head Andrew Stern with John Kerry.

No Support to Capitalist Parties! For a Fighting Labor Movement!

CHICAGO—One day prior to the AFL-CIO's convention in Chicago, four of the country's largest unions announced a boycott of the proceedings. The following day, July 25, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) with 1.8 million members and the Teamsters with 1.4 million members disaffiliated from the AFL-CIO; four days later, the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), which has 1.3 million members, followed suit. The three breakaways have reduced the AFL-CIO membership by more than one-third. It appears that other unions—UNITE HERE, the United Farm Workers and the Laborers' Union—all belonging to the Change to Win Coalition led by SEIU head Andrew Stern may also break with the federation. AFL-CIO president John Sweeney retaliated by declaring that AFL-CIO state federations and central labor councils were prohibited from working with union locals and councils belonging to the dissident coalition.

The stated reason for the split by Stern & Co. is the continuing decline of union membership in the U.S. But neither wing of the labor bureaucracy is capable of turning the labor movement around. On the one hand, Sweeney says the unions need to spend more to elect "labor friendly" Democrats. Thus, the AFL-CIO convention featured an endless lineup of Democratic Party politicians from Senators Dick Durbin and Barack Obama to John Edwards, Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid and Ted Kennedy—and that was just the first day!

On the other hand, Stern calls for spending more on organizing efforts in order to increase the political clout of labor with the capitalist politicians, including Republicans as demonstrated by the fact that his allies include Doug McCarron, the pro-Bush president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. SEIU gave $65 million to the Democrats' 2004 presidential election efforts and $500,000 to the Republican Governors Association in the last election. Teamsters head James Hoffa Jr. told the *New York Times* (24 July): "We lost the election between Kerry and Bush because we didn't have enough members. We delivered the union vote very well, but we just didn't have enough members in the unions." Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean agreed: "If they get more people organized, that's more votes for us" (*New York Times*, 24 July).

The basic strategy of all wings of the labor bureaucracy is not class struggle, but to put pressure on the capitalist government, the executive committee of the ruling class, for concessions. The AFL-CIO split is an intra-bureaucratic squabble between Sweeney and Stern over tactics of class collaboration. It does not serve to advance the interests of the U.S. working class.

Everything of value that the workers movement has won has been achieved by mobilizing labor in class struggle, on the picket lines and in plant occupations, in defiance of the bosses' laws. There is a crying need to organize the millions of unorganized workers in this country. In fact, organizing the anti-union giant Wal-Mart symbolizes the tasks facing the American labor movement today. But neither side in the split proposes the all-out struggle necessary to organize Wal-Mart.

Both wings support the capitalist profit

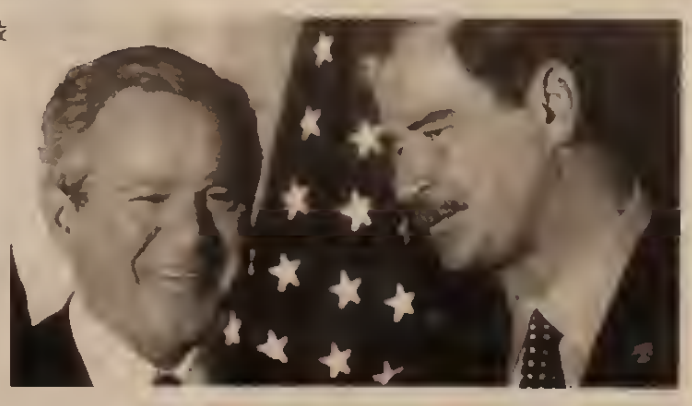
continued on page 15

Fox Endorses *Memín Pinguín*, Disgusting Racist Stereotype

Down With Anti-Black Racism! For Joint Class Struggle in Mexico and the U.S.!

We print below a translation of a leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, Mexican section of the International Communist League, on July 15.

After Fox's racist statement in May that "not even blacks" want to do the work done by Mexican immigrants in the U.S., on June 28 the government decided, as an example of "Mexican popular culture," to dedicate an official postage stamp to *Memín Pinguín*, a comic strip which has ***grotesquely racist*** illustrations against blacks, who are portrayed as subhuman creatures with crazed, ape-like features. This horrendous, stereotyped drawing comes directly from the epoch of slavery, which survived in the American South until 1865, when justification was sought for the brutal institution by portraying blacks as beings content with the state of things, and/or savages incapable of living in freedom. This stereotype continued to exist during the 20th century, especially under the brutal system of racial segregation (called "Jim Crow"), which dominated the American South. The Mexican Memín character is nothing other than an ignorant, lazy buffoon lacking self-respect. Today in the U.S., anyone who used that image of black people openly would be considered a likely supporter of the Ku Klux Klan. In Mexico, the authors of *Memín Pinguín* copied the same image, as well as that of Memín's mother—known in the U.S. as "Mammy," a docile house slave—and its spirit of condescending paternalism (reflected here also in the constant use of the diminutive "*negrito*").



AP

U.S. president George W. Bush with Mexican president Vicente Fox.

Scandalously, the disgusting caricature has found support among many personalities of the "progressive" Mexican intellectual milieu (from the cartoonists of *La Jornada* to the writer Elena Poniatowska), who rushed to defend the indefensible *Memín Pinguín* as a matter of patriotic honor, resorting to completely paternalistic (and racist) apologies for the cartoon's "charming *negrito*." The attitude of these cartoon "progressives" is the reflection of a society in which racist stereotypes are viewed as something natural and are recurrent in the Mexican press, TV and movies. After all, in the territory that today makes up Mexico there were also three centuries of slavery, with their corresponding racist ideological justifications, which necessarily left a mark on society's dominant mentality. Thus,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 853 — C-701 — 2 September 2005

Unions: Shut Down Northwest! Solidarity Action Can Win This One!

Victory to Northwest AMFA Strike!

The strike by 4,400 Northwest Airlines mechanics and cleaners, members of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA), is a crucial battle for every airline union and the entire labor movement. When the AMFA ranks walked out on August 20, the carrier set in motion a long-planned, massive operation to bust the union, bringing in more than 1,000 scab mechanics. Northwest has suffered from delays, cancellations and grounded planes, but it is far from crippled—a result of the outright treachery of the leaders of the other airline unions, which are scabbing on the strike. The capitalist media gloat about Northwest's "brilliant" planning of the union-busting operation and what it portends for all airline unions and the rest of labor. But all their plans would go down the tubes if airline unions followed the elementary union watchwords: ***Picket lines mean don't cross! One out, all out!***

Northwest has thrown down the gauntlet to organized labor. Several AMFA members have aptly described the strike as a "war." But as one striker in Detroit told *Workers Vanguard*, "We don't have a battle plan." The leadership of the AMFA craft union helped isolate the strike from the beginning with cocky assurances that their members were indispensable to the company and could win on their own. They didn't even set up a strike fund before the strike. This is not surprising for a union that uses its dues to pay a law firm to run its affairs.

WV Photo

Strikers picket at Detroit's Metro Airport, a Northwest Airlines hub. AMFA union must not stand alone—For class-struggle solidarity!

AMFA members don't lack determination, ***but they can't win alone!*** What's needed first of all is for AMFA to call on the International Association of Machinists (IAM), the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA) and the Professional Flight Attendants Association (PFAA) to ***stop scabbing*** and ***join the picket lines***. There are already individuals fighting within those unions to do the right thing. Addressing a strike support rally in Minneapolis on August 27, Peggy Lubinski, who was fired for honoring AMFA picket lines, told her fellow flight attendants: "You need to walk!" An IAM baggage handler walking the picket line in Detroit told *WV* that he had been fighting for his union to stop scabbing.

To their credit, some Machinists, individually and in groups, have refused to do AMFA's work. The Independent Pilots Association at UPS announced its refusal to handle Northwest cargo, and mechanics at KLM, one of Northwest's alliance partners, are refusing to service Northwest planes. United labor action against Northwest could help lay the basis for one industrial union for all airline workers—from pilots and mechanics to baggage handlers, cleaners, flight attendants and customer service agents.

Northwest provoked the strike by insisting that AMFA accept the elimination of more than half its jobs, including outsourcing all facilities and ground-equipment maintenance and cleaning and custodial work, on top of a 26 percent cut in wages, higher health insurance premiums, reduced sick pay and a freeze on pensions. Overall, the company wants to squeeze $1.1 billion out of its workforce.

Airline unions have enormous social

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al-Rubaye/AFP

Women demand their rights under proposed constitution, Baghdad, July 19.

Jalil/EPA

Terror bombing destroys bus terminal in Shi'ite neighborhood, Baghdad, August 17.

Iraq Unraveling

Down With the Imperialist Occupation!

AUGUST 29—Huddled behind ramparts of concrete and barbed wire in Baghdad's fortified Green Zone with the committee "writing" Iraq's new draft constitution, Zalmay Khalilzad, Washington's neocolonial emissary in Iraq, made every effort to ram through a made-in-the-U.S.A. constitution. "The Americans say they don't intervene, but they have intervened deep," Mahmoud Othman, a Kurdish member of the constitution committee, told the *Washington Post* (13 August). Last year Khalilzad presided over the crafting of a constitution in Afghanistan that effectively enthroned a fundamentalist regime of *mujahedin* warlords and enshrined as law the barbaric *sharia* (Islamic law).

The fantasy promoted by Bush and his neoconservative brain trust before the invasion two years ago was that American occupation forces would be met with rosewater and would proceed to erect a "unified, democratic" Iraq. A few months after Bush declared victory in the war, we pointed out (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003):

> "The ignoble real purpose of the war and subsequent occupation is to plant the American flag in the oil-rich Near East as an assertion of U.S. dominance over all semicolonial countries and imperialist rivals. This baldly imperialist aim has been wrapped in the guise of a crusade to erect a secular, democratic Iraq to serve as a beacon for freedom in the region. This is an opium pipe dream. In a fundamental way there is no 'Iraq,' a country the boundaries of which were created in the divvying up of the spoils by the British and French imperialist

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Of Constitutions and Calm

By the time you read these words, perhaps the new Constitution of Iraq will have been written, and accepted by the political leaders of the country. Perhaps there will still be conflict.

At any rate, given the inordinate attention devoted to the subject, American political leaders are promoting the myth that the writing and signing of the Iraqi Constitution will be a signal shift in their march towards democracy.

We are led to believe that the creation of such a document portends the era of progress in the country.

But the Iraq that exists, chaotic, dangerous, and indeed, deadly, to Iraqi, American and foreigner alike, will be the very same place a day, a week, a month, or perhaps for years afterwards.

It is commonplace for Americans, especially today, to look at the US Constitution as the work of demigods; of men who were not quite human. They are reverently referred to in terms that reflect America's deep civil religion, as the 'Founding Fathers,' or, most often, simply as 'The Founders.'

One of these men who was among them certainly didn't think of his contemporaries that way. As Thomas Jefferson, in the last days of his Presidency, wrote to James Madison:

> "Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years in government is worth a century of bookreading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead." [Quoted in Jack Rakove, *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution* (N.Y.: Knopf, 1996), p. 367].

Constitutions, even the US one, aren't manna passed down from Heaven. They are political documents, written by men (and sometimes women), designed to set down founding principles.

Nor do they always mean what they say, for how else can one explain the American practice of adding amendments to the Constitution, and then virtually ignoring them for better than a century?

The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, commonly known as the Reconstruction Amendments, were passed by the Congress and ratified by the States between 1865 and 1870. In many states, like Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, for example, it was as if such Amendments didn't exist. Although these amendments abolished slavery, protected citizenship rights, and embraced voting rights, these and other States enacted laws which violated their meaning and spirit. Slavery became peonage, and in some places, through the Black Codes, excuses to incarcerate Blacks and bind them to service to landowners. Voting, and other citizenship rights were cruel jokes, violated by such local practices as 'grandfather clauses,' which meant, unless your grandfather voted, you couldn't.

It took social movements, like the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, to create a Voting Rights Act in 1965.

But, if the 15th Amendment had any meaning, if it were followed, there would've been no need for such a law, nor a need now, to renew its provisions!

For 100 years, virtually half of America ignored the Constitution that it swore to uphold, protect and defend.

As many of us saw in 2000, in Florida, so-called constitutional rights are slippery things. How many tens of thousands of African-Americans, Jews, Haitians, and others, had their votes stolen?

And Americans expect Iraq to emerge as a biblical Garden of Eden once its Constitution is written!

This, at best, is sheer wishful thinking; at worst, it's imperial arrogance.

Iraq, today, is a nation in chaos. It will be in chaos tomorrow.

The problem isn't language; it's reality. It is the occupation that is in place to install photogenic puppets to rule on behalf of the Americans.

No Constitution will change that.

21 August 2005

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Send urgently needed contributions for Jamal's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Revolutionary Leadership and the Class Struggle

The capitalists' relentless drive to extract more profits from labor, from taking away medical care and other hard-earned gains to outright union-busting, engenders struggles by the working class to beat back these attacks. In the late 1930s, James Burnham, then a leading American Trotskyist spokesman, explained that the task for Marxists is to intervene into the class struggle in order to point the way toward the overthrow of the capitalist order through socialist revolution.

The program of the proletariat, accepted by revolutionists since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, can be summed up in two slogans: for workers' power and for socialism. Naturally the immediate tactic of the proletariat is not on all occasions the struggle for state power: that is possible only in a revolutionary crisis. But at all times and on all occasions the fundamental program remains the same—for the overthrow of capitalism, for workers' power and for socialism. This program expresses the basic class conflict in modern society; records the Marxist understanding that the problems of society can be solved only by socialism, and that socialism can be achieved only through the conquest of power by the proletariat. The duty of the revolutionary party, the conscious vanguard of the proletariat, is to keep this full and fundamental program always to the fore and always uncompromised. In its program, the revolutionary party thus sums up the independence of the proletariat as a class, and asserts its independent historical destiny.

—James Burnham, "The People's Front: The New Betrayal,"
Pioneer Publishers (1937)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 30 August.

No. 853 **2 September 2005**

Cover-Up Exposed

London Cops Executed Jean Charles de Menezes

"We may be poor but we are not that stupid," said Giovani de Menezes, the brother of Jean Charles de Menezes, who was gunned down in the subway by London police on July 22. Rejecting British officials' insulting blood money offer to the family of £15,000 ($27,000), he said, "We will not exchange money for my brother's life." The fury and disgust expressed by the family of the slain 27-year-old Brazilian immigrant are growing daily, as millions now know, due to leaks to the press, that the British government's cover-up of the horrifying police killing was a complete pack of lies.

Barely two days after the killing, Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Ian Blair blandly asserted that the "shoot-to-kill-in-order-to-protect policy" continued in place across the country, going on to add, "I think we are quite comfortable that the policy is right but these are fantastically difficult times" (*Scotsman*, 25 July). The cop murder of de Menezes is precisely what Blair and Bush's "war on terror" is all about—expanding the state's deadly powers of repression against the population domestically.

Just about every single "fact" given out by police following the killing of de Menezes, who they initially claimed was a terrorist suspect, has turned out to be a lie. He had no rucksack (where a bomb supposedly could have been hidden), he was not wearing a bulky padded jacket, he did not run from police, he did not jump over a ticket barrier. Actually, as the *Guardian Unlimited* (17 August) reported, documents from the Independent Police Complaints Commission show that "Mr de Menezes was filmed on CCTV cameras entering the station at a normal walking pace and even picking up a free copy of the Metro newspaper. He was wearing a denim jacket."

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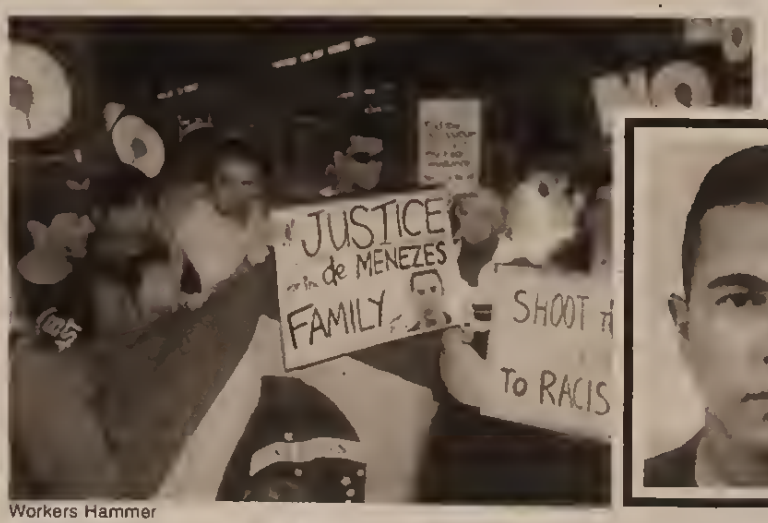


Workers Hammer

Reuters

London, July 25: Outrage over coldblooded cop execution of Jean Charles de Menezes.

Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of *All* the Occupied Territories!

Zionists Quit Gaza Ghetto

AUGUST 28—On August 4, just before Ariel Sharon's evacuation of settlers from Gaza, an ultra-chauvinist settler supporter opened fire on a busload of Arabs in northern Israel, killing four and wounding several others. Two weeks later, a settler in the West Bank went on a bloody rampage, murdering four Palestinians there. In the past week, Israeli forces carried out another massacre in the West Bank refugee camp of Tulkarm, killing a total of five people alleged to be Palestinian militants. Gaza remains enclosed by an electrified fence, and the West Bank is carved up by a ghetto wall and crisscrossed by military checkpoints and militarized Jewish-only highways. Hunger, disease, misery and hopelessness plague the Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories. This is the true face of Zionist Israel's vaunted "disengagement."

The road to today has been one of decades of Zionist land theft abetted by the perfidy of the nationalist leaders of the Palestinian people. In 1971, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) declared itself opposed to accepting a Palestinian state on anything other than all the area known as Israel and the Occupied Territories. Three years later, the PLO came out for a West Bank "mini-state," which was posed as a transitional step toward a "democratic, secular Palestine." In 1988, the PLO explicitly accepted the existence of the inherently exclusivist Zionist state, and in 1993 the PLO and Israel signed a U.S.-brokered agreement, the Oslo Accords, in which the PLO agreed to police the Occupied Territories on behalf of the Zionist rulers in exchange for Palestinian "autonomy."

Today, the government of Ariel Sharon, the butcher of the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982, has determined that Israeli national interests are best served by withdrawing approximately 8,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip—an area about the size of the New York City borough of Queens—and four settlements in the West Bank. This is being done as vastly more numerous settlements are built in the West Bank and East Jerusalem by devouring ever more Palestinian land. Once again demonstrating the bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism, today the Palestinian Authority talks of "building our country" in Gaza: a tiny, dusty parcel of land that will still confine 1.3 million impoverished Palestinians, encircled and under the thumb of the Israeli military. Sharon's vice prime minister, Ehud Olmert, emphasized that the Israeli military would now be *better* situated to police that desolate ghetto. After quoting Olmert that the pullout "will not reduce the capability of the Israeli security forces to respond," the *New York Times* (11 August) commented, "Without Israeli settlers in Gaza, [Olmert] suggested, the army could strike even harder."

The removal of the Gaza settlers by Sharon, implementing a policy earlier proposed by the Labor Party, was touted as a step forward for the oppressed Palestinians not only by imperialist spokesmen but by leftist cheerleaders for the so-called Palestinian "resistance." The Workers World Party (WWP), the pseudo-socialist organization that initiated the ANSWER antiwar coalition, hails the "victory of the steadfast Palestinian resistance" for "the fact that Israel is forced to withdraw" (*Workers World*, 18 August). The WWP enthuses: "The mood of continuing resistance in Gaza is visible in signs there that read: 'Today Gaza, tomorrow Jerusalem and the West Bank,' and 'Resistance wins—let's go on!'" Having earlier promoted more left-wing, secular variants of Arab nationalism, WWP now cheers a "resistance" dominated by the anti-woman, anti-Semitic Islamic reactionaries of Hamas.

Newspapers and TV depicted weeping settler families and reluctant Israeli soldiers, juxtaposed with scenes of jubilant, flag-waving Palestinians. Palestinians undoubtedly relish the departure of the hated settlers from Gaza after 38 years. However, they are not as euphoric as one might conclude from the Western capitalist media (and the likes of *Workers World*). A 12-year-old boy said that his hope for the future is "to go upstairs": the Israeli army took over the upper two floors of his home five years ago. An old woman stated, with what the reporter described as "the language of diminished expectations": "God willing, we hope for the best, for us and them. We only ask the United Nations and UNRWA [UN refugee agency] to build us a sewage line" (*Middle East Report* Online, 19 May).

Reuters

Gaza: One of many Palestinian homes demolished by Israeli occupation forces in 2004.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

It is necessary to demand the complete, unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli troops and settlers from all of the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, as well as the immediate removal of all anti-Arab fortifications—including the military checkpoints, the walls and fences and the apartheid highway network. WWP and the Palestinian nationalists notwithstanding, it is totally fatuous to believe that the current "disengagement" from Gaza will lead to a Palestinian state including the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Sharon made this clear by embarking on a massive new settlement construction program in the West Bank at the same time that the Gaza evacuation was under way.

Even were the Palestinians able to achieve a statelet on these territories—economically unviable and under Israeli suzerainty—this would hardly be a realization of Palestinian self-determination. Genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people is impossible without the dismantling of both the Zionist state of Israel, whose very existence is premised on the oppression of the Palestinian people, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, whose population is about 60 percent Palestinian.

Unlike various "leftist" enthusiasts for Arab nationalism, we have always insisted that national emancipation for the Palestinians must not come at the expense of the right to national existence of the Hebrew-speaking people. Given the interpenetration of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab populations—two peoples laying claim to the same territory—the only just resolution to the national question lies in the revolutionary overthrow of all the bourgeois regimes in the region. Only through the creation of a planned economy in a socialist federation of the Near East can conflicting claims over land and water be equitably resolved and all languages, religions and cultures be placed on an equal footing.

The Israeli pullout from Gaza and a handful of West Bank settlements is a caricature of the "Gaza-Jericho first" deal that was the first step of the 1993 Oslo "peace" accords, which created the Palestinian Authority. In an article headlined "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," we wrote that this deal "does not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination" and "would place the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). We added:

> "This grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people marks a watershed in the Near East. By its act, the PLO has invited fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas to pose as the only fighters against the Zionist occupation. Petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism has been shown to be the bankrupt and impotent dead end that it always was."

Implemented by the Labor government of Yitzhak Rabin, this deal led directly to the doubling of the settler population in the Occupied Territories in subsequent years. The Palestinians who had earlier managed to eke out a living as low-wage laborers in Israeli construction and agriculture were now largely confined to their segregated villages and squalid refugee camps and cut off from their livelihoods, replaced by migrant labor from East Europe and Southeast Asia. A population that had once been among the most educated and cosmopolitan in the Near East is today increasingly under the sway of Islamic reaction. Whereas the first *Intifada* in the late 1980s gave rise to a plethora of women's organizations that challenged traditional values, Palestinian women are now, especially in Gaza, increasingly forced to wear the veil and many have been murdered in "honor" killings.

Today, Hamas is maneuvering to gain maximum political capital for itself as the Fatah movement of Mahmoud Abbas, Yasir Arafat's successor, grows increasingly discredited and despised. Over the past year, Hamas candidates won an estimated 60 percent of all seats in local government elections in Gaza and the West Bank, and in the West Bank town of Qalqilya, Hamas' slate took all 15 positions, which was seen as "a protest not only against Fatah's history of mismanagement but also against Fatah's powerlessness to prevent the encirclement of the town on all sides by Israel's wall" (*Middle East Report* Online, 21 August). Hamas also intends to run in legislative elections projected for next January.

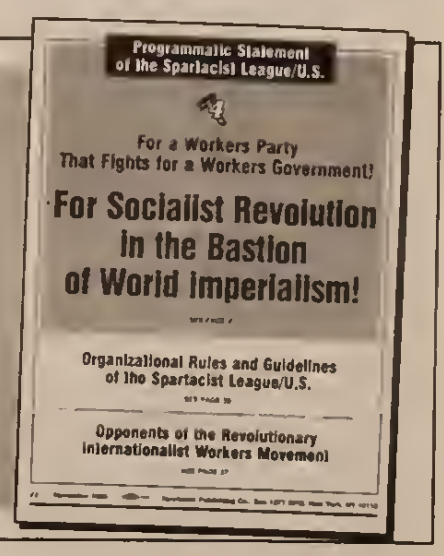
The suicide bombings carried out by such groups as Hamas against innocent Israeli civilians—as opposed to attacks on the Israeli military and their armed settler auxiliaries—are criminal acts of terror that serve only to seal any fissures in Israeli society. The starting point for those fighting for social justice and national emancipation for the oppressed Palestinians must be that Israel, like the neighboring Arab countries, is a capitalist society with a class divide between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The proletariat includes not only European-derived Ashkenazi Jews but the more downtrodden Near Eastern Sephardic Jews and a deeply oppressed Palestinian Arab minority.

The inherently oppressive Zionist state must and can only be swept away from within, through a proletarian revolution uniting Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking workers against the common class enemy. For this to come about will likely require the prior victory of socialist revolution elsewhere, under the banner of proletarian internationalism. But if the Hebrew working class is to fight for its own liberation from capitalist exploitation, it must champion the national rights of the Palestinian people. In turn, the Arab working masses will not be won to a perspective of proletarian revolution if they are not broken from Arab nationalism and anti-Semitism. What is crucially necessary is the forging of revolutionary Marxist parties throughout the Near East, tempered through the most uncompromising struggle not only against fundamentalist reaction of all religious stripes but also even the most secular or "progressive" brand of nationalism. There is no other way. *Defend the Palestinian people! For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Mexico: López Obrador, Democratic Rights and the Tasks of the Working Class

We print below the first part of an article translated from Espartaco *No. 24 (Summer 2005), published by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. The article centrally deals with the attempt by Mexican president Vicente Fox of the National Action Party (PAN) and a section of the former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) to strip Andrés Manuel López Obrador of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of his political immunity, a process called* desafuero, *in order to eliminate him from next year's presidential race.*

PART ONE

AFP

Rally of 200,000 in Mexico City, August 2004, in defense of PRD mayor López Obrador (inset).

Reuters

No Support to Capitalist PRD! Forge a Workers Party!

Last May, while polls showed that Mexico City's mayor, PRDer Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), was growing in popularity and that he could win the presidency in 2006, the PAN government, together with a majority wing of the PRI, launched a campaign transparently designed to push AMLO aside: the attorney general accused him of "disobeying" a court order for taking too long to return a piece of land he had expropriated to...build a road to a hospital! Through electoral fraud, [late 19th- to early 20th-century leader] Porfirio Díaz remained in power for 30 years and the PRI and its predecessors for 70. For more than 100 years, defense of effective suffrage against fraud has been one of the most recurrent and deeply felt demands of the masses, and it is not surprising that Fox's maneuver dramatically polarized the country. The *desafuero* process dominated newspaper headlines and TV news shows. In Mexico City, there were homemade banners everywhere repudiating the PAN and PRI's stories. Since last August, hundreds of thousands have marched in the streets, especially in the capital, against the new fraud. More significantly, many workers unions, above all the so-called "independent" ones, which contain many of the most combative trade unionists, took part in the demonstrations.

Even the bourgeoisie found itself divided over the *desafuero*. While important bourgeois sectors backed Fox's attack, other sections of the bourgeoisie, and even of the imperialists, were worried about the danger of "instability," i.e., an explosion of social struggle as a result of Fox's attempt. Thus, some of the most "respected" bourgeois mouthpieces in the world, like the *New York Times*, denounced the maneuver. The threat of instability provoked a fall in the stock market. According to *Proceso* (1 May), the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, Richard Myers, met with Fox in mid April to warn him of the consequences of the *desafuero*, and the U.S. government itself made its "concern" about political instability public. Finally, after the mobilization of 1.2 million people in defense of AMLO's rights on April 24, Fox backed down.

The attack by Fox & Co. would have meant a pre-emptive right-wing strike, carried out with the approval of the Mexican Congress, to get rid of the candidate that Fox's clerical gang identifies with the "left." This attack would have represented a blow against the thin "democratic" layer covering volatile Mexican capitalism and would have reinforced state tyranny. We Spartacists opposed the PAN's attack against the elementary democratic rights of the entire population: essentially the right of people to vote for whomever they want. As Marxists, we defend democratic rights, among them universal suffrage, which have been won through bitterly fought struggles. We took this position without giving the PRD any political support and while making clear the PRD's bourgeois and therefore inherently anti-worker nature. As we wrote in a leaflet distributed at demonstrations against the *desafuero* on April 7 and 24 [see *WV* No. 846, 15 April]:

> "If the working class is to break with the bourgeois parties and move forward toward its political independence, as a basic starting point the working class should not allow Fox's judicial dictates to prevent it from voting for whomever it wants. If the government can push aside even a timid bourgeois nationalist such as López Obrador, removing him from his elected post and even incarcerating him, what could a class-struggle leadership of the working class expect?"

Working people are fed up with the "government of business owners" and its transparently anti-worker "neoliberal" policies. The PRD, a bourgeois-nationalist party that combines denunciations of "neoliberalism" with meager concessions to the workers and oppressed, has managed to take advantage of this discontent to increase its popularity, especially among the dispossessed masses. Thus, in the demonstrations in defense of López Obrador on April 7 and 24, banners supporting AMLO's "alternative nation project" were common, as well as others declaring "You Are Not Alone" or "We Are All López."

But as Marxists, we understand that the main division in society is that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, two classes with their own, irreconcilable interests. To render this division clear and to combat illusions in the bourgeoisie are our main tasks. The PAN, PRI and PRD are ***all bourgeois*** parties, differing only in the form of administering capitalism. None of them challenges—and it could not be otherwise—capitalist exploitation itself. To get rid of the rapaciousness ***inherent*** in this system of exploitation and oppression, it is necessary for the working class to take power in its own hands through a socialist revolution, destroying the bourgeois state—whose core is the police, the army, the courts and the prisons—and establishing a workers state, the class dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a state would be based on collectivizing the means of production and using them not in the service of the profits of a handful of capitalists but for satisfying the needs of the population.

Union of electrical workers protests against Mexican capitalists' privatization drive.

"Neoliberalism" and "Populism": Two Faces of Capitalist Exploitation

Over the last two decades, the Mexican economy has been administered according to policies identified with what is known as "neoliberalism": brutally slashing social expenditure, privatizing state industries and opening up the economy to foreign investors without any restrictions. The high-sounding goal, according to [former president] Salinas de Gortari, was to bring Mexico into the "First World." Today, there is nothing left to privatize except the energy sector, and yet the reality is the devastation of the economy and the living standards of the masses. The buying power of wages has fallen 70 percent in the last 23 years. Privatizations have thrown millions onto the streets and significantly weakened the unions. Countless *maquiladoras* [foreign-owned "free-trade" factories] have been closed. The implementation of NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] and the dismantling of the *ejido* [communal farming system] have devastated millions of peasants. Together with the tens of thousands who risk their lives every year trying to enter the U.S. in search of employment, thousands of peasants continue emigrating to the big cities, where they join the immense army of the unemployed trying to survive. An estimated 27 percent of the total population is engaged in the "informal economy," i.e., they are street vendors.

In addition to continuing these reactionary economic policies, the PAN is also the historic party of clerical reaction; it was founded by priests, bosses and landowners in the 1930s as the "respectable" version of the [Catholic fundamentalist guerrillaist] Cristero movement and in response to the *Callista* and *Cardenista* blasphemies [referring to the secular presidents Plutarco Elías Calles and Lázaro Cárdenas]. Thus, Fox's administration is characterized by its general social backwardness, by its campaigns to reinforce "family values," and by its continuous attacks on the separation of church and state and against the rights of women. Fox grotesquely boasts that the murders of women in Ciudad Juárez have been solved, to the disbelieving ears of the victims' relatives and of a population horrified by over a decade of unpunished misogynist crimes. It was the PAN government of Baja California that in 2000 denied young Paulina her elementary right to an abortion after having been a victim of rape, and instead sent her...to a priest! Today in Mexico—the second-largest Catholic country in the world—15 homosexuals are murdered every month. Fox is the first president in over a century to kiss the hand of a pope in an official act.

The PAN is made up of openly anti-worker right-wingers, ideologically motivated neo-Cristeros and overt lackeys of American imperialism. Fox himself is nothing more than a Coca-Kulak—an ignorant landowner with a small dose of urbanity courtesy of The Coca-Cola Company. The PAN national leader Manuel Espino is a veteran of the fascistic organization El Yunque. Now the country's domestic policy is in the hands of Carlos Ahascal, an obscurantist fanatic and son and legitimate ideological heir to a leader of the equally fascistic *sinarquista* movement [a legal political organization based on the peasantry and derived from the Cristeros]. The republican principles of Fox and his monks are probably reduced to their belief that only "Christ is King" [slogan of the Cristero movement].

On the other hand, there is nothing particularly leftist in the politics of López Obrador and the PRD. But they have managed to seize on the crass conservatism of the current federal government and its aristocratic and ignorant disdain for the poor and the workers in order to

present themselves to the masses as a friendlier alternative and a viable vehicle to achieve the felt democratic demands of the population (the right to education, national emancipation vis-à-vis American imperialism, etc.). A large part of AMLO's popularity comes from his statements against the privatization of the energy sector. To a certain degree, López Obrador has translated his democratic-nationalist rhetoric into popular measures, such as an acclaimed subsidy to the elderly and to single mothers and investment in projects of public education and urban infrastructure—timid and elementary measures which in the context of the brutal austerity of the PRI and PAN seem truly significant. This is a dangerous illusion.

The working class should not have illusions in AMLO. The particular positions that distinguish him from other bourgeois politicians (constant denunciations of neoliberalism, opposition to privatization of the energy sector, etc.) are purely conjunctural: they are either electoral campaign promises or measures to *defuse* the potential for workers struggle. Nationalist populism and economic neoliberalism are simply alternate policies of the capitalist system, often followed by the same individual according to the demands of the moment. As we said in our 7 April leaflet: "If he wins the presidency, the very support López Obrador has among the workers movement would place him in a better position to carry forward the privatization of the electric and oil sectors, which the ineffective Fox has not been able to achieve."

The same understanding is behind the support AMLO has among important capitalists such as Carlos Slim—the richest man in Latin America, who bought the formerly state-owned communications monopoly Telmex—and statements such as that of the president of the Mexican Banks Association, Marcos Martínez Gavica. Clearly referring to López Obrador, Martínez Gavica commented on the day of AMLO's inauguration that a "left" politician represents no obstacle to the country's development: "He can even be a guarantor to further advance reforms in order to make the national economy more competitive" (*La Jornada*, 5 March). And when these people talk of "reforms" and "capacity to compete," they invariably refer to privatizations and anti-worker measures. ***Not one vote to the capitalist parties! For the political independence of the working class! For a workers party to fight for workers rule!***

From Lázaro Cárdenas to López Obrador: The Nationalist Sleeping Pill

The history of Latin American capitalism has been one of constant oscillations between "free trade" openness on the one hand and nationalist populism on the other. After decades of "neoliberalism," in recent years there has been a shift throughout South America back toward nationalist populism. However, this shift in the political climate and balance of forces is not in itself anti-capitalist. In a sense, it strengthens the forces of Latin American capitalism by solidifying the ties of the working class to its own national bourgeoisie, which is well practiced in demagogic denunciations of Wall Street and Washington. As we said in *Espartaco* No. 20 (Spring-Summer 2003), "The only constants in this inhumane wheel of fortune are subjugation to imperialism and the human misery of millions of peasants and workers."

Casasola Archive

Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas nationalized oil industry in 1938.

The fundamental role of the PRD has been to derail the inevitable daily and spontaneous struggles of the Mexican masses into the sterile framework of electoral ballots. Its goal is to stabilize volatile Mexican capitalism and renegotiate the terms of its subordination to imperialism. It was telling that, at the April 7 demonstration against the *desafuero*, López Obrador's speech put particular emphasis on maintaining the peaceful character of the demonstrations and respecting state institutions. His speech had an effect not only on the crowd but also on the big bourgeoisie, which sighed in relief. Even the stock exchange recovered after his speech.

The PRD emerged as a disenchanted faction of the PRI that sought to return to that party's "golden years." Thus, in his book *Un Proyecto Alternativo de Nación* [*An Alternative Nation Project*], López Obrador writes in reference to the PRI governments before Echeverría that "although we suffered the endemic evil of inequality, Mexico grew constantly at a rate of almost 7 percent a year and with macroeconomic stability in prices and public finances." In order to polemicize against "neoliberals," AMLO uses the example of...Gustavo Díaz Ordaz and Adolfo López Mateos, among others. The former is infamous for the [1968] Tlatelolco massacre, while the latter was responsible for the brutal crushing of the great railroad strike of 1957-58, although many (like the leadership of the SME [Mexican Electricians Union]) remember him only for the nationalization of the electric industry. But that is what bourgeois nationalist populism means: the combination of concessions to the workers and oppressed and brutal repression, with the goal of disciplining the working class and pushing forward the interests of the bourgeoisie. Also revealing, though certainly not surprising for Marxists, is his reference to the "endemic evil of inequality." What workers need to understand is that inequality, exploitation and oppression are endemic *to the rule of capital*.

It is worth analyzing briefly the politics of the icon of Mexican bourgeois nationalists, Lázaro Cárdenas. During his presidential period, Cárdenas carried out a series of democratic reforms, such as nationalization of oil and railroads and land distribution. Marxists defended these measures against right-wing attacks. The expropriation of oil in particular represented, in the words of Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, "the only effective means of safeguarding national independence and the elementary conditions of democracy."

On the eve of World War II, Cárdenas took advantage of the conjuncture—with the existence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to the imperialists—to expropriate the British and American oil magnates; he also humiliated them by giving asylum to the Bolshevik Trotsky, the organizer, together with Lenin, of the October Revolution and the founder of the Red Army and the Fourth International. Cárdenas' aim was to ***consolidate the Mexican capitalist state*** and check the excessive ambitions of the imperialists, and this required the support of the working class. In 1940, living in Lázaro Cárdenas' Mexico and months before being assassinated by a Stalinist henchman, Trotsky explained in "The Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "Inasmuch as the chief role in the backward countries is not played by national but by foreign capitalism, the national bourgeoisie occupies, in the sense of its social position, a much more minor position than corresponds with the development of industry. Inasmuch as foreign capital does not import workers but proletarianizes the native population, the national proletariat soon begins playing the most important role in the life of the country. In these conditions the national government, to the extent that it tries to show resistance to foreign capital, is compelled to a greater or lesser degree to lean on the proletariat."

This quote explains quite succinctly the essence of the decades of PRI bonapartist rule in Mexico, during which the state, due to the inherent weakness of the bourgeoisie, often appeared to stand above competing class interests and relied on corporatism—tying political, social and trade-union organizations to the state.

By making these concessions, Cárdenas not only used the working class as a powerful card to play against his local and imperialist bourgeois rivals, but he managed to co-opt it and to then put it under the iron leadership of the CTM [Mexican Labor Federation] bureaucracy. Cárdenas was no "socialist." When nationalist demagogy was not enough, he didn't hesitate before unleashing repression against the workers. For example, in 1940 he sent the police to break an oil strike in Azcapotzalco. Despite his nationalist rhetoric, by the end of his administration the Mexican economy depended on the U.S. more than ever before. "Tata" Cárdenas was, in fact, the founder of what Mario Vargas Llosa evocatively called the "perfect dictatorship" of the PRI, which was to last 60 years.

Bourgeois nationalism was the main ideological glue that made possible Cárdenas' "historic alliance," i.e., the subordination of the working class to the PRM [Party of the Mexican Revolution, predecessor to the PRI]/PRI. Nationalism is the notion that in the end we are all Mexicans and the key question is to push the nation forward. Today, the PRD mimics Cárdenas' nationalist rhetoric. This is only a smokescreen to cover capitalist exploitation. The proletariat will successfully struggle to achieve its historic interests inasmuch as it breaks with this ***bourgeois*** ideology and realizes that it is an ***international*** class, with common interests independent of nationality and counterposed to those of the national and foreign bourgeoisies.

The Image Bank

Quinones/SF Examiner

U.S. combines harvesting wheat (above). Children of Indian migrant farm workers from Oaxaca. NAFTA has devastated millions of Mexican peasants.

An Alternative *Subordination* Project

In his book *An Alternative Nation Project*, which in reality is little more than a great collection of commonplaces and pipe dreams about how Mexico will become a paradise of social justice once the PRD holds the reins of its destiny, AMLO presents a series of proposals to solve one of the country's oldest and most burning problems: the land. But his program to "reactivate the countryside" is a bad joke. The goal is "to harmonize and support, at the same time, subsistence agriculture, production for the internal market and production for export." How to achieve it? He writes:

> "It would be necessary to promote the strengthening of the subsistence agriculture economy in communities. The purpose is to promote traditional productive activities with small grants....
>
> "There are exceptional cases in indigenous communities where they produce almost everything they consume. There is also, for example, what has historically happened in towns like those of Tlaxcala, where the peasants, in small plots of land, grow corn, with good productivity, and have sheep, goats and cows in their yards, and a loom inside the house."

The Tlaxcala peasants do so well that they risk their lives to migrate massively to the U.S.! Additionally, AMLO says: "The government action we propose must be oriented to granting credit through verbal agreements for the purchase of animals, grain and seeds, work materials, supplies and all that is destined to strengthen productive activities and traditional technologies." What does "traditional technologies" mean? Pulling plows with starving oxen? Using mud to build *chinampas* [Aztec artificial islets used for growing crops on the old Texcoco lake]?

Mexican agriculture, which is in large part subsistence, cannot compete with the huge industrial farms of the U.S., which in addition cover immense expanses of fertile land that simply do not exist in Mexico. To give one example of the enormous differences, here there is one tractor for every 100 people involved in agriculture, while in the U.S. there are 1.5 tractors for every rural worker. Making the Mexican countryside productive does not require "traditional technology" but ***modern*** technology: tractors, irrigation systems, processing plants, fertilizers and scientific education for the peasants. But this goal is impossible within the framework of underdeveloped capitalism; to make it a reality, a workers revolution backed by a peasant insurrection is necessary, to expropriate the bourgeoisie and the landowners. This perspective cannot be separated from the struggle to extend the revolution to the colossus in the north, which would make it possible to obtain the technology necessary to pull the countryside out of backwardness and misery.

The national emancipation the masses long for and AMLO promises presupposes a modern industrial economy. But Mexican capitalism cannot rid itself of imperialism. Thus, regarding the *maquiladora* industry, AMLO holds:

> "We propose direct dealing with entrepreneurs to stop the migration of *maquiladoras*. It is true that in China or other parts of the world there are more relative advantages, above all the low cost of labor, but it is possible to offer other incentives and to re-evaluate the importance of the proximity of our country to the world's largest market."

The only way to make the *maquiladora* industry competitive is to make labor even cheaper, to offer greater fiscal advantages to the blood-sucking investors and to continue the draconian labor regime established by the so-called "protection contracts."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Schwarzenegger Goes After Unions, Blacks, Immigrants

Defeat Anti-Worker Assault in California!

Aronzo/EPA

Dale Crandall-Bear

Nurses and teachers at May 25 Sacramento rally denounce threatened cutbacks by Governor Schwarzenegger.

Break with the Democrats— For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

OAKLAND—California trade unionists are alarmed and outraged over the offensive against public employee unions, education and social services being spearheaded by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. Tens of thousands of teachers, nurses, firefighters and other union members turned out in Los Angeles and Sacramento on May 25 to demonstrate their determination to fight against it. Schwarzenegger's special statewide November election is designed to push through attacks on the unions and social services.

Last December, Schwarzenegger taunted nurses protesting his attempt to impose reduced nurse-to-patient ratios, calling them "special interests" and boasting, "I kick their butt." But Schwarzenegger has been hounded all over the state by angry teachers, nurses, students and others. Sustained protests helped drive the governor's approval rating down to 31 percent by late June. On July 20, a state judge ordered nurses to postpone a one-day strike protesting reduced nurse-to-patient ratios at University of California hospitals.

The capitalists are increasingly brazen in their drive to destroy unions. William Hauck, president of the California Business Roundtable, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (16 May) that a ballot measure he backs to increase teacher probation terms may be "no panacea" but is a step in the right direction: "Ideally, we would have no tenure or collective bargaining." In a conference call with big Schwarzenegger donors, the contents of which were leaked to the press in June, the governor's aides promised to create a "phenomenon of anger" against public employee unions (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 June).

While the convulsive labor battles of the 1930s forged powerful unions in the private sector, most public employees were not even unionized until three or four decades ago. Since then, many well-paying union manufacturing jobs in the U.S. have vanished, devastating large sections of the unionized industrial working class. Capitalists have gone on a union-busting offensive, with the result that today only some 12 percent of workers are unionized—8 percent in the private sector.

Workers have shown no lack of determination and courage in fighting against this offensive. However, the union bureaucracy has sabotaged strikes and acquiesced to the growth of non-union jobs while appealing fruitlessly to "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party, which is no less a capitalist party than the Republicans. Now the bourgeoisie is going after public employee unions, which by 2004 accounted for some 37 percent of public sector workers. This is one of the few areas that black people can still hope to get well-paying union jobs.

An article in *Business Week* (13 June), under the scare-mongering title "SinkHOLE! How Public Pension Promises Are Draining State and City Budgets," outlined the capitalists' theme: "Outside of government workers, very few employees have these kinds of deals anymore." The defined-benefit pensions won by the unions after World War II are being widely replaced with 401(k)s, shifting the onus of retirement security from the company to the individual workers. So, now that pensions have been devastated in the private sector, public workers are painted as "greedy" because they have not yet been driven down to the same level.

At issue is not just defense of the unions, wages and benefits of public sector workers. The ruling class is removing obstacles to further savaging everything from public education to what's left of the "social safety net." Hospitals in poor, black and immigrant areas like L.A.'s King/Drew Medical Center are under the ax, while Schwarzenegger helps Bush cut Medicaid. In San Diego, a nearly $2 billion pension shortfall, which led to the resignation of Republican mayor Dick Murphy last month, is the pretext for threats of massive cuts in city services.

Mobilize Union Power!

How to fight against this assault? California union officials are conducting a purely electoral campaign centered on TV ads and lobbying the state legislature. But union power does not come from spending the membership's hard-earned dues money on backstabbing "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party and slick lobbyists. Union power derives from the ability of the workers to collectively withdraw their labor power and bring operations to a halt. None of the vast wealth that flows through California ports moves without workers organized in strategic, multiracial unions like the International Longshore and Warehouse Union. Yet strike action, stopping the flow of profits, is the last thing to be considered by the existing leadership of the labor movement, whose entire outlook is based on appealing to the capitalist state—the government apparatus and repressive forces (cops, courts, prisons) that administer and enforce the laws protecting the capitalists' private property and profits.

The labor bureaucrats are once again hitching workers to the cart of the Democratic Party, under the guise of "stopping Schwarzenegger." In fact, Schwarzenegger is emboldened to attack the unions head-on *as a direct result of the betrayals of the union tops*. In the 2003 recall election that put Schwarzenegger in office, union officials backed the widely hated Democratic incumbent Gray Davis. Only days after the election, Los Angeles transit workers and Southern California UFCW grocery workers struck, while a potential strike by 50,000 L.A. County and Orange County workers loomed.

Instead of spreading the widely popular grocery strike to other states where contracts were expiring and linking up these struggles, the bureaucrats worked hand-in-glove with Democratic politicians to get transit workers back to work and isolated the grocery workers at a critical juncture. At every step, the labor tops sabotaged the grocery workers' determined five-month struggle. The millions the AFL-CIO gave to the Democrats should have been given to the UFCW to help them win their hard-fought strike. A victory for the grocery workers would have resounded among workers throughout the country and could have been the springboard for organizing the anti-union giant Wal-Mart, a crucial task facing the labor movement.

The obstacle to wielding union power is the labor bureaucracy—a parasitic layer in the trade unions based on the privileged upper strata of the working class—with its ties to the Democratic Party. Whether represented by the AFL-CIO's John Sweeney or the SEIU's Andy Stern, who led the recent split of several unions from the AFL-CIO, the labor tops push the lie that the interests of capital and labor can be reconciled. In the course of the class battles to come, it is necessary to forge a new leadership in the unions based on a perspective of mobilizing the power of labor independently of all the agencies and representatives of the class enemy. What is required is the forging of a party that fights to bring the power of the workers to bear in defense of all the oppressed—women, blacks, immigrants, gays. Such a revolutionary workers party would lead workers to the understanding that to meet and safeguard their fundamental needs requires overthrowing capitalist rule, a system that is increasingly irrational on so many levels—from the decaying social and industrial infrastructure to the imperialist war against and occupation of Iraq.

Costantini/SF Chronicle

May 17: Oakland high school students and teachers march to City Hall protesting layoffs and closures.

Teachers, Schools Under Attack

Teachers are the main immediate target of Schwarzenegger's campaign. One of the three main ballot initiatives backed by the governor, the so-called "California Live Within Our Means Act" (Proposition 76), would gut the provisions established in 1988 by the passage of Proposition 98, which put a floor under education spending. Prop. 76 would also allow the governor to unilaterally cut state spending across the board, including tearing up state employees' union contracts to cut pay and benefits. Proposition 74, demagogically titled the "Put the Kids First Act," would increase from two to five the number of years it takes teachers to reach permanent status (i.e., increase the length of probation).

Widespread seniority and tenure provisions give teachers a degree of job security, which makes teachers more difficult to intimidate. The Governator and his backers want to destroy tenure as a step toward destroying teachers unions, whose lobbying for public school funding has impeded attacks on education for working-class youth.

Schwarzenegger launched his campaign by sounding his central theme—pass my measures or the Democrats will raise taxes. "Don't you dare touch Proposition 13," he declared, adding demagogically that the Democrats would "maybe take these poor people's homes away" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 June). As we said in "Oakland Teachers Under Attack: Defend Public Education! Free, Quality Education for All!" (*WV* No. 846, 15 April):

> "The severe crisis in California's public education dates from the 1978 Proposition 13 tax revolt, when white, middle-class property owners voted a cap on property taxes. Prop. 13 was a de facto racist referendum aimed against spending 'tax dollars' on social programs that benefited blacks and other minorities—a convenient scam designed to pit petty-bourgeois homeowners against unions and government workers. The real beneficiaries were large commercial property owners."

California spending per pupil has plunged from 18th among all states in 1977 to 44th today. This has intensified the savage inequalities of the racist capitalist system, under which rich white suburban kids get the best schools money can buy—private or public—while poor and minority inner-city students end up in squalid, decaying schools. In July, Democratic legislators—with the support of the California Teachers Association (CTA) misleaders—made a budget deal with Schwarzenegger to drop some $3 billion owed to the schools under Prop. 98.

Hoy

Jose Raul Peña with daughter Suzie, both killed by cops on July 10 in Los Angeles.

According to the CTA, this means about "$25,000 less for every classroom in the state" (*California Educator*, May 2005).

A spokesman for the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, pointed out at a March town hall meeting in Oakland that was called to oppose attacks on the local public schools and teachers union:

> "The Democrats as well as the Republicans represent an American capitalist class that is no longer interested in educating the children of working people, blacks and minorities. To the capitalists, black ghetto youth in particular aren't wanted except as cannon fodder."

The kind of workers party we need would mobilize the power of labor to defend teachers and the education of working-class, black and immigrant youth. That means a fight for full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Free quality, integrated public education for all! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action!

To counteract widespread respect for teachers and nurses, Schwarzenegger is trying to tap the same racist fears and bigotry that pushed through Prop. 13. He made a big show of embracing the racist, anti-immigrant Minutemen border vigilantes earlier this year. There is an unmistakable racist edge in whipping up a "phenomenon of anger" against unionized public workers, who are disproportionately black.

Schwarzenegger also hopes to gain from the mobilization of anti-abortion fanatics like the American Life League/Crusade for Life, who targeted women's health clinics in the San Francisco Bay Area in July. A reactionary "parental notification" initiative on the ballot, Proposition 73, would both effectively ban abortion for many women under the age of 18 and enshrine in the state constitution the anti-abortion dogma that fetuses are "unborn children" from the time of conception. The attacks on abortion rights are part of a campaign of promoting social reaction aimed at regimenting and intimidating the entire population. A workers party would mobilize workers to defend abortion clinics and fight to make abortion and contraception available on demand as part of free, universal, quality health care for all.

WV Photo

5,000-strong UFCW grocery workers strike rally in Los Angeles, December 2003.

Democrats: Sweet-Talking Enemies of Workers, Blacks, Immigrants

The Democrats, who control the state legislature, operate within the same framework as the Republicans—a public spending "crisis" that requires sacrifices by the workers. The difference is that the Democrats mask the demand for sacrifice with rhetoric about "fairness." California is not "out of money." The state is still the fifth-largest economy in the world. The question is not how to spread around the misery capitalists inflict on workers and the oppressed to be more "fair." The question is by whom and for what purpose the wealth and resources of society are directed: will it be by a tiny layer of capitalists who amass ever-greater piles of wealth and send workers to fight and die for their profits in imperialist wars, or by the workers who produce the wealth and who have both the interest and the ability as a class to organize society to meet the needs of the vast majority through expropriating the capitalist class?

It is no accident that Democratic mayors of major California cities, despite a veneer of liberalism, are front-line enforcers of budget cuts and layoffs. In Oakland, Jerry Brown presides over the assault on public schools and teachers. In San Francisco, Gavin Newsom has launched an offensive against civil service job protections, targeting city and school district workers and their unions, on behalf of the downtown capitalists, while posing as a friend of the hotel workers in their ongoing contract battle. The Democrats also clamor for "law and order"—the standard code word for brutal racist police occupation of the ghettos and barrios—and back the "war on terror." While initially taking aim at immigrants from Islamic countries, the "war on terror" also targets the rights of blacks and other minorities and the labor movement.

No one personifies the role of the Democrats better than Antonio Villaraigosa. The former speaker of the California State Assembly and a former organizer for United Teachers Los Angeles, Villaraigosa became the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles in 133 years when he beat fellow Democrat James Hahn in a June runoff. Villaraigosa proved his worth to the bourgeoisie in 2003 when he joined hands with the union tops to engineer the sellout of the L.A. transit strike, which was pivotal in stemming a spreading wave of labor struggle. Villaraigosa's victory has been lauded by the union tops as something akin to a Second Coming. Joining them are self-proclaimed socialists like the Workers World Party (WWP), whose paper *Workers World* (1 June) raved: "There couldn't be a more critical time to have a vocal immigrant-rights advocate and offspring of Mexican immigrants at the helm in City Hall."

The illusions fostered by reformists like the WWP are fatuous and inimical to the task of mobilizing labor and minorities in their own defense. The day after his election, the "progressive" Villaraigosa, who was backed by former Republican mayor Richard Riordan, met with police chief Bratton, who continued the cops' racist war on black youth when he took over the department. At his inauguration, where he was joined on the platform by Schwarzenegger, Al Gore and Jesse Jackson, Villaraigosa put supporting the cops first on his agenda, saying "We can find the resources and the political will to hire more police officers" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 July). This means more racist cops like those who shot to death black 13-year-old Devin Brown in South Central last February. On July 10, only days after Villaraigosa's inauguration, the LAPD SWAT team blew away a 19-month-old Latino baby, Suzie Peña, in Watts as they gunned down her father in a hail of bullets.

Black, Immigrant, Labor Rights Go Hand in Hand

Villaraigosa is being lauded as the man who will forge a new black-Latino alliance. But the capitalist system for which Villaraigosa proclaims himself the poster boy ("I am proof that the United States is a country of opportunity and liberty," he declared in Spanish at his inauguration) means grinding oppression and exploitation of the black and Latino masses. There are 90,000 homeless in Los Angeles County, nearly 40 percent of whom are black. The area has lost some 150,000 manufacturing jobs since 2000. In East L.A., the unemployment rate for black teens reaches 66 percent. Latino immigrants have moved into the L.A. area in large numbers, where they work for low wages at the kind of jobs historically done by blacks, while facing raids by *la migra* and attacks by racist vigilantes. The resulting tensions between blacks and Latinos recently broke out in clashes at L.A.'s Jefferson High School.

The ruling class exploits these tensions with the help of Latino nationalists who push anti-black racism and black politicians pushing anti-immigrant chauvinism; white workers are incited to direct their anger at both blacks and Latinos. This is the divide-and-conquer policy that the capitalist rulers have used for nearly two centuries.

Under both Democratic and Republican plans to "regulate" immigrant labor, immigrants are intended to become virtual indentured servants, working for next to nothing, shutting up and being deported when the capitalist state wills it. Labor must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to organize the unorganized. The answer to growing unemployment is not to fight over a shrinking number of jobs, but to fight for ***jobs for all***. A workers party would fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours—to reduce the workweek with no loss in pay to provide a decent job to everyone who needs one. It would work to organize workers on both sides of the Mexican border, championing the defense of the Mexican masses against the rapacious U.S. imperialist rulers.

At the same time, Latino as well as white workers must be won to the understanding that the fight for black liberation is central to the struggle against the entire system of capitalist exploitation in the U.S. The oppression of black people, first as slaves and then as an oppressed caste based on skin color, pervades American society. Historically, the capitalists used blacks as a "reserve army of labor," last hired and then, in a business downturn, first fired.

U.S. capitalists now believe that they have no particular use for the masses of the black population. As a consequence, in California blacks make up 6.5 percent of the population but nearly 30 percent of the prisoners. On June 1, the state opened a new $716 million prison, the latest of 22 new prisons in a system that holds twice the number of prisoners it was designed for. So foul are the conditions in these dungeons that on June 30 a federal judge took over the prison medical system, citing "outright depravity in the rendering of medical care."

This state of affairs cries out for the destruction of the social system that generates it. Black workers—particularly those concentrated in unions—are a strategic component of the working class, where they have potential social power. A revolutionary workers party would fight for labor to make every struggle against black oppression its own. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

For a Workers Government!

In opposing Schwarzenegger's moves earlier this year to go after state workers' pensions, Democrats and union tops highlighted their defense of the cops, who would also have been affected. (The governor put these proposals on hold for now due centrally to police opposition.) Indeed, cops and prison guards prospered under former Democratic governor Gray Davis, as part of the massive expansion of prisons nationwide over the last couple of decades, largely due to the racist "war on drugs." While California teachers' salaries are the lowest of the five most populous states, the Democratic legislature and Davis gave the California Correctional Peace Officers Association a 34 percent pay raise over five years.

Cops and prison guards use their "unions" to fight for stricter laws, more jails and, in general, better "conditions" to repress workers and brutalize the ghetto and barrio poor. If unionists strike in their own defense, the role of the cops and courts will be to break their strike. However, not only have public employee unions like SEIU and AFSCME signed up every cop, security guard and prison guard they can, but the notoriously brutal prison guards have been placed front and center by the labor bureaucrats in their campaign against Schwarzenegger. "Having them as an extremely active partner has really helped broaden the coalition," said Gale Kaufman of the union-backed Alliance for a Better California. A class-struggle labor movement would break from the policy of organizing the racist, strike-breaking cops: Police, security guards and prison guards out of the unions!

In fighting for jobs, schools and other necessities, workers must learn to rely on their own independent strength, championing the cause of all the oppressed in a common struggle to overthrow capitalist rule. The Spartacist League aims to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government to ***expropriate*** the capitalists as a class, abolishing private ownership of industry, transportation and banking. Victory in this struggle in the U.S. and worldwide will enable those who create the wealth to build a society based on production for social need, liberating all humanity from racism, exploitation and war.■

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club Educational Work-In

Training a New Generation of Revolutionaries

Young Spartacus Photos

Above: SYCers hear presentation at *Workers Vanguard* bound volume session during work-in. Below: Assembling shelving at Prometheus Research Library.

For two weeks this June, members of Spartacus Youth Clubs from around the U.S. and youth from other International Communist League sections participated in an educational and maintenance work-in at the ICL center in New York. Modeled on similar events in the 1990s and 2001, the work-in not only served to carry out important tasks of physical maintenance of our party facilities, but also to counter the pernicious view inculcated by bourgeois society that there is a "natural order" dividing people into either intellectuals or manual laborers. The exaltation of intellectual labor as distinct from and superior to manual labor is a key part of the bourgeoisie's justification for the vast inequalities of capitalist society.

A Marxist organization that fails to combat the division between mental and manual labor would not only reproduce some of the worst features of capitalist society, but by the same token limit its effectiveness and political capacity. This was captured by Spartacist League national chairman Jim Robertson at an SL/U.S. conference in 1994:

> "In order to change the world, you have to be able to change it, not merely learn something to write about it....
>
> "So if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual. And if you don't know what to do with your hands, you are an ignorant person, and you are certainly not a physical scientist or an engineer....
>
> "A good journeyman, without the engineering or scientific overview, necessarily bumps against a conceptual ceiling and must be frustrated. I think that Bukharin, in one of his speculative books, suggested that with the victory of the working class and the development into higher stages of socialism, the last residue of previous class-divided society to be shattered would be the monopoly of the petty-bourgeois-derived intellectual skills, and that after that we, increasingly united as a species, would be on the road to communism."
>
> —"'Maintenance and the Communist Movement'," *WV* No. 605, 2 September 1994

During the work-in young comrades worked on over 20 different projects ranging over the full spectrum of manual and mental labor—from intricate archival tasks to drywall installation, from light sheet metal work to filing projects. The youth received rave reviews for their professionalism and enthusiasm. In some cases, youth members were able to devise new procedures to streamline the projects as they proceeded. Rotating shifts of work were broken up by educational presentations and discussions spanning a wide range of topics. Indicating the success of the work-in, a number of youth, inspired by their time in the center, decided that they wanted to make the leap to party membership.

Revolutionary Continuity: A Theme of the Work-In

A theme of the work-in was the preservation of our party history as part of the struggle to maintain continuity between our revolutionary Marxist predecessors and future generations of Marxists. Several major projects were carried out at the Prometheus Research Library (PRL), a working research facility that is the central reference archive of the Spartacist League. The PRL's collection includes thousands of books, reels of microfilm, documents and bulletins, centering on, but not limited to, the history of the Communist and Trotskyist movements. As fighters for new October Revolutions around the world, we are not passive commentators on Trotskyist history. The PRL serves to assist in the task of the general education and political arming of ICL members, which means learning from both the victories and mistakes of previous generations of revolutionaries. Preserving the programmatic positions derived from the hard-fought struggles of the past is a major challenge for revolutionaries in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union, a defeat that has led to a historic regression of consciousness in the workers movement. A key task for our party in this period is to resist the intense pressures of "death of communism" ideology, which has, as Trotsky noted of reactionary periods, thrown political thinking back to stages long since passed through.

As Trotsky noted in his 1937 work, "Stalinism and Bolshevism": "In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least maintain its ideological positions.... It is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide." Imparting this understanding to youth comrades was a central component of both the educational classes and the maintenance projects at the work-in. In addition to assisting with crucial archival work at PRL, youth comrades assembled and installed several 12-foot-tall shelving units to expand the space for the PRL's collections. Another project involving preservation of our history was the preparation of bound volumes of our press—some 20 youth comrades carried out the painstaking task of collating issues of *Workers Vanguard* to produce the 2004 bound volume.

Other major projects included the clean-up and organizing of Central Office holdings of periodicals and press published by ostensibly Marxist organizations around the world. Comrades also assisted in a much-needed reorganization of the physical layout of the press composition department to create more space for proofreading, fact-checking and computer equipment. Comrades learned a number of skills by working with the maintenance department, from painting, plastering and drywall installation to the use of basic hand and power tools.

Comrades brought to bear a variety of life experiences as students and as workers, demonstrating in a small way the Leninist conception of a revolutionary workers party—a fusion of declassed radical intelligentsia with the most conscious elements of the working class. Especially in a student-based youth organization, there is a constant struggle against both aspects of the bourgeois division between the "doer" and the "thinker": the petty-bourgeois "star" conception, rooted in egotism and the struggle for prestige, and the no less pernicious denigration of self-worth drummed into the working class and oppressed, centered around the notion that there are those who just do the "grunt" work while others come up with the bright ideas. We aim to build a party that rejects these bourgeois prejudices in practice; this includes fighting against manifestations of women's oppression which parallel and intersect the mental-manual division. The very concept of "women's work"—the household drudgery and child-rearing to which women are largely relegated—is an expression of this, as are views such as those of the Harvard University president who recently questioned women's "intrinsic aptitude" for science. Our organization fights to counteract the degradation women face in capitalist society by having women comrades participate in all aspects of party work and seeking especially to train them to become leaders of our party. In this respect, it was particularly satisfying for some young women comrades to learn important maintenance skills for the first time through the work-in, and, for those who already had such skills, to help lead some of the major projects.

Educational Classes and Workshops

Over a dozen educational presentations and workshops were held during the work-in. The theme of revolutionary continuity and the struggle for programmatic integrity ran through various classes: on the origins of the Spartacist League; on our work during the Vietnam War era around the early New Left and the Students for a Democratic Society; and on the history of Marxist struggle against popular-frontist strategies that programmatically subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie, of which our principled political opposition to the World Social Forums is a current example. Other educationals covered the history of our legal and defense work and of our trade-union work, linking this history to current tasks. Educationals on China and on our campaign in the 1980s against the U.S.-backed *mujahedin* who fought the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan focused

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Churches, Charities and CIA Cash

Social Forum Con Game

We reprint below a Young Spartacus *article from the Spartacus Youth Group in Britain, published in* Workers Hammer *No. 191 (Summer 2005), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.*

WORKERS HAMMER

If the "Make Poverty History" campaign [against "Third World" poverty] had anything to do with actually challenging the scourge of poverty, AIDS, illiteracy and all-sided misery and destitution for the peoples of Africa, would it be endorsed by Tony Blair and [Chancellor of the Exchequer] Gordon Brown? These butchers of Iraq are trying to rebuild Labour's popularity with voters at home and to refurbish the image of blood-drenched British imperialism. Behind them is a whole cabal of celebrities, religious charities, NGOs, trade-union bureaucrats and reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) championing the "Make Poverty History" fraud.

Not everyone is taken in by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown's new-found concern for the poor. A letter in the Glasgow *Herald* (6 June) wryly noted: "Gordon Brown's genuineness about eradicating poverty is as genuine as, and in direct proportion to, his willingness to lead a demonstration of bankers, financiers and stockbrokers along the streets of Edinburgh with a banner proclaiming 'Long live the Cuban Revolution!'" As for imperialist hypocrisy about aid to the "Third World," we endorse a characterisation of bourgeois charity written by Engels in 1845. Addressing the English bourgeoisie, he wrote it was "as though you rendered the proletarians a service in first sucking out their very life-blood and then practising your self-complacent, Pharisaic philanthropy upon them placing yourselves before the world as mighty benefactors of humanity when you give back to the plundered victims the hundredth part of what belongs to them!" (*Condition of The Working Class in England*). "Sucking out the life blood" from the world's working masses and oppressed is what the G8 [group of eight major capitalist countries] is all about.

For those who want to protest against the G8 meeting but don't want to go along with the "we are the world" roadshow, there is the iron fist of state repression. For months, the tabloids and other media have echoed police forces in scaremongering about "violent" anarchists attacking the G8 summit. An army of 10,000 cops has been mobilised; a five-mile-long fence has been erected around the five-star hotel in Gleneagles [Scotland] where the meeting will take place; and reportedly the U.S. is stationing an aircraft carrier full of Marines off the west coast of Scotland.

Here are the methods the capitalist rulers use to deal with any perceived protest against their rule—state repression on the one hand and political co-optation on the other. Foremost among the mechanisms for co-opting "anti-globalisation" protest are the World Social Forum (WSF) and European Social Forum (ESF), which are led and organised by much the same forces that are leading "Make Poverty History." Starting in 2001, these Social Forums have been used to defuse the wave of mass protests—against the G8, World Trade Organisation, IMF and other imperialist agencies—exemplified by the Seattle protest in 1999. The purpose was to draw radical youth away from pitched confrontations with the forces of the capitalist state and to corral them behind the "democratic alternative" of parliamentary reformism, while pretending that these talking shops were "non-parliamentary." Far from being met with the tear gas, water cannons and bullets of the capitalist state, as happened in Genoa in July 2001, the WSF and ESF have been backed and bankrolled by various agencies of the imperialist rulers.

This is because the Social Forums and the so-called "anti-capitalist" movement in fact pose no fundamental threat to capitalist rule. Their organisers buy into the predominant myth of the "post-Soviet" world: that class struggle against the capitalist order is a thing of the past; the working class is irrelevant as a factor for social change and the best that can be achieved is to give the system a "human" face. The truth is that the capitalist system is as dependent as ever on the working class, which has the power to overthrow capitalism. To achieve this, the working class must become conscious that its own interests are irreconcilable with those of the capitalists. The Social Forums are an obstacle to this class-consciousness.

He Who Pays The Piper...

Workers Hammer Graphic

World Social Forum's slogan is "another world is possible." But whose world? Above: Some of the agencies that have sponsored and funded the Social Forums.

Social Forums and State Funding

The European and World Social Forums have all been funded by capitalist states in the countries where they were held and received official backing from either bourgeois municipal governments or mayoral offices. The list of sponsors for the WSF has included not only the government of the city of Porto Alegre, the state government of Rio Grande do Sul and the federal government of Brazil but also the Banco do Brasil and its biggest petroleum company, Petrohras! The 2002 ESF was financed by the city of Florence and the 2003 Paris ESF funded by the Chirac government. The 2004 London ESF was bankrolled and hosted by the New Labour mayoral office of Ken Livingstone, supporter of the imperialist bombing of Serbia and cheerleader for the police terror against "anti-capitalist" protesters on May Day 2000.

The Social Forums have also all been dominated by the misnamed "Non-Governmental" Organisations (NGOs). Of course these organisations, sanctioned by and receiving much of their funding from churches and capitalist states, are hardly independent from the governments to which they are answerable. Charities have long been the "humanitarian" face of imperialist intervention and of multinational companies looking to pillage "Third World" economies. Prominent NGOs at the Social Forums have included Oxfam, War on Want and Christian Aid. The major sponsor of NGOs around the world is the United Nations, which itself was set up to give a humanitarian veneer to the depredations of imperialism, particularly American. In this tradition, the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in January 2003 received a message of support from UN secretary general Kofi Annan.

As the old saying goes, "He who pays the piper calls the tune." And while all the Social Forums rail against the truly savage and deranged Bush administration in the U.S., among those funding the WSF are none other than foundations such as the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Ford Foundation. The Rockefeller foundation was used to clean up the Rockefellers' reputation following the 20 April 1914 massacre in Ludlow, Colorado in which 20 people—including children—were killed by company guards and militia during a bitter struggle by the mine-workers union. The Ford Foundation came to prominence in 1936 at the height of the industrial struggles in the car industry in the U.S. Following World War II it became a conduit for CIA funds for anti-Communist causes around the world.

While funded by some of the most notorious agencies of U.S. imperialism, the World Social Forums have not been so welcoming to those seen as potentially threatening the interests of imperialism. The statement in the WSF Charter of Principles that "neither party representatives nor military organizations shall participate in the Forum" has been used to exclude the Zapatistas as well as the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia). Even the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, an organisation of mothers of leftists who were "disappeared" during the 1976-1983 Argentinian military dictatorship, was excluded from the 2002 WSF. On the other hand, a warm welcome has been extended to various heads of capitalist governments—who preside over "special bodies of armed men" more commonly known as the capitalist state.

An insightful article titled "The Economics and Politics of the World Social Forum" in *Aspects of India's Economy* (September 2003) by Rajani X. Desai captured the purpose and nature of the Social Forums:

> "While several political forces fighting for a change of the system [have] been excluded from the WSF meets, droves of political leaders of the imperialist countries have been attending. Not only does the WSF as a body receive funds from agencies which are tied to imperialist interests and operations, but innumerable bodies participating in the WSF too are dependent on such agencies. The implications of this can be seen from the history of one such agency, Ford Foundation, which has closely collaborated with the US Central Intelligence Agency internationally, and in India has helped to shape the government's policies in favour of American interests."

Left Cover for Class Collaboration

The fact that the World and European Social Forums have been all but bought and paid for by various capitalist governments and agencies is no big deal for the SWP. As SWP leader (and prominent spokesman on Social Forum platforms) Alex Callinicos shamelessly put it, "We all understood that a mass Social Forum needs money and money means compromises" (International Socialist Tendency *Discussion Bulletin*, January 2005). Indeed! Such sentiments are hardly peculiar to Callinicos. The first World Social Forum in 2001 was partly organised by the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). Here young radicals were schooled in administering fiscal austerity for the capitalist state through mock "participatory budgets." The capitalist benefactors who funded the WSF got their money's worth. Today the Workers Party (PT) of Brazilian president Lula—with the aid of a "comrade minister" who is a member of the USec—are administering the capitalist state in Brazil, slavishly abiding by the dictates of the IMF through pushing austerity on an impoverished population.

At the most recent WSF in January, Lula was roundly booed by many of the attendees who oppose his open pandering to and collaboration with the IMF and World Bank. But the truth is that Lula represents the politics and programme of the WSF on the level of state power. This

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Social Forum...

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is what is known as the popular front: a class-collaborationist political bloc of working-class organisations with capitalist agencies in which the politics of the working-class component of the bloc are subordinated to the politics of the bourgeoisie, to the defence of the bourgeois state and capitalism. Like Lula's government in Brazil, popular fronts are called upon by the rulers to sell austerity to the workers more effectively than the discredited bourgeois parties can.

With Lula now discredited due to his attacks on Brazilian workers and peasants, the new hero of the 2005 WSF was Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez. This was quite a turnaround because at the 2003 WSF, while he was fighting the attempts of the U.S. government to overthrow him, he was not invited and not given an official space when he turned up anyway. Chávez's popularity among the oppressed in Venezuela comes from the fact he has used the oil revenues to introduce reforms that have benefited the poor, and he is not seen as a lackey of the U.S. But these are not even basic structural reforms, much less a social revolution, and are subject to the fluctuations of world oil prices. Chávez is a bourgeois nationalist who rules for capitalism in Venezuela.

Nationalist populism and economic neoliberalism are merely alternative policies of the rule of the same capitalist class. It is a fact that Chávez is reviled by many of the big landowners and capitalists in Venezuela as well as the neocons in the Bush administration, who in April 2002 backed a military coup against him. But more rational representatives of imperialism see Chávez, with his popular appeal, as a man who can be trusted to protect their investments.

Chávez's defeat of the 2004 recall referendum against him was welcomed as a guarantor of "stability" by such mouthpieces of imperialism as the *Financial Times* and the *New York Times*. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 831, 3 September 2004:

> "The immediate perspective that is urgently posed is not only to oppose U.S. imperialist incursions into Venezuela and elsewhere, but to fight to shatter the support of the workers movement to either Chávez or the opposition, and to forge a revolutionary internationalist workers party to lead the working class to power. This requires an intransigent fight against nationalism in Venezuela, which obscures class divisions in the country. Only the victorious struggle for working-class rule, i.e., socialist revolution throughout the Americas, will ensure land to the landless and enable the oil workers and other proletarians to enjoy the wealth created by their labor."

In presenting bourgeois nationalists like Chávez as fighters against "globalisation," the Social Forums provide a service against the fight for socialist revolution, binding the working class to their "own" national capitalist class. In fact the reason why the World Social Forums have all been hosted in "Third World" countries such as Brazil and India has been to mask the class antagonism between the working class of these countries and their native bourgeois exploiters. The message has been that the bourgeoisie of the "Global South" can be relied upon to join with "the people" and fight against "globalisation." But the main concern of the capitalists of the "Third World" is to defend their profits, for which they are dependent on the imperialists and require the maximum exploitation of the working class.

With the same goal of binding the exploited to their exploiters, the ESF pushes the illusion of a humane "Social Europe" under capitalism, contrasting it to the "neoliberal" model represented by the U.S. and Britain. It is the promotion of this vision of a "Social Europe" that has attracted to the ESF the pro-capitalist trade-union leaders as well as social-democratic politicians across the continent. The political perspective of the European Confederation of Trade Unions was expressed by its general secretary at the 2000 Nice EU Summit protests: "There needs to be the incorporation of the trade unions and NGOs into the decision-making structures in Brussels.... We agree that Europe must become more competitive, yes. But the new Europe must also contain a dignified quality of life for all its citizens" (quoted in "The Economics and Politics of the World Social Forum"). Becoming "more competitive" means extracting greater profits from the sweat and toil of the working class. The bureaucrats of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) endorsed the 2004 London ESF and used it as an opportunity to provide a platform for the Iraqi Federation of Trade Unions' (IFTU) Sobhi Al-Mashadani, a stooge of the imperialists' stooge government in Iraq. This followed the Labour Party conference where, at the behest of the union bureaucrats, another IFTU representative, Abdullah Muhsin, backed the imperialist occupation by helping to ensure the defeat of a motion calling for early withdrawal of British troops from Iraq.

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Brazilian president Lula and Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez meet in Caracas, February 14. Darlings of the World Social Forums, Lula and Chávez administer capitalist system of exploitation and repression.

Workers Power Induced by Its Own Hypnosis

In its pamphlet *Anti-Capitalism: Summit Sieges and Social Forums* (2005), Workers Power's League for the Fifth International (L5I) poses as a left critic of WSF organisers like Bernard Cassen and Susan George of ATTAC, an organisation founded to campaign for a tax on international financial transactions and against "neoliberalism." Despite the fact that its offices are staffed by French Communist Party and USec supporters, ATTAC does not pretend to oppose capitalism. It is a thoroughly bourgeois organisation which boasted of its close ties to the Lionel Jospin popular-front government. Yet regarding Cassen and George, the L5I argues: "We don't need to arrange any artificial split from them. But neither do we need to fear a split with them. If we go forward determinedly, they will desert at once." By an "artificial split," the L5I means a *split along class lines*. The L5I is not opposed to class collaboration; it simply wants a more militant popular front.

Indeed, the crackpot conception of the L5I, Workers Power, and its youth group Revolution, is that they can build not only a "movement" but even a "revolutionary" party out of these cross-class, state-funded alliances: "the anticapitalist movement, the workers' movement, the movements of the racially and nationally oppressed, youth, women, all must be brought together to create a new International—a world party of socialist revolution" (*Anti-Capitalism: Summit Sieges and Social Forums*). While crying foul against right-wing bureaucratic dominance, Workers Power seeks to gain "democratic structures" within the Social Forums to engineer the movement's transformation. It urges the utilisation of "initiatives like the Assembly of Social Movements to propose permanent delegate-based, elected, co-ordinating bodies that can prepare the way for a structured Congress in which organisational and policy proposals can be debated out, amended and adopted."

Left out of Workers Power's equation is any political fight in opposition to the whole purpose of these Social Forums, which are premised on the *maintenance* of the capitalist system, merely trying to give it a more "democratic" and "humanitarian" face-lift. But even Workers Power is forced to admit that these Assemblies lack a conception of the "capitalist system as the enemy," "the working class as the force" and "socialism as the only possible basis for the 'other world' it aims to build" (*Workers Power*, March 2005).

The reality of class-collaborationism was starkly brought home at the first ESF in Florence in 2002. The L5I gushed: "The sheer intoxication of being 'tous ensemble' (all together) meant that even dyed-in-the-wool reformists spoke like revolutionary firebrands. Everyone was carried forward too by the urgency of doing everything possible to stop George Bush's war on Iraq." "Everything possible" included an explicit appeal to Europe's imperialist rulers to oppose U.S. plans to invade Iraq, signed by a gamut of the European left including the SWP, Workers Power and Revolution at a Brussels meeting preparatory to the Florence ESF. It said: "We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans" (*Liberazione*, 13 September 2002). This wretched appeal to the "peace-loving" European capitalist rulers only serves to bind the exploited to their exploiters.

The prime movers behind the Florence ESF were mass Italian reformist parties such as Rifondazione Comunista (RC) and Democratic Left (DS). In the 1990s, DS formed part of the "Olive Tree" coalition government that administered anti-immigrant terror and severe attacks on the working class on behalf of Italian imperialism. Until late 1998, RC formed a tacit coalition with DS. The ESF provides these consummate popular frontists with a cheap way to rebuild support so that they can return to government. Likewise the Paris ESF was organised by the Communist Party (PCF) and Alain Krivine's pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). Today in France, where Chirac's government is totally discredited with the vote against the EU constitutional treaty, these same forces are working feverishly to put together a new class-collaborationist alliance hoping to take the reins of government. That means implementing the attacks on welfare as well as the racist "war on terror."

The Popular Front: Not a Tactic but the Greatest Crime

Breaking the working class and radical youth from the idea that they can negotiate a common progressive future with representatives of the capitalist ruling class responsible for exploitation, imperialist war, racism and women's and sexual oppression, is the basic task of revolutionary Marxists. As the producers of capitalist society's wealth, and the bourgeoisie's profits, the working class is the only agent with the social power and objective interest to overthrow the capitalist system and to shatter its state. This requires socialist revolution to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with a workers state that will defend and administer a collectivised, planned economy. On an international scale, this would lay the basis to eradicate scarcity and produce for the needs of the entire human race. The only instrument that can organise the proletarian struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is a revolutionary vanguard party.

This is counterposed to the class-collaborationism of the Social Forums. Tailored to the sentiments of activists who are sick of parliamentary politics and parties, the Social Forums are popular fronts that promote the myth that a "people's alliance" with supposedly "progressive" capitalists can end the ravages of imperialism. The popular front (or "People's Front") was the weapon of choice used by the Stalinists in the 1930s for the purpose of preventing workers revolution. Trotsky vehemently opposed the popular front and relentlessly warned of its dire consequences for the working class. As then-Trotskyist leader James Burnham pointed out in his 1937 pamphlet, "The People's Front, the New Betrayal":

> "For the proletariat, through its parties, to give up its own independent program means to give up its independent functioning as a class.... By accepting the program of the People's Front, it thereby accepts the aims of another section of society; it accepts the aim of the defense of capitalism when all history demonstrates that the interests of the proletariat can be served only by the overthrow of capitalism."

The popular front has often had bloody repercussions for the working class and

Cover-Up..

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Police officials recently revealed to the London *Observer* (21 August) that the surveillance team following de Menezes "felt that he was not about to detonate a bomb, was not armed and was not acting suspiciously." However, a second, armed police unit then entered the carriage where de Menezes was seated. He stood up and they grabbed him. While he was held down, they opened fire. Seven shots to the head, another in the shoulder, while he was helpless: The death of Jean Charles de Menezes was a cop execution, pure and simple. The homicidal maniacs of Al Qaeda assert their right to kill anyone in the name of Allah. What is the excuse of "Her Majesty's" government and its cops?

The murderous and arrogant caretakers of the tattered British empire, from Tony Blair on down, are defending their police killers. As cries are raised for the resignation of the police chief, Sir Ian Blair, London mayor Ken Livingstone (a New Labour dissident once known as "Red Ken") said Blair "is the best news that London policing has got" (*Guardian*, 24 August). After the murder, Livingstone had patiently explained the new realities to his constituents. "If you are dealing with someone who might be a suicide bomber, if they remain conscious they could trigger plastic explosives or whatever device is on them. And therefore overwhelmingly in these circumstances it is going to be a shoot-to-kill policy" (*New York Times*, 24 July).

Britain's rulers assert their right to kill anyone suspected of evil intent, especially if their skin is even slightly dark, without warning or reason. It is the imperialist rulers who are the biggest terrorists on the planet. ■

oppressed. A classic example is that of Chile in 1973, where Salvador Allende and his fellow reformists led the revolutionary-minded working class into a coalition government with the capitalists. Allende vowed not to challenge the capitalist order or the state; he put an end to peasants seizing land and workers seizing factories. Aided by U.S. imperialism the Chilean bourgeoisie then turned to General Augusto Pinochet to attack the working class and its leaders (including Allende), imposing a savage military dictatorship at the cost of 30,000 lives.

From Seattle to Social Forums

Hoping to appeal to militant youth who despise the Social Forums as endless talk shops, the L5I pleads for a return to the street demonstrations of Seattle and Genoa. Its pamphlet proclaims that "For five years our movement has besieged the summits of the rich and the powerful.... It must take to the streets again, and show through mass direct action its intent: to build a world without classes, oppression, racism, war and imperialism." But the politics of the WSF is an extension of, not counterposed to, the politics of Seattle. While attracting many youth who oppose the impact of capitalism internationally, the political shots at Seattle were called by the social democrats and trade-union bureaucrats whose anti-Communist tirades against China echo the interests of the imperialist rulers whose aim is the restoration of the system of capitalist exploitation to the Chinese deformed workers state. "Direct action" protest based on pro-imperialist, popular-front politics is just "militant" class collaborationism.

The backdrop to the proliferation of Social Forums is the counterrevolution in the former USSR and the bourgeoisie's ideological campaign that "communism is dead." Typical of the regression of consciousness brought about by the destruction of the Soviet Union is the idea, prevalent among young leftists, that the working class is irrelevant as the agency for social change, or simply one more victim of oppression. Meanwhile union bureaucrats now justify betrayals of workers' struggles by arguing that "globalisation" makes class struggle ineffective because the capitalists can easily move production to low wage economies in Asia or Eastern Europe. While there have been certain *quantitative* changes in the world economy in recent decades, "globalisation" is not a *qualitatively* new phenomenon. The fact that the capitalist market economy is "global," that banks and corporations seek out those (low wage) countries where they can get the highest return, and the internationalisation of finance capital, was explained by V. I. Lenin nearly 90 years ago:

> "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."
>
> —*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*

Poverty, disease, exploitation and war are not aberrations in the capitalist system but are inherent within its workings. Only through the overthrow of capitalism can the productive forces be developed to provide a decent standard of living for all of humanity.

In the face of an international witchhunt against the "direct action" anarchists of the Black Bloc, following the police killing of leftist protester Carlo Giuliani in Genoa in 2001, the bulk of the social-democratic left in the anti-globalisation movement joined in violence-baiting and cop-baiting the Black Bloc. The ICL stood out for our forthright defence of the Black Bloc against the capitalist state and its lackeys. At the same time, we stressed:

Mike Smith/Indymedia

Police move in on anti-G8 protesters in Edinburgh, July 4.

> "The question before the huge numbers of young radicals who have been drawn to the 'anti-globalization' protests of recent years is: how do you change the world? While the protests have succeeded in forcing the imperialists to schedule future meetings in isolated backwaters, this does nothing to impede the workings of the capitalist system. To do away with imperialist exploitation requires a political mobilization of the proletariat in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution....
>
> "What's needed is a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class, a tribune of the people and fighter on behalf of all the oppressed. It is necessary to break with the class-collaborationist politics pushed by those who, in the name of a 'lesser evil,' subordinate the vital interests of the proletariat to those of its capitalist exploiters and oppressors. It's necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights to set up a workers government through socialist revolution against the entire capitalist system."
>
> —"Blood and Bullets in Genoa," *Workers Vanguard* No. 762, 3 August 2001

We Marxists of the Spartacus Youth Group and International Communist League understand that the fight for the independence of the working class is the precondition for the emancipation of humanity through socialist revolution. Our attitude to the Social Forums, as with any other popular front, is to oppose them through intervening with a sharp characterisation and explanation of this deception in a bid to win those that genuinely want to fight oppression and exploitation to an internationalist, revolutionary, proletarian programme. We are proud communists and refuse to be lackeys of the social democrats, trade-union bureaucrats and their capitalist masters. If you do too—join us!■

Work-In...

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on our Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of those countries where capitalism was overturned. Thus we declared in 1980:. "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" These educationals also took up the fight for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. Young comrades particularly appreciated an excellent presentation on the development of our program to end the racial oppression of black people in the United States, the program of revolutionary integrationism. This program is based on the understanding that black liberation can only be achieved by destroying the capitalist system and that socialist revolution in the U.S. can only succeed if it centrally takes up the fight for black liberation.

Another theme of many of the educationals was a reassertion of the principle of proletarian class independence. This was particularly highlighted in the major work-in educational on the 1905 Russian Revolution. 1905 served as a critical dress rehearsal for the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917—the first and only successful working-class revolution. Studying the 1905 Revolution provides necessary background to understanding the October Revolution, which continues to serve as our model. A major lesson from 1905 that Lenin and Trotsky, leading Bolsheviks, applied in practice in 1917 was that the Russian working class needed to directly seize power and move toward the construction of socialism rather than rely on a "progressive" bourgeoisie to defeat the tsarist autocracy and carry out democratic reforms. The class contained a story, appreciated by all, about young Bolsheviks who went into the factories to organize the working class: a worker in the Putilov factory said that young workers who tried to talk politics were told to first learn how to use tools, and then they could argue with some authority.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Barricades of 1905 Russian Revolution, Moscow. This historic struggle was topic of main educational presentation at work-in.

Comrades of the *WV* editorial board and composition department organized a workshop dealing with various aspects of propaganda production. This included a photography clinic and a writers' workshop in which comrades drafted a leaflet urging students to support a hotel workers' strike based on a recent strike in L.A. After this, comrades worked in teams, checking the facts and quotes in their drafts. As the organizers of the workshop emphasized, for your politics to be taken seriously, you must demonstrate a commitment to accuracy. Comrades also attended a workshop on sound that ranged from how to effectively set up amplification for a forum to how to use bullhorns and sound equipment to organize a contingent or rally.

As the student/youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League, the SYCs are politically subordinate and organizationally independent organizations that serve to train and educate young revolutionaries. The Youth Commission is composed of comrades in the Center who oversee the production of *Young Spartacus* pages, to which all the SYCs contribute. An expanded Youth Commission meeting took place during the work-in, to which all the comrades attending the work-in were invited. The meeting began with a report on finances, underscoring that without money you cannot organize independently. From producing a flyer to a whole newspaper, to organizing a demonstration or forum, to paying the rent for an office, consciousness about collecting money and thinking politically about how to spend it is a crucial part of forging a revolutionary organization. The other point in the meeting was a national report on youth work and propaganda that took up many issues, including campaigns against military recruiters, right-wing witchhunts on campuses and the impact of "anti-globalization" ideology on radicalized student youth.

Unlike in the capitalist workplace, where the fruits of labor are appropriated for the profit of the exploiting class, youth comrades could take genuine satisfaction in a job well done during the work-in. If you are interested in fighting for the liberation of humanity from all forms of exploitation and oppression, which would include ending the denigration of the labor performed by the masses of this world and opening the doors to learning, culture and science to everyone—join us!■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BOSTON

Meet the Marxists

Thursday, September 8, 7 p.m.

Boston University
George Sherman Union, Room 322
775 Commonwealth Ave.

Information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

TORONTO

Meet the Marxists

Thursday, September 15, 6:30 p.m.

University of Toronto
Sidney Smith, Room 1088
100 St. George Street

Information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

OAKLAND

Marxism and the Scientific Worldview

Thursday, September 8, 7 p.m.

University of California, Berkeley
20 Wheeler Hall

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

VANCOUVER

The *Communist Manifesto* and the Ideological Roots of Marxism

Thursday, September 22, 5 p.m.

UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B334

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: TLLT@look.ca

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

> victors in the aftermath of World War I. What exists is the Kurdish North, the Sunni Muslim center and the majority Shi'ite South (and various others), with each region further riven by clan and tribal rivalries.
>
> "In such a society the exertion of secular rule under capitalism is only possible under something like Hussein's Ba'athist dictatorship, which Bush & Co. aspire to replicate—democratic rhetoric aside—cleansed of Ba'athist elements and pliable to U.S. dictates. What does exist among all the peoples of that country is an almost century-long hatred for and resistance to imperialist colonialism. And this just hatred is likely to continue to produce American casualties."

The daily reality of death, kidnappings, rape and anarchy on the ground in Iraq collides with Bush's hallucinations that "we are making progress" and makes a mockery of Dick Cheney's claim that the insurgency is "in the last throes." The number of American dead is fast approaching the 2,000 mark. On an average day, insurgents strike at the American occupiers 70 times. More than 4,000 civilians have been killed in Baghdad by insurgents and American troops since the new regime was installed in April.

With domestic support for the war/occupation rapidly unraveling, the administration has been scrambling to come up with an "exit strategy" in all but name, hoping that a constitution would undermine Sunni support for the insurgency while piecing off the Shi'ites and Kurds. But Kurdish and Shi'ite leaders have pushed through a draft constitution, endorsed by the Bush administration, intended to assure control over their own oil-rich regions and leave the Sunnis with nothing of substance. A *New York Times* (27 August) editorial warned:

> "A fractured Iraq could dangerously destabilize the broader region. Turkish hostility is guaranteed for any Kurdish statelet, which Ankara worries might set an attractive example for Turkey's own restive and oppressed Kurdish minority. Iran would find it irresistible to manipulate a semiautonomous Shiite region dominated by Iranian-financed parties and Iranian-armed militias, and spiritually guided by an Iranian-born ayatollah. "If Iraq starts to fragment along these lines, no one should be surprised to see the orphaned Sunni west looking for whatever allies it can find in Baathist Syria, in the Islamist opposition circles of Saudi Arabia and among Jordan's Palestinian majority. The threat of civil war is obvious."

Bush's Islamic Republic

While the American bourgeois press reports incessantly on the constitutional issues that foster ethnic and religious animosity, it has remained largely silent on what Antonia Juhasz (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 August) calls "Bush's Economic Invasion of Iraq"—the wholesale privatization and armed theft of Iraq's wealth. In September 2003, U.S. occupation authorities issued orders designed to place Iraq's economy directly under imperialist control. These measures allowed 100 percent foreign ownership of business, including formerly state-owned industries (except oil), and repatriation of profits. Adel Abdul Mehdi, a U.S. appointee who is now one of Iraq's two vice presidents, declared that the new oil law will be "very promising to the American investors and to American enterprise, certainly to oil companies." Juhasz notes, "Laws governing banking, investment, patents, copyrights, business ownership, taxes, the media and trade have all been changed according to U.S. goals." And these changes will remain in effect whatever the new constitution says.

The main thrust of the proposed constitution is to assert the primacy of Islam, granting the reactionary clerics wide latitude to strike down "un-Islamic" laws and clearing the way for an Iranian-style theocracy, where *sharia* would govern all aspects of life. It would formally overturn Iraq's relatively progressive 1959 civil status law and install a confessional system where religious courts will determine issues of marriage, divorce and inheritance. Women would be stoned for "adultery" and homosexuals hanged. Some of these measures must surely stoke the envy of the Bush administration's Christian fundamentalist base. Trivializing the virtual re-enslavement of women under the Iraqi constitution, administration apologist Reuel Marc Gerecht blithely asserted that American women didn't have the vote a century ago!

Lafargue/Newsweek

November 2004: U.S. soldiers drag prisoner through streets of devastated Falluja.

In many areas, particularly in southern Iraq where Shi'ite clerics are in control, repressive religious codes are already enforced—women are forced to wear the veil and the sale of alcohol is banned. Doctors attending to female patients are beaten and so are students attending mixed-sex picnics. These measures are enforced by the Badr Brigade militia, which is affiliated with one of the Shi'ite parties dominating the central government. Doctor Raja Kuzai, a secular Shi'ite and member of the National Assembly, expressed the desperate prospects facing women: "I wanted Iraqi women to be free, to be able to talk freely and to be able to move around. I am not going to stay here."

Anticipating a swift victory and an easy occupation before they invaded Iraq, U.S. rulers began beating the drums against Iran, another member of Bush's "axis of evil." Now the U.S. is effectively endorsing an Iranian-style (and pro-Iranian) Islamic republic in Iraq. Some of those whom the U.S. installed in power in Iraq spent years in exile in Iran and fought on the Iranian side during the 1980-88 Iraq-Iran war; the leading Iraqi Shi'ite cleric, Ali al-Sistani, was born in Iran. These Shi'ite leaders have now set up diplomatic and economic relations with Tehran. Juan Cole remarked in *Asia Times* (11 August): "In a historic irony, Iran's most dangerous enemy of all, the United States, invaded Iran's neighbor with an eye to eventually toppling the Tehran regime—but succeeded only in defeating itself."

The Sunni Arab minority is today the big loser, and so the insurgency against the colonial occupiers will continue, as will the criminal sectarian violence among the Sunnis, Shi'ites, Kurds and other ethnic and religious minorities. Sunnis are blowing up Shi'ite mosques and targeting Shi'ite clerics and pilgrims. Shi'ites are unleashing their death squads and militias against Sunnis. Moreover, the binding force of religion is trumped by tribal rivalries and the appetite to maintain and consolidate local fiefdoms. Communal antagonisms are exacerbated by economic desperation. In Baghdad, electric power is often on for only four hours a day. Almost half of the city's population has lost access to running water. Unemployment is at least 50 percent. Fuel shortages are chronic.

Meanwhile, the Kurds want to keep control over the oil in their region, maintain their relative independence (under U.S. patronage) and extend their control to the oil-rich city of Kirkuk. Also claimed by Sunni Arabs and Turkmens, Kirkuk could well explode in pogromism and interethnic civil war.

There is no possibility of resolving these national and communal conflicts short of the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. For now, the Iraqi proletariat has been decimated. But until there is a resurgence of the working class as a force there and in the region there can be no solution to continuing imperialist domination in alliance with the forces of domestic reaction. The current dire situation makes all the more crucial the fight to forge internationalist—and multinational—proletarian vanguard parties throughout the Near East.

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Rulers!

When U.S. forces entered Baghdad more than two years ago, polls showed overwhelming popular support for the Bush administration and the war. In the triumphant euphoria of that moment, most of the war's supporters were willing to entertain the prospect of getting it on with all "our enemies." But with the number of American casualties rising and no end to the insurgency in sight, popular support has ebbed to 34 percent according to recent polls. More alarming from the Pentagon's standpoint is the military's failure to meet recruitment quotas. These factors have promoted considerable consternation in sectors of the ruling class, with even elements from the Republican right expressing dissatisfaction.

An indication of the growing unease over the war is the prominence given to the ongoing protest outside Bush's vacation hideaway by Cindy Sheehan, whose son Casey was killed in the war. Sheehan drew the wrath of right-wingers, and some liberals, when she called for immediate withdrawal of troops from Iraq, spoke out against the war in Afghanistan and came to the defense of radical lawyer Lynne Stewart. Anti-Bush liberals and reformists have seized on Sheehan's protest in an attempt to revive their pro-Democratic Party antiwar movement, which got shipwrecked on the shoals of mainstream Democratic support for the war and John Kerry's election defeat in 2004.

The reformist Workers World Party (WWP) and its ANSWER coalition, among others, organized a series of candlelight vigils and "Camp Casey" replicas around the country to build for a rally in Washington, D.C. on September 24. Centered on the call "Shut the War Down!", the upcoming rally raises a grab bag of slogans—e.g., "Bring the troops home now!", "Healthcare not warfare," "Education not occupation," etc. Such slogans are the stock in trade of not only the WWP but the International Socialist Organization and other reformist leftists who appeal to the imperialist state to reorder its priorities. The reformists seek to hide the truth that only the overthrow of capitalism can put an end to racial and sexual oppression, poverty, unemployment and imperialist war. Their pacifist/populist appeals are necessarily directed at pressuring the Democrats—the other party of capitalism, racism and imperialist war. This perspective required that the antiwar movement be as toothless and "respectable" as possible. Thus, ANSWER et al. refused to call for the defense of Iraq against the U.S. imperialist behemoth in the lead-up to the war.

As revolutionary Marxists, we took a side militarily with Iraq against the U.S. imperialist invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime. We have a side in the current conflict: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. We defend the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. Every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed worldwide. ***U.S. occupiers out now!*** However, we vehemently oppose the fundamentalism, terrorism, communal violence, kidnappings, car bombings that indiscriminately blow up innocent people on the street and so on, as the opposite of everything we Marxists stand for.

The perspective of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs is to fight for the multiracial U.S. proletariat to assert its class interests and priorities in struggle *against* the American imperialist rulers. The economy continues to fail to provide decent jobs. The escalating price of gasoline, itself largely a product of the destabilization caused by the occupation; the attempts to savage Social Security; the erosion of health benefits and the attacks on civil rights; the continuing decay of the ghettos and the massive incarceration of black and Latino youth—all have added to the cauldron of discontents of America's working people and minorities. Out of such discontents and the multiple contradictions of capitalist society must issue a powerful *class* movement of the proletariat, standing at the head of all the exploited and oppressed and led by a revolutionary workers party that will stop at nothing short of socialist revolution. Only when the proletariat seizes power from the blood-drenched, arrogant "masters of the universe" in the White House and on Wall Street can we begin to speak of a world rid of imperialist wars and occupations and offering material security and social justice for all. ■

Spartacist League/TLC Forums

The Lynching of Emmett Till and the Fight for Black Liberation

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University of Illinois, Chicago
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For more information: (312) 563-0441
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or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

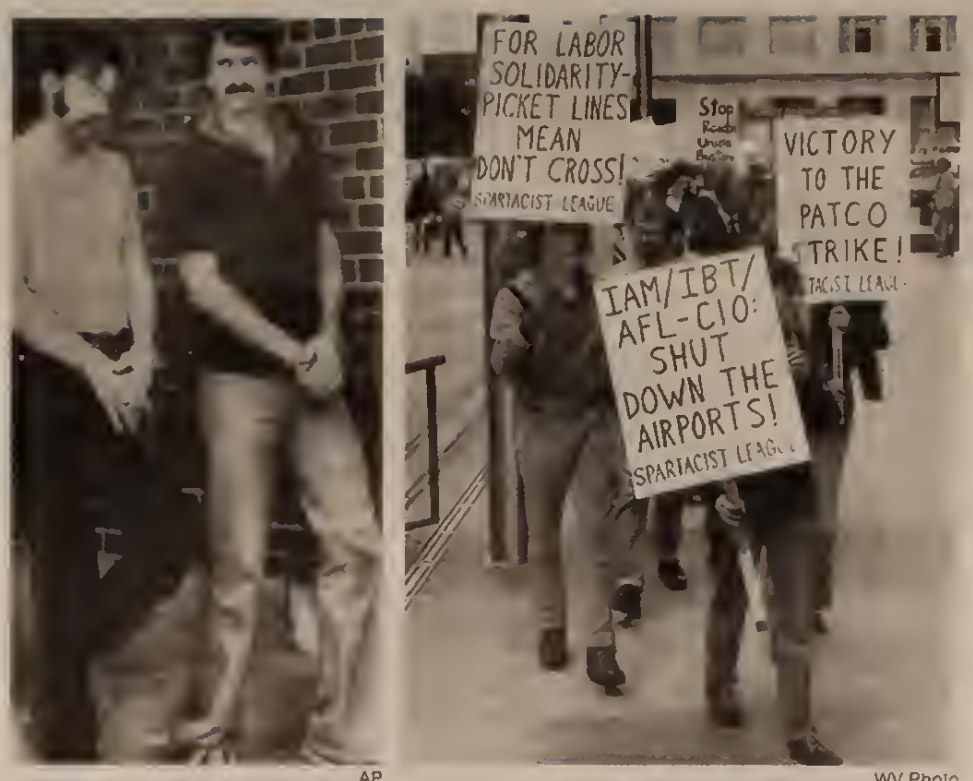
Victory to Strike...

(continued from page 1)

power—the world economy simply could not function without them. But instead of using that power, airline unions have been picked off one by one through devastating rounds of wage-slashing, pension-stealing and outright union-busting. It's time to turn this around, and the recent strike at London's Heathrow airport gave a taste of the solidarity in action needed to do that. Hundreds of British Airways (BA) ground staff walked out in solidarity with fired food-service workers. Airline operations were crippled for nearly a week, costing BA $70 million, and the airport was paralyzed for two days. The workers did this in the face of laws barring such solidarity strikes, showing the potential for tearing up anti-union laws through united labor action (see accompanying article).

Now, every union in the industry must do what's necessary to ensure that AMFA is not defeated. As we wrote in *WV* No. 849 (27 May) when the United Airlines bosses ripped off their workers' pensions:

> "A hard-fought battle is necessary and could inspire a broader upsurge in class struggle—not fighting only assures greater misery in the future. The unions must make use of their weapons: their numbers, organization and collective muscle. The watchword should be: 'One out, all out; shut down the airports!' After all, the carriers cannot outsource everyone's job. Further, the crisis in the industry is worldwide; airline workers would find allies among unionized labor at their companies overseas and among those workers in struggle at foreign carriers."



AP WV Photo

PATCO strike leaders dragged to jail in 1981. SL called for labor to shut down airports; AFL-CIO tops' betrayal paved way for decades of givebacks and defeats.

Airline Unions Must Stand Together!

The history of the airline unions and the entire labor movement shows that when unions scab on each other, labor loses. This was seen all too clearly when the PATCO air traffic controllers union was smashed in 1981 by Republican president Ronald Reagan, implementing plans drawn up by the Democratic Carter administration. Responsibility for the defeat lay squarely with the leaders of the IAM, Teamsters and other unions who refused to honor the picket lines and shut down the airports. *WV* headlined: "Unchain Labor!" "For Solidarity Strikes with PATCO!" The smashing of PATCO laid the groundwork for a quarter-century of givebacks and union-busting. It also encouraged the capitalists to carry out broader attacks on working people and the poor, particularly the black population as well as immigrants.

Today the union tops are brazen in their backstabbing. IAM general vice president Robert Roach responded to AMFA's request for solidarity from IAM ramp workers and customer service agents: "IAM members will not be duped into standing with AMFA." The IAM local president in Detroit tried to put a spin on the scabbing by claiming it was better for his union to do the scab work than have an outside contractor do it!

Trying to justify such strikebreaking, the national AFL-CIO organizing director labeled AMFA a "renegade, raiding organization that is creating havoc in the airline industry," adding, "It's not in the house of labor." It was the IAM misleaders' pattern of agreeing to concession after concession that convinced mechanics at a number of carriers to leave the IAM for AMFA. Meanwhile, SEIU service employees head Andy Stern and his Change to Win Coalition haven't done a thing to mobilize support for AMFA, utterly belying the speeches they made about revitalizing labor during their recent split from the AFL-CIO. The Teamsters, who are part of Stern's coalition, are continuing to fuel Northwest aircraft in many locations and, with the exception of individual drivers, make deliveries to the airline.

The PFAA flight attendants, who are associated with AMFA, held a vote over whether to walk out in sympathy with AMFA. Northwest even assembled 1,500 scab flight attendants in fear of a solidarity strike. The PFAA tops declared that the vote failed, but they refused to reveal the results "for strategic reasons." Many flight attendants who want a solidarity strike are walking the picket lines and calling for a new vote.

Officials representing the 300 AMFA-represented mechanics at Mesaba Airlines, which is partially owned by Northwest, voted for a sympathy strike. But AMFA leaders caved in to an anti-strike court injunction. The union tops take as a starting point the inviolability of the laws issued by this government, which acts as the executive committee for the U.S. capitalist ruling class as a whole against the working people. If laws hadn't been broken and court injunctions defied, there would be no labor movement today.

The Bush administration, whose Labor Department secretary, Elaine Chao, is a former Northwest board member, gave a green light to Northwest to go ahead with its union-busting provocation against AMFA by ***not*** invoking the anti-union Railway Labor Act (RLA) to stop the strike. In March 2001, Bush turned to the RLA to ***prevent*** an AMFA strike against Northwest, when AMFA was in a better position to win. If this strike becomes effective, the government will use the RLA and everything else in its arsenal against the union. As it is, the RLA allows Northwest to hire the scabs as permanent replacements.

Some strikers have told *WV* that the cops are giving them a friendly thumbs up and have even acted to defend them against the scabherding Vance Security outfit. But if the picket lines were actually stopping the scabs, the cops and Vance thugs would act together against the union.

At the August 27 strike rally in Minneapolis, almost half of the speakers were Democratic politicians. The Bush White House makes no secret of its affiliation with big business, while the Democrats rely heavily on union support in elections. But when fundamental class issues are posed, the Democratic Party reveals itself as the other party of capitalist rule. It was the Democrat Clinton who invoked the RLA *14 times* to ban potential rail and airline strikes, including a 1997 walkout by American Airlines pilots. And it was Minnesota Congressman James Oberstar, ranking Democrat on the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, who advised AMFA to try to avert the current strike by offering to take even deeper pay cuts than the company was asking for!

The answer is not simple trade unionism, but the fight to forge a new leadership of labor committed to mobilizing labor's power independently of the bosses' state and politicians. In his speech to the Minneapolis rally, AMFA Local 33 president Ted Ludwig quoted from Farrell Dobbs commenting on the Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis city-wide strikes that paved the way for organizing the Teamsters as a powerful national union: "The tinder of discontent begins to pile up. Any spark can light it and once lit the fire can spread rapidly." We would point out that in assessing the historic 1934 strikes, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon noted in *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944):

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups....
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity."

There is plenty of social tinder piling up in the U.S. today—over the bloody U.S. occupation of Iraq, over the massive

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Wildcat Strike Protests Mass Sackings at Heathrow

LONDON, 27 August—When hundreds of British Airways (BA) staff at Heathrow airport downed tools on August 11 in support of 670 South Asian, mainly women workers sacked by catering firm Gate Gourmet, the whole world took notice. From Detroit and Dallas to Frankfurt and Sydney, newspapers reported that for two days members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) crippled BA and brought one of the world's busiest airports almost to a halt.

In the context of worldwide cutbacks, layoffs and union-busting in the airline industry, this spectacular action gave a taste of the enormous social power that these strategically placed airline workers and their trade unions can bring to bear in defence of workers' rights. It also dealt a welcome blow to the myth that class struggle no longer exists in Tony Blair's Britain of poverty pay and "labour market flexibility." And it illustrated the treacherous legalism of the union misleaders, who brought the strike to an end while the workers remained sacked. The union and company are now negotiating over a "voluntary redundancy" [layoff] package.

Airline workers have considerable clout. Heathrow is strategic to British capitalism, commercially as well as militarily. Demonstrating the power of collective action by these workers, the Heathrow strike cost the bosses more than $70 million, grounded much of the BA fleet internationally and snarled up BA operations for nearly a week. It was all the more impressive in that the strike was undertaken in defiance of anti-union laws forbidding solidarity strikes with workers in different companies and was launched in the teeth of the government's "war on terror" hysteria whipped up in the aftermath of the July 7 criminal terror bombings.

Jess Hurd

Gate Gourmet workers at Heathrow airport protest their mass firing.

Reinstate Gate Gourmet Workers!

The government's "anti-terror" campaign singles out the country's darker-skinned minority population in order to divide the working class. But at Heathrow the workers gave a splendid demonstration of how class solidarity can transcend ethnic lines, with the integrated workforce, including ground crew workers, recognising that their own interests and those of the more vulnerable and mainly female and Asian catering workers were the same.

Targeting Muslims in the first instance, the government's "war on terror" is designed to regiment the working class, to discourage opposition to the imperialist occupation of Iraq and as a club against all perceived opponents of capitalist rule. Any Muslim, Sikh, Brazilian, African or anybody else deemed a "terror suspect" can be shot by trigger-happy, racist cops —as was seen in the brutal killing of Brazilian immigrant electrician Jean Charles de Menezes, who could have been just about any worker on his way to work. The TGWU and other unions must oppose the "war on terror," both as an elementary act of defence of the rights of their own multi-ethnic membership and to defend the unions as organs of collective struggle.

The working conditions of Gate Gourmet workers are familiar to millions of

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Victory to Strike...

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cuts in health benefits, over the broad decline in living standards for working people. But for these discontents to be channeled into a fight against the capitalist exploiters requires the class-struggle policy laid out by Cannon, based on the political independence of the working class.

Gutting the Unions, Gutting Safety

The Northwest bosses threaten not only the livelihood of their workers but the very lives of their passengers. To cut costs, they are driving down wages and keeping old planes in the air—the world's oldest commercial fleet—enforcing speedup and generally degrading safety standards. Since 2001, the company has already laid off half its experienced mechanics, sending the work to low-wage, non-union outside maintenance companies. Northwest has gone from one mechanic per aircraft in 1993 to one mechanic for every three aircraft today!

One day before the strike began, the nosegear of a Northwest plane landing in Guam collapsed. Now, Northwest's strikebreaking is an even greater invitation to air disaster. The strike's first day saw a four-tire blowout in Detroit. Three days into the strike, Northwest had accrued almost three times its normal level of "deferred maintenance items." But the AMFA tops' strategy of hoping that an accumulation of maintenance problems will lead to consumer pressure plays right into Northwest's hands. As a result of mass layoffs throughout the industry in recent years, many scab mechanics have five to ten years of experience. And as long as the scabs are working, the union is losing.

The AMFA leaders, and many mechanics on the picket lines, combine their protests against the outsourcing of mechanics' jobs with chauvinist statements against "illegal" immigrant workers and foreign mechanics in Latin America, China and Singapore, which is depicted in AMFA statements as a haven for terrorists. The AMFA tops buy right into the government's phony "war on terror." But as a striking cleaner in Detroit told *WV*, "The war on terror enslaves us all." That's right. The government's "anti-terror" campaign is shredding the rights of immigrants, black people, trade unionists and all who could be seen as opponents of the racist capitalist profit system.

The basis for unity in struggle between the union and immigrant workers was displayed at the Minneapolis rally. Pointing to Northwest's recruitment of desperate Somali immigrants as scab cleaners, Omar Jamal, spokesman for the Somali Justice Advocacy Center, said, "It's nothing new to us that big corporations are taking advantage of immigrants" and called on everyone to respect the AMFA picket lines. Unions must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to organize all the unorganized, citizen or not.

The America-first protectionism pushed by the union tops, which promotes the lie of a commonality of interests between the U.S. working class and its exploiters, is utterly suicidal in an industry that is inherently international in scope. The solidarity action by KLM workers is a welcome development and must be extended internationally to defeat Northwest's strikebreaking.

Many AMFA strikers, and other workers as well, believe that the government and big corporations are on a drive to destroy the "middle class." The notion of the "middle class" is used to hide the reality that there are two fundamental classes in capitalist society, the capitalists who own the means of production and the workers whose labor creates the capitalists' profits. There certainly is a drive to destroy workers' livelihoods, and class struggle is the only road to defending workers against this assault. But the direction the class struggle must take is toward the abolition of the irrational, profit-driven capitalist system—through a workers revolution that seizes the productive wealth of society and builds a planned collective economy in which production is geared to satisfy the needs of all, not the profits of a few. This perspective requires the forging of a workers party that, standing at the head of all the exploited and oppressed, fights for a workers government.

* * *

A union strike fund has been established. Send donations to: AMFA National, Attn: NWA Strike Committee, 67 Water St., Suite 208A, Laconia, NH 03246.■

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Joint Statement of the Spartacist Group Japan and Spartacist League/U.S., 13 March 2005

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other workers in "dynamic," 21st-century capitalism. In 1997, BA contracted out their catering to Gate Gourmet, the world's second largest in-flight catering supplier. BA constantly demands "productivity increases" from Gate Gourmet, squeezing workers to do more work for less pay. Contracting out is designed to carve up the working class and prevent unified strikes across a single industry. Today, Gate Gourmet workers earn a paltry £12,000 ($21,000) per year, which is not a living wage. But even this is too much for this company. An exposé in the London *Daily Mirror* (16 August) revealed that Gate Gourmet has been implementing a union-bashing scheme code-named Operation Milestones, for which a Gate Gourmet director set up a scabherding operation named Versa Logistics, specialising in recruiting East European and other immigrant workers.

When management hired casual [temporary] workers at Heathrow, workers saw the writing on the wall and staged a protest—the action for which they were sacked by the company. Gate Gourmet is trying to use immigrant workers from East Europe and Somalia, who earn £6 ($11) per hour with no entitlement to state benefits, as a club against the Gate Gourmet workforce who, as British citizens or permanent residents, are entitled to sickness pay and benefits. And unlike most workers in low-paid, contracted-out work, they are organised in trade unions and have family and union ties to other airport workers.

The mass sacking by Gate Gourmet is an attack on the very existence of trade unions at Heathrow airport, which according to the *Financial Times* (19 August) is the "largest remaining bastion of unionised labour in the country." The TGWU is the largest union there, with over 20,000 members out of a workforce of 70,000. The fight to reinstate Gate Gourmet workers is an issue for the whole trade-union movement. The response by BA ground staff was precisely what is needed: decisive class struggle, in defiance of the anti-union laws, that shut down the entire airport and hit the greedy airline bosses where it hurts—in their bottom line. Airport workers took this action knowing their own jobs could be next on the line—BA is determined to root out the airport unions as part of sweeping changes in preparation for moving to the new Terminal Five in 2008. There is a history of mass firings at Heathrow: 270 unionised catering workers were fired in one fell swoop by Lufthansa Skychefs catering in 1998, for having staged a one-day strike.

AP

August 12: British Airways shut down by ground crew walkout in support of fired Gate Gourmet workers.

The solidarity strikes at Heathrow sent shockwaves through BA, not to mention the viciously anti-working-class Labour government. With Heathrow virtually at a standstill, and BA losing millions in profits, the union leadership repudiated the strikes as "unlawful" and workers went back to work. TGWU general secretary Tony Woodley justified this treachery, bemoaning the fact that solidarity strikes are "unlawful" in Britain, as opposed to elsewhere in Europe, and pleading that "it is time to bring solidarity action within the framework of the law" (*Guardian*, 16 August).

But the powerful solidarity strike by Heathrow workers, which crippled operations at this major international air hub, exposed the lie of the bosses and their Labourite agents that the workers are helpless in the face of the government's anti-union laws. The workers demonstrated the potential of militant class struggle to render these laws inoperable. It was Woodley & Co. who acted as the labour lieutenants of capital in enforcing these laws. With BA and the airport back in business, the TGWU leadership—aided by the Trades Union Congress and Labour government ministers—agreed to negotiate, from a position of weakness.

The TGWU leadership support the capitalist Labour government and the interests of the British ruling class—the very forces the unions have to mobilise to defend workers against. Grotesquely appealing to British patriotism against the American-based Gate Gourmet, Woodley asked, "Can a company walk into Britain and plan the cynical sacking of innocent men and women to cut costs and be legally allowed to get away with it?" (*Guardian*, 23 August). He called on British-based BA to "step in and help the sacked Gate Gourmet workers get their jobs back at Heathrow" (BBC News, 22 August). Appealing to the capitalist bosses or their government, or viewing them as potential partners, is the kiss of death in class struggle, where it is critically important to know who one's enemies are.

The key question for airport workers facing union-busting attacks is to forge, in the course of class struggles, a new leadership in the unions that will not play by the bosses rules or buy into the bourgeoisie's "national unity" hysteria, which was used to stop the striking firefighters on the eve of Bush and Blair's invasion of Iraq. Against Gate Gourmet and other companies' attempts to pit immigrant workers against other workers in Britain, the unions must organise the unorganised! A class-struggle leadership would champion the fight for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*** The fight for such a leadership is linked to building a new, revolutionary party of the working class. We of the Spartacist League/Britain are fighting to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party. This is not to be some warmed over version of the old Labour Party that for decades betrayed the interests of workers and minorities. What's needed is a party founded on the understanding that working people's fight for their own interests must culminate in a socialist revolution that overthrows capitalism and replaces it with an international, rationally planned economy that will consign unemployment, poverty pay and racism to the dustbin of history. ■

Rally...

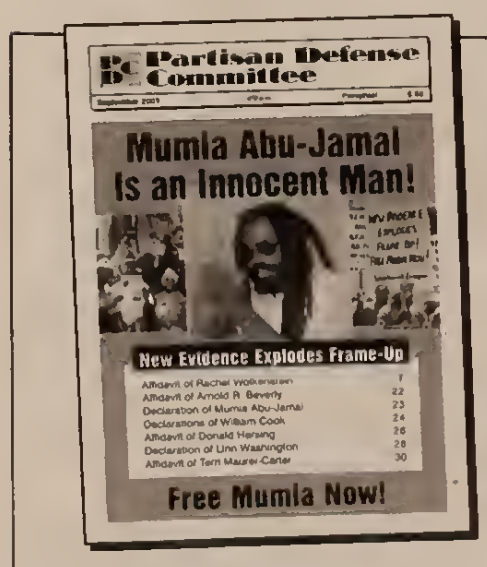
(continued from page 16)

opposition to their system of racist oppression. Free Mumia Now!

• **Assata Shakur** is a former Black Panther and member of the Black Liberation Army. On 2 May 1973, Shakur, Sundiata Acoli and Zayd Malik Shakur were ambushed by racist New Jersey state troopers. The troopers immediately opened fire, killing Zayd Shakur. One of the state's hitmen was killed with a bullet from a police revolver. The two black militants who survived were convicted on charges of killing the cop and their own comrade! Sentenced to life, Assata escaped prison in 1979 and has been in Cuba since 1984. Acoli remains in prison hell over 30 years later. In her 1998 "Open Letter," Shakur declared, "I am a 20th century escaped slave." In May, the FBI added Shakur to its domestic terrorist list and increased the bounty on her head to $1 million, a bounty reminiscent of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Hands Off Assata Shakur!

• On September 23 **Lynne Stewart**, her translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar will be sentenced on frame-up charges of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorism. They face decades behind bars. Stewart's "crime"? Doing what lawyers are supposed to do, representing her client, in this case, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, imprisoned on charges of conspiracy to blow up NYC landmarks in the early 1990s. The government is taking deadly aim at the Sixth Amendment right to legal counsel. Taking away the right to a lawyer or trial ultimately means no rights to free speech and assembly—no rights at all. Hands Off Lynne Stewart!

This united-front rally brings together, in defense of Jamal, Shakur and Stewart, speakers and organizations across a spectrum of political beliefs raising their own views on these vital cases. Within that framework, we seek to win activists to the understanding that defense of these targets of capitalist state repression must be based on a class-struggle perspective—organizing independently of the racist capitalist state that has framed them up. These frame-ups illustrate that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League, is fighting to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down. It is the working people who have the class interest and social power to not only fight for Mumia's freedom and in defense of Stewart and Shakur but to get rid of this barbaric and murderous capitalist system of hunger, imperialist war, poverty, racist cop terror and vicious attacks on workers, women, gays and immigrants. ■



PDC Pamphlet, September 2001
$.50 (32 pages)

CSDN No. 33, Spring 2005
$.50 (24 pages)

Order from: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099

Lynne Stewart Challenges Frame-Up Conviction

Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart is demanding that the U.S. District Court in Manhattan declare a mistrial in the political frame-up that ended in the conviction of Stewart, her translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar in February. The three are scheduled to be sentenced on October 21 (postponed from September 23). The 65-year-old Stewart faces decades in prison for her vigorous legal defense of Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman.

Stewart is challenging her conviction on the ground that the jury was tainted. The basis for her challenge throws a sharp light on the hysterical witchhunt atmosphere that the government has whipped up in the post-September 11 period in the name of the "war on terror." One juror told another that if she did not vote to convict, it would be her fault if anyone died in a terrorist attack. She was further frightened on the last day of deliberations by someone not even on the jury who pointed her out as "the holdout." The juror was so bitter and regretful for her vote to convict that she sought out the defense team after the trial ended. In a further example of blatant bias, another juror told a prospective juror that anyone who was up on charges must have done something wrong.

The irregularities during the course of the seven-month trial were rampant, and the defense fruitlessly called time after time for a mistrial. The judge allowed the prosecution to introduce such inflammatory and irrelevant "evidence" as a videotape of Osama bin Laden—shown in the week of the anniversary of the September 11 attacks!—and prosecutors blatantly pandered to anti-Arab prejudice. Underlining the importance that the government placed on this case, early this August the Justice Department gave its highest award to the prosecutors in this frame-up.

In its attack on fundamental democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror," the government has unfettered prosecutors and attacked the very right of individuals to legal representation. In an article titled "Corrupted Justice" in *Human Events* Online (19 August), Paul Craig Roberts, a conservative economist and former *Wall Street Journal* editor, powerfully denounced Stewart's conviction: "Last February, prosecutors convicted New York defense attorney Lynne Stewart of violating a letter from the Department of Justice (sic) telling her the conditions on which she could represent her client! There is no statute or regulation behind the letter. How was Stewart to know that it was felony to disobey a prosecutor's letter?... Prosecutors are in the process of criminalizing the safeguards that were put in our legal system to protect the innocent, such as the attorney-client privilege. We have reached the point where an attorney who does too good of a job defending his client can be indicted for aiding and abetting a criminal."

We urge our readers to join protests in defense of Stewart, including the upcoming united-front rallies initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (see page 16). To contribute to her defense, send donations to: Lynne Stewart Defense Committee, 350 Broadway, Suite 700, New York, NY 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

RALLY

The "War on Terror" Targets Blacks, Immigrants, Labor and Leftists!

Fight Government Repression!

We reprint below an 8 August leaflet issued by the Partisan Defense Committee to build for the upcoming united-front rallies.

The bloodthirsty U.S. government's frontal assault on democratic rights is being carried out under the pretext of the hogus "war on terrorism." Basic rights, won through the hard-fought class struggles of the 1930s union organizing drives and the social struggles of the 1950s through the early 1970s—in the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War protests, for women's and gay rights—are being run through the shredder by the Bush administration with the full agreement of the Democratic Party. Political opponents face being imprisoned with no right to an attorney or a trial. The government asserts the "right" to disappear and torture its opponents—to lock them up and throw away the key. From courageous anti-slavery fighter John Brown to communists during the McCarthy era, to the Black Panther Party and up to the present, the racist rulers of this country have branded fighters for the oppressed as "terrorist."

To fight against this assault on our rights, the Partisan Defense Committee is calling a rally of solidarity for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Assata Shakur and Lynne Stewart. These cases must be rallying points for labor, blacks and defenders of civil liberties. Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner, and Assata Shakur, forced into exile in Cuba, are former members of the Black Panther Party. Lynne Stewart is a leftist attorney with a decades-long résumé of defending those targeted by this country's racist rulers. We call on labor, blacks, students and defenders of civil liberties to join us in a united-front rally to demand: "Fight government repression! The 'war on terror' targets blacks, immigrants, labor and leftists! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Hands off Lynne Stewart! Hands off Assata Shakur!" Their fight is a fight for us all.

The real terrorists are the U.S. capitalist rulers. Today's repressive laws are intended to terrorize anyone who would stand in the way of their relentless drive for profits and their bloody imperialist adventures, such as the murderous occupation of Iraq. While the initial victims of the post-September 11 reaction were immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries, these measures are also directed against leftists, antiwar protesters and those fighting against the racist oppression of black people that forms the bedrock of American capitalism. The "anti-terror" laws will be used to outlaw strikes and criminalize unions, as other laws were used in the early-1900s.

• America's foremost class-war prisoner, **Mumia Abu-Jamal** is an innocent man. He was a Black Panther Party spokesman at the age of 15. Thirty-eight Panthers were killed by the FBI and local cops under the FBI's deadly Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of surveillance, disruption, provocation and terror against leftists and black activists. Hundreds more were framed up to rot in prison hells. An award-winning journalist, Mumia became a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, which was subjected to over a decade of murderous state terror. In a politically motivated and blatantly racist frame-up, Mumia was convicted on charges of killing Philadelphia Police Officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981 and sentenced to death explicitly for his past membership in the Panthers. Court after court has refused to even consider the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed officer Faulkner. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the barbaric death penalty, a legacy of chattel slavery, is all about. From the White House to the courthouse to the Wall Street boardrooms, the capitalist rulers want Mumia dead because they see in this man known as the "voice of the voiceless" a symbol of defiant

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Mumia Abu-Jamal — COC Productions

Lynne Stewart — AP

Assata Shakur — Elana Levy

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Hands Off Lynne Stewart!
Hands Off Assata Shakur!

NEW YORK CITY — Thursday, September 15, 7 p.m.

Community Church of New York — 40 East 35th St. (between Madison Ave. & Park Ave. So.)

Speakers include: **Lynne Stewart**
Pam Africa, International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Don Alexander, New York Labor Black League for Social Defense
Charles Ensley, President, SSEU Local 371*
Cleo Silvers, 1199ers for Peace and Justice,* Communist Workers Organization, Workers to Free Mumia
James Webb, President Emeritus, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*

Moderator: **Rachel Wolkenstein**, Partisan Defense Committee

*organization affiliation for identification purposes only

For more information: (212) 406-4252

BAY AREA — Saturday, October 1, 2 p.m.

Berkeley Public Library — 2090 Kittredge St., Berkeley

Speakers include: **Robert R. Bryan**, lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal
Video showing of **Lynne Stewart**'s presentation at New York Rally
Don Cane, Labor Black League for Social Defense

Moderator: **Valerie West**, Partisan Defense Committee

For more information: (510) 839-0852 or e-mail: pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO — Saturday, October 1, 5 p.m.

University of Chicago Law School, Room 2 — 1111 East 60th Street

Speakers include: **Lydia Barashango**, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Standish E. Willis, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
Mike Elliott, UAW Local 551, Chair, Education Committee*
Don Alexander, New York Labor Black League for Social Defense
Fred Redmond, USWA Assistant Director District 7*

Moderator: **Brian Mendis**, Partisan Defense Committee

*organization affiliation for identification purposes only

For more information: (312) 563-0442

LOS ANGELES — Saturday, October 8, 4 p.m.

Immanuel Presbyterian Church* — 3300 Wilshire Blvd. (at Berendo St., 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red-line Station)

Speakers include: **Lydia Barashango**, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Don Cane, Labor Black League for Social Defense

Moderator: **Valerie West**, Partisan Defense Committee

*The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church.

For more information: (213) 380-8897

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee. We want to make it very clear that speakers at these rallies do not necessarily agree in any particular with the leaflet statement.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 854 | GCU C-701 | 16 September 2005

Capitalist Rulers Left Blacks, Poor to Die

NEW ORLEANS: RACIST ATROCITY

AP photos

Heavily armed SWAT teams rolling past New Orleans Convention Center, where desperate hurricane victims waited for days for transportation out of the city.

SEPTEMBER 12—New Orleans, one of the oldest, most cultured, most complex of American cities, remains devastated, its residents dispersed, its dead still uncounted and unburied. Whole communities along the Gulf Coast have simply disappeared. Hurricane Katrina has ripped away the tattered facade of the U.S. government as "of the people, by the people, for the people," exposing the racism, venality, ruling-class arrogance and utter ineptitude of the White House gang. A wave of revulsion has swept the country at the government's response to the disaster, undercutting the post-September 11 "national unity" hysteria that had already taken a beating over the debacle in Iraq. Sections of the ruling class itself are hammering at Bush, not least for damaging the image of the "world's only superpower" internationally.

Now they are even trying to forbid news media from showing the dead, who are still shamefully left to lie in the open while troops patrol the streets. When the troops were needed to evacuate people from New Orleans, they weren't sent. Now, they've been mobilized above all to assert control over the city, to disarm the remaining population and to enforce the government's suppression of the truth about the number of dead. While the government and media claim that the number is far lower than initially estimated, it is known that 25,000 body bags have been sent to New Orleans.

They want to hide the evidence of their crimes against the people of New Orleans. But what is starkly exposed is the raw reality of race and class in capitalist America.

It is not just that the victims in New Orleans were primarily black and poor,

continued on page 8

For a Planned Economy Under Workers Rule!

Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The following leaflet was issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on September 4.

"We're dying!" This was the desperate cry of those mainly black people trapped by flooding from Hurricane Katrina, which has submerged 80 percent of New Orleans and devastated wide swaths of lower Louisiana and Mississippi. Natural disasters like hurricanes do happen, but the horror taking place on the Gulf Coast is manmade. Having done nothing except watch helpless people suffer, starve and die, the government says now is not the time to point fingers. Now is precisely the time to indict the capitalist criminals running this country. This anarchic, irrational profit-driven system cannot even provide for the safety and welfare of the population—the system must go.

This disaster has laid bare the class and race divisions in America. The logic of U.S. capitalism is that whites mainly lost property, blacks mainly lost lives. It is overwhelmingly black people, deemed "expendable" by the rulers, who suffered and died by the thousands in this two-thirds black city. Because they did not have cars to get them out of town or credit cards to pay for motel rooms. Because they generally cannot afford to live on the higher ground. This catastrophic destruction of lives and livelihoods underlines that the oppression of black people is rooted in the very bedrock of American capitalism and will not be ended short of a socialist revolution that rips power and the means of production from the greedy rulers and places them in the hands of the working people.

This is a case of criminality piled atop criminality. The unspeakable, smirking George W. Bush trimmed his month-long vacation by a couple of days to survey the disaster zone from his presidential jet and asked inanely: Who knew the levees would break? Answer: Everyone. For years, scientists and Army Corps of Engineers officials warned that the levees were sinking and incapable of withstanding a powerful hurricane.

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The Evolution Wars: Religious Reaction and Racist Oppression

Hail Charles Darwin! SEE PAGE FOUR

On Footbinding in China

6 June 2005

Dear Comrades,

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 814, as part of a paragraph highlighting the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, *WV* states: "The revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous miserable status, symbolized by the barbaric practice of footbinding." Though not explicitly stated, because the sentence is couched in a paragraph listing other unique gains of the revolution like the creation of a collectivized economy and freedom from imperialist subjugation, it sounds like we are saying that the practice of footbinding had remained intact up until the 1949 Revolution.

However, nobody would say that footbinding, which is said to date from the court of the 10th century, ended with the anti-footbinding societies of the late 1800s, with the edict of the Qing court at the turn of the century, or with Sun Yat-Sen in 1911. Multiple sources put this hideous practice, which effectively restricted women to the kitchen and bedroom, as ending around the 1930s, about one generation after its formal abolition in 1911. John King Fairbank in *The Great Chinese Revolution 1800-1985* (1987) remarks about its prevalence until the 1920s, although he says women were still seen on farms hobbling on bound feet in the '30s and '40s. William Hinton in *Fanshen* (1968), noting exceptions, says that foothinding "came to an end almost everywhere in the period between the two world wars." Elisabeth Croll in her book *Feminism and Socialism in China* (1980) cites a number of surveys taken in the 1920s and 1930s revealing increased percentages of women without bound feet in various rural areas. Jack Belden in *China Shakes the World* (1949) and Ono Kazuko in *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution 1850-1950* (1989) both refer to the continued existence of footbinding, at least into the early 1940s in the areas where the Communists were introducing reforms, but these regions are continually referred to as the poorest and most backward in all of China. Modernizing nationalists, missionaries, communists, and even a warlord all seem to have played varying roles in abolishing this practice throughout the first half of the 20th century. Although it is indeed hard to imagine that there were not still vestiges remaining in areas of this large country by the time of the revolution, I think by 1949 significant inroads had already been made into its permanent eradication.

I do think it is important to include mention of footbinding in any discussion of the oppression of Chinese women so that the memory of the severe torture

Museum of American China Trade

and mutilation of most of the female population is not lost. Contrary to misconceptions in the West, the custom was not limited to women of the upper classes. Most Chinese women, including women throughout the countryside, had their feet bound, with only few exceptions such as women of the very poorest families, Hakka women and women of non-Han ethnic minorities like the Manchus. Very young girls from age three to seven or eight had their feet tightly wrapped and bent until the arch was broken and the toes permanently bent under to make the three-inch "golden lotus." The feet became of little use to stand and, while wealthier women were said to have servants to carry them around, peasant women who did work in the fields with bound feet were seen working on their knees. A recent article in the London *Guardian* (21 March) entitled "The Ties that Bind," states that by some estimates 10 percent of the little girls died from the shock of the severe pain in the first few days of the feet being bound. Even after several years when the pain eased, the various effects of the crippling caused suffering, continuing throughout a woman's entire life.

Comradely,
Judy C.

On Dresden Firebombing

30 August 2005

Dear *Spartakist* and *WV*:

I greatly appreciated the article "German Nationalism and the Bombing of Dresden" from *Spartakist* No. 158, translated in *WV* No. 852. My father, Jacob Schanzer, survived a death march from the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald. He always spoke of the Allied bombing of Dresden as an enormous atrocity, not only because of the massive loss of life, but because of the destruction of one of the important centers of German culture prior to WWII. Despite his experience, my father remained a great admirer of German culture, refusing to believe those who tried to find the roots of Nazism in the works of Beethoven and Goethe.

The article's points on the notion of "collective guilt" being the flip side of Nazi demagoguery casting the Germans as a "victim people" were also very strong and again reminded me of my parents. As a child, many of my parents' social circle were also Jewish survivors, many of whom understandably were quite anti-German. My parents didn't want me to grow up with that attitude and explained it to me this way when I was quite young: The Nazis believed all Jews were bad. If you say that all Germans are bad, you are using the same method as the Nazis did. My father was an admirer of Kautskyan-style social democracy and my mother was a member of the left-Zionist Hashomer Hatzair. Thus, they had a rudimentary understanding of the class nature of fascism. It is a sad comment on the total degeneracy of today's social democrats that they cannot even manage to expound this simple truth in the face of resurgent German nationalism.

Comradely,
Jeffrey Schanzer

TROTSKY

Charles Darwin and Scientific Socialism

LENIN

The reactionary ideological climate of the post-Soviet world has been expressed in the U.S. in the sharp rise of Christian fundamentalism. From the Bush White House to the Kansas State Board of Education, there is now a concerted attack on Charles Darwin's theory that the evolution of species, including human beings, is a result of natural selection. The founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, recognized Darwin's great contribution to a materialist understanding of man's place in nature. They further recognized that the progressive development of human society required the replacement of the irrational capitalist market economy with a planned, socialist economy.

In the most advanced industrial countries we have subdued the forces of nature and pressed them into the service of mankind; we have thereby infinitely multiplied production, so that a child now produces more than a hundred adults previously. And what is the consequence? Increasing overwork and increasing misery of the masses, and every ten years a great crash. Darwin did not know what a bitter satire he wrote on mankind, and especially on his countrymen, when he showed that free competition, the struggle for existence, which the economists celebrate as the highest historical achievement, is the normal state of the *animal kingdom*. Only conscious organisation of social production, in which production and distribution are carried on in a planned way, can elevate mankind above the rest of the animal world socially in the same way that production in general has done this for men specifically. Historical development makes such an organisation daily more indispensable, but also with every day more possible. From it will date a new epoch of history, in which mankind itself, and with mankind all branches of its activity, and especially natural science, will experience an advance before which everything preceding it will pale into insignificance.

—Friedrich Engels, Introduction to *Dialectics of Nature* (1875-76)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

EDITORIAL BOARD Kathleen Harris (managing editor), Helene Brostus (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial) (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address vanguard@tiac.net Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 13 September

No. 854 16 September 2005

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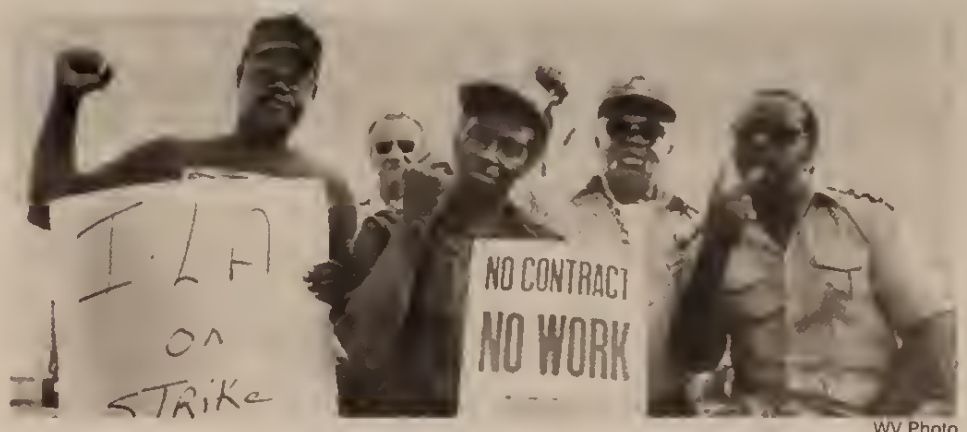
Feds: Hands Off ILA!

On July 6, the Bush administration's Department of Justice launched a full-scale attack on the 60,000-member International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), which represents dock workers on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts from Halifax and Montreal to New Orleans and Galveston, Texas. The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) lawsuit seeks to put the ILA and its health, welfare and pension benefits funds under the control of court-appointed officers and to remove ILA President John Bowers and four other leading ILA officials from the union. The suit also names the entire ILA Executive Council as "defendants" and puts the union's elections under government control.

The ILA has a history of bitter strikes —five between 1959 and 1971—which the government hit with strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions. Now the Feds seek to place the ILA directly under the thumb of the capitalist state—to gut the very purpose of the union, which is to defend the interests of its members against the capitalists. The government has targeted the ILA because—along with the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the Teamsters, which was taken over by the Feds through a RICO suit in 1989—the ILA has the power to throttle shipping and commerce nationally. The government press release (6 July) announcing the lawsuit made this clear, stating: "The ILA plays a critical role in the movement of manufactured, agricultural, and other goods throughout the Eastern seaboard, and it has a major impact on the nation's commercial activities." For the same reason, the Feds went after the ILWU during its contract battle with the shipping bosses in 2002, as the Bush administration was moving military cargo through the ports in preparation for its invasion of Iraq. The attack on the ILA is an attack on the labor movement as a whole and must be opposed and repulsed by the whole of labor.

The RICO suit alleges that ILA locals on the New York/New Jersey waterfront and the port of Miami are controlled by the mob. The federal government has engaged in a vendetta against the ILA for over 50 years, always using the mob as an excuse. In 1951, at the height of the McCarthyite Cold War witchhunt of reds and other labor and black militants, a waterfront "Crime Commission" was set up in New York to target the ILA. Massive strikes and work stoppages in 1954 defeated the government's attempt to drive the ILA off the waterfront. In earlier years, the government had tried to smash the West Coast ILWU through an anti-Communist witchhunt and deportation proceedings against then-union head Harry Bridges in the late 1930s and '40s.



WV Photo

Baltimore, October 1986: ILA pickets during strike that shut down Atlantic ports.

The capitalists' drive to strangle the ILA, ILWU and other unions is facilitated by the policies of the pro-capitalist union misleaders, whose abject class collaboration with the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism, the employers and their government weakens and undermines the unions. Far from mobilizing the membership in struggle against the anti-union suit, ILA president John Bowers joined *with* the shippers' United States Maritime Alliance to declare himself "shocked by the irresponsible and totally inaccurate" rumors that the union might actually organize work stoppages to protest the RICO attack (*American Shipper*, 8 July).

An opposition group within the ILA, the Longshore Workers Coalition (LWC), centered on ILA Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina, actually welcomed the RICO suit as an opportunity to "clean up" the union. The LWC is supported by the social-democratic *Labor Notes* and braintrusted by the sinister Association for Union Democracy, which specializes in anti-union lawsuits (see "Lawyers for Government Union-Busting," *WV* No. 738, 30 June 2000). Leonard Riley, LWC co-chair and a member of ILA Local 1422 (whose president, Ken Riley, is also in the LWC), says in regard to the government action, "If we get an impartially-run membership vote for top officers, we will clean up this union" (*Labor Notes*, August 2005). The LWC has itself dragged the ILA into the bosses' courts, most recently last year on charges that the vote on the master contract had been rigged. The six-year, no-strike contract is a sweetheart deal, which certainly should be fought. But in making a "coalition" with the capitalist courts, the LWC invites the class enemy into the union and *undermines* the possibility of fighting for a better contract for the membership.

The LWC's actions are particularly vile in light of Local 1422's own long and bloody history of being targeted by the capitalist state. In January 2000, 600 cops in riot gear invaded the Charleston waterfront and launched a brutal attack—with clubs, tear gas and shock grenades—on Local 1422 members, including Ken Riley, who were picketing a scab operation. The Charleston Five, arrested for defending their union, were saved from years in prison through a campaign of international labor solidarity. The attack on this overwhelmingly black local came only days after a Local 1422 contingent had participated in a huge protest against the Confederate flag in the state capital, Columbia. We wrote at the time (*WV* No. 728, 28 January 2000):

> "Just as at the start of the Civil War the Confederate slaveowners turned their guns on Fort Sumter, a Union Army stronghold in Charleston harbor, today the capitalists aim their fire at the ILA because it is a bulwark of black labor power in the South."

ILA locals in the South have played a key role in struggles for black rights. During the 1960s, ILA members courageously defended civil rights activists against Klan terror. In 1983, the ILA in Norfolk, Virginia was at the forefront of a struggle to defend busing for school integration. The segregationists particularly hate this union because it represents integrated labor struggle. When black ILA militants in New Orleans called a three-day protest strike following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, white longshoremen announced they would not work without their black brothers. In 1989, black longshoremen who converged on Wilmington, Delaware to protest an attempt to introduce scab labor in Southern ports were joined by members of the largely white ILA clerks and checkers locals.

Genuine union democracy can be achieved only through hard class struggle. A program based on class independence and class struggle is opposed by all wings of the labor bureaucracy, from hardened business unionists to social-democratic fake progressives. It is necessary to fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of labor committed to the cause of black freedom and political independence from all the capitalist parties and their state.

Whatever corruption exists in the unions pales in comparison to the tens of billions doled out to Bush administration cronies from Enron and Halliburton. And the mob at the White House and Pentagon is responsible for the slaughter of tens of thousands of people in Iraq and the lives of countless black and poor people in New Orleans. The purpose of the capitalist state, whether under Republican or Democratic administration, is to defend the profit system based on the exploitation of the working class, and to this end it seeks to smash and otherwise police the unions, through scabherding, anti-strike laws and injunctions, and jailing, beating and killing union militants. ***Government hands off the ILA! Labor must clean its own house!*** ■

Cuban Five Convictions Overturned

The convictions and sentences of the Cuban Five (also known as the Miami Five)—Cuban citizens convicted in 2001 on bogus charges of espionage and murder conspiracy—were overturned on August 9 by a federal appeals court in Atlanta. The court ruled that the five could not have received a fair trial due to "pervasive community prejudice" in Miami, a city dominated for decades by virulent, counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles (*gusanos*), and ordered a retrial in another location. The court cited provocative statements by federal prosecutors, a press barrage against the defendants and the selection of obviously biased jurors, including the selection of a vehement opponent of Fidel Castro as jury foreman. Numerous prospective jurors said that they feared retribution from the *gusano* milieu if they tried to be impartial.

The Cuban Five—Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, Gerardo Hernández, Fernando González and René González—committed no crime. They were arrested under the Clinton administration in 1998 for working to prevent terrorist acts against Castro's Cuba, infiltrating the murderous counterrevolutionary exile groups in Florida in order to report on their plans as well as those of the U.S. military. Their sentences ranged from 15 years to life. In addition to the espionage charges, Gerardo Hernández was also convicted of murder conspiracy after the Cuban air force shot down planes of the terrorist "Brothers to the Rescue" in 1996, resulting in the deaths of four pilots as they violated Cuban air space. The Cuban government has asked that the five be allowed to return to Cuba immediately. We demand, as we have from the beginning: ***Free the Cuban Five now!***

Free the Five Committee

Fidel Castro addresses Havana rally for Cuban Five following June 2001 conviction.

Free Them Now!

Three of these courageous individuals had earlier joined the Cuban forces in Angola that turned back the U.S.-sponsored invasion by the South African apartheid regime in the 1970s and '80s. In a message to the American people issued shortly after their conviction in 2001, the Cuban Five proudly asserted that Cuba, which "has heroically survived four decades of aggressions and threats to its national security, of subversive plans, sabotages and destabilization, has every right to defend itself from its enemies who keep using the U.S. territory to plan, organize and finance terrorist actions."

The Cuban Five's actions in defense of the Cuban Revolution against U.S. imperialism are indeed heroic. Cuba has been in the gun sights of U.S. imperialism ever since the Castro regime kicked out the U.S. capitalists, the Mafia and the venal Cuban bourgeoisie and consolidated a workers state in 1960-61, although one that was bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Our defense of the Cuban Five flows from our unconditional military defense of the Cuban workers state against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. We maintain this defense despite our political opposition as Trotskyists to Castro's nationalist bureaucratic regime. Key to the defense of the Cuban Revolution is the fight to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S. belly of the imperialist beast. ■

The Evolution Wars: Religious Reaction and Racist Oppression

AP

Hail Charles Darwin!

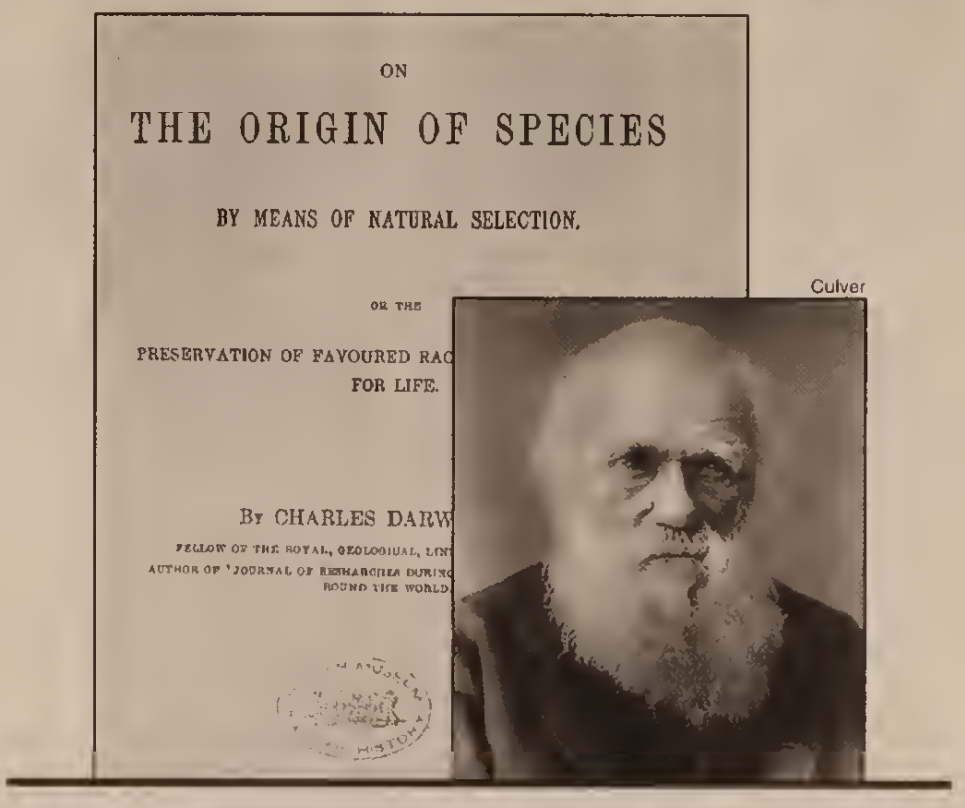
If ever there were an argument against "intelligent design," it is George Bush, an ignorant and dimwitted reactionary with state power. Almost 150 years since the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, this born-again Christian president has thrown the power of his office behind Christian fundamentalism by arguing that religious fables be given equal time with evolution in science classes in America. But the irrational obscurantism of leading circles of the American ruling class should not be mistaken for an absence of purpose. Now, as at other key moments in the history of this nation founded on black chattel slavery, religion is being promoted to inculcate acquiescence to injustice. The brilliant, self-educated former slave Frederick Douglass nailed the intrinsic relationship between the pious religiosity of Southern slaveowners and the hellish reality of those they lorded over:

> "I assert most unhesitatingly, that the religion of the south is a mere covering for the most horrid crimes,—a justifier of the most appalling barbarity,—a sanctifier of the most hateful frauds,—and a dark shelter under which the darkest, foulest, grossest, and most infernal deeds of slaveholders find the strongest protection. Were I to be again reduced to the chains of slavery, next to that enslavement, I should regard being the slave of a religious master the greatest calamity that could befall me.... I therefore hate the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land."
>
> —*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845)

For years, the fundamentalist Christian right has been politically pursuing its reactionary religious agenda. But since the second coming of George W. Bush to the White House, they're stalking the country. Since 2001 there have been challenges to the teaching of evolution in 43 states! Even more widespread but harder to measure is the informal coercion of science teachers to suppress the "E" word. In March, the National Science Teachers Association reported that 31 percent of teachers surveyed responded that they felt "pressured to include creationism, intelligent design, or other non-scientific alternatives to evolution in their science classroom." Some Imax theaters in science museums are refusing to show movies that mention evolution, the Big Bang or the geology of the earth!

A tangled web of billionaire Christian ultrarightists, their foundations and misnamed "think tanks" (like the Seattle-based Discovery Institute) provides the money behind this concerted drive to plunge the country deeper into ignorance and backwardness. The "Wedge Document," an unusually blunt 1999 Discovery Institute manifesto, proclaimed its goal as "nothing less than the overthrow of materialism and its cultural legacies" (*New York Times*, 21 August).

For all the conservative cant coming out of the Supreme Court about the "original intent" of the slaveowning framers of the Constitution, extreme right-wing religious elements seek to shred provisions of that Enlightenment-influenced document, and particularly the Bill of Rights, in favor of an America ruled as a theocracy under Biblical law. The particular version of Christian fundamentalism now associated with the Bush White House developed over the past four decades as an ideological umbrella enabling white racist bigots to link together their hostility to affirmative action and welfare, "women's lib" and legalized abortion, and any tolerance of gay rights. They want a society without public schools, without unions, without separation of church and state, with the death penalty for abortionists and many others, with legal repression and extralegal terror for gays, and with black people and immigrants yoked as subhuman objects of exploitation in a nativist white Christian America.



Culver

Charles Darwin's groundbreaking 1859 *Origin of Species* presented theory of evolution by natural selection.

Bourgeois liberals push reliance on the Supreme Court as the guarantor of the basic democratic rights that the government has in its cross hairs. That strategy offers no more protection than an umbrella with holes in it. The truth is that every gain and every protection that working people and minorities have won in this country have been wrested through class struggle and political battles and outright civil war. Holding on to past gains and gaining a position from which to fight for new conquests require a crystal-clear understanding that the government rules on behalf of the capitalist exploiters, under both Democratic and Republican administrations. Political independence from the Democrats and a class-struggle perspective are key to any successful fight against the current onslaught.

A ruling class that sends more black youth to prison than to college in a society that purports to have equal opportunity bolsters its policies by blaming its victims and finding "scientific" justification for segregation and subordination. Thus the ideological servants of American capitalism revive scientifically discredited myths of biological determinism and genetic inferiority of racial and ethnic minorities. In defense of an economic system and social order based on black chattel slavery, Supreme Court Chief Justice Taney deemed black people "far below" whites "in the scale of created beings" and so ruled in his infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision that a black man had no rights that a white man was bound to respect.

Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection continues to be explosive in America today because it indicates that all modern humans came from a common African ancestor, and hence there is no scientific basis for separate "races." The truth—that race is not a biological category, but a social and political construct—has profound political implications in the United States. As stated in the *amici curiae* brief filed by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in the Supreme Court in 1985 against the teaching of Biblical creationism in Louisiana schools:

> "Evolution, the science of man's 'descent with modification' is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack. The reasons for this lie in the fact that evolutionary theory deprives man of a mythical 'special' status in nature, and exposes the lack of scientific basis for the various religious and other justifications for belief in racial inferiority. The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority.
>
> "To the organizations here filing as *amici curiae*, the study of scientific evolution is fundamental to man's quest for a materialist understanding of our world and human society, not the least because it provides material evidence that we are all part of the same human race, definitively destroying the myths of racial superiority."

The Materialist View of History

Regarding the warfare between science and religion over Darwinian evolution, the eminent British scientist and Marxist J.D. Bernal wrote:

> "The very persistence of the struggle, despite the successive victories won by materialist science, shows that it is not essentially a philosophic or a scientific one, but a reflection of political struggles in scientific terms. At every stage idealist philosophy has been invoked to pretend that present discontents are illusory and to justify an existing state of affairs. At every stage materialist philosophy has relied on the practical test of reality and on the necessity of change."
>
> —*Science and History* (1954)

Charles Darwin unshackled biological science from the chains of religion by providing a materialist explanation for the evolution of life on this planet through his careful, meticulously recorded studies of variation of species. As we wrote in our tribute to the late Stephen Jay Gould, who, despite having pathetically conciliated religion toward the end of his life, was a great Darwinian educator and propagandist:

> "The revolutionary aspect of Darwin's idea was that the whole evolution of the natural world could be explained on a purely materialist basis—natural selection—rather than through any supernatural intervention. The motor force was survival of the fittest: all organisms produce more progeny than can possibly survive within their ecological niche—the most intense competition is ***within*** a species, whose members all compete for

UPI

White mobs besiege black student at Little Rock's Central High, 1957. Attacks on theory of evolution have historically reinforced white-supremacist ideology.

the same lifestyle and food sources. The competition *between* species is important, but on a slightly lower level."

—"Science and the Battle Against Racism and Obscurantism," *WV* No. 797, 14 February 2003

Darwin argued that natural selection, along with other more random processes, drove the evolution of new varieties of life. Darwinian theory is entirely free of moral pronouncements on organisms, whether they diversify and thrive or go extinct. This is contrary to the "social Darwinists" who, unsupported by Darwin himself, exploited the term "survival of the fittest" as "scientific" evidence that the rulers were a higher order of being, in order to justify the status quo of the cruelest exploitation of man by man. Indeed, Darwin was an ardent opponent of slavery, writing in a 5 June 1861 letter to Asa Gray in the very early days of the American Civil War, "Some few, and I am one of them, even wish to God, though at the loss of millions of lives, that the North would proclaim a crusade against slavery. In the long-run, a million horrid deaths would be amply repaid in the cause of humanity.... Great God! How I should like to see the greatest curse on earth—slavery—abolished!"

Evolution is not "progressive," nor does it necessarily lead to superior or more intelligent beings, and it is certainly not predetermined. The mechanics of evolution are a matter of continuing inquiry and argument among scientists. Darwin did not even like the word "evolution" because it implied a climb up a ladder from lower organisms to higher beings (grotesquely depicted in racist "scientific" illustrations of human evolution as a transition from stooped hairy apes to black people to Caucasians). Darwin preferred the term "descent with modification" and was a rigorous and consistent materialist in his interpretation of nature, not viewing a slug as lesser or more imperfect in its function or adaptation to its environment than an ermine-cloaked member of the royal family. As Gould wrote in *Ever Since Darwin* (1977): "Darwin was not a moral dolt; he just didn't care to fob off upon nature all the deep prejudices of Western thought."

Those deep prejudices were unleashed against Darwin upon the 1859 publication of his *Origin of Species* (which may in part explain why Darwin waited more than 20 years to go into print). *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* by Andrew Dickson White, a co-founder of Cornell University who fought in the anti-slavery movement, documents the assault. In Britain, the Vatican founded the "Academia" to combat Darwinian science, while Protestants founded the Victoria Institute for the same purpose. In France, Monseigneur Ségur went into hysterics against Darwin, shrieking, "These infamous doctrines have for their only support the most abject passions. Their father is pride, their mother impurity, their offspring revolutions." Thomas Carlyle, a former Chartist (revolutionary democrat) turned reactionary defender of slavery, was eviscerated by White for his attack on Darwin:

> "Soured and embittered, in the same spirit which led him to find more heroism in a marauding Viking or in one of Frederick the Great's generals than in Washington, or Lincoln, or Grant, and which caused him to see in the American civil war only the burning out of a foul chimney, he, with the petulance natural to a dyspeptic eunuch, railed at Darwin as an 'apostle of dirt worship'."

Behind the wrath of the rulers, their high priests and apologists, was worry. Geological evidence of the actual immense antiquity of the planet and fossil evidence of an evolving parade of life forms going back millions of years exposed the Biblical Book of Genesis as a fairy tale. Desperate explanations that God hid fossils within rocks to lure geologists into temptation were a bit far-fetched even for the most blindly faithful. When the geologist and Christian Sir Charles Lyell came over to Darwinism, the church feared that the Darwinian theory, like the findings of Copernicus and Galileo, might prove to be true. Suggestions of a divine design guiding evolution were advanced to shore up the crumbling foundation of Biblical literalism.

Corbis Hulton-Deutsch

P&A Photos

Top: Dayton, Tennessee during 1925 trial of John Scopes for teaching evolution. That summer 40,000 Klansmen marched in Washington, D.C.

Darwin himself took on this forerunner to the "intelligent design" argument in correspondence with the Harvard botanist Asa Gray, a devout Protestant. Although Gray arranged for the *Origin of Species* to be published in America, he was troubled about the book's theological implications and maintained the Christian belief that each living thing reflected intelligent design by a creator and constituted evidence of the loving character of God. In a typically mild but stunning reply, Darwin wrote back:

> "I had no intention to write atheistically, but I own that I cannot see as plainly as others do, and as I should wish to do, evidence of design and beneficence on all sides of us. There seems to me too much misery in the world. I cannot persuade myself that a beneficent and omnipotent God would have designedly created the Ichneumonidae [parasitic wasps] with the express intention of their feeding within the living bodies of Caterpillars, or that a cat should play with mice."

Even conservative columnist George Will wrote, regarding the film *March of the Penguins*, "If an Intelligent Designer designed nature, why did it decide to make breeding so tedious for those penguins?" (*Pocono Record*, 28 August).

Darwin's discovery of the continual motion and interaction between organisms and their environment was embraced enthusiastically by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. According to Gould, Marx offered to dedicate the second volume of *Capital* to Darwin (who declined as he had not read it). In *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880), Engels wrote:

> "Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically.... In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years."

Darwin put history into science. Karl Marx put science into history. Marx showed the mechanism by which labor collectively creates wealth that is privately appropriated by the capitalists, out of which they extract profit. Marx unearthed what had been "concealed by an overgrowth of ideology." As Engels remarked in his 1883 "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx":

> "The production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case."

Engels drew directly on Darwin's work in his 1876 essay "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man." Engels observed that with the development of erect posture and bipedal motion, "the hand had become free," allowing man to fashion tools. In turn, the use of tools, speech and social organization enabled man to begin to transform and master his environment. Engels wrote:

> "Agriculture was added to hunting and cattle raising; then came spinning, weaving, metalworking, pottery and navigation. Along with trade and industry, art and science finally appeared. Tribes developed into nations and states. Law and politics arose, and with them that fantastic reflection of human things in the human mind—religion."

The division between mental and manual labor became key to a class-stratified society, and "all merit for the swift advance of civilisation was ascribed to the mind." So too, the idea of god became independent of the mind that invented it. ***Man created god yet became his subject.***

Marx also recognized the duality of religion; it is both an instrument of oppression and a balm for the oppressed. Historically, the religiosity of black people in America has been a solace from unmitigated racist oppression and a promise of deliverance. As Marx said, "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people."

You Can't Fight Republicans with Democrats

While it is a hoot to ridicule the demented rightists who think SpongeBob, a cartoon character, is gay (he holds hands with a starfish), or the Washington State Republican Party which outlawed yoga classes (did you know the word "om" is hidden in the word "communism"?), their agenda is serious and sinister. Readers are referred to the Web site www.theocracywatch.org run out of Cornell University for informative and regularly updated exposés of this crowd. Although the information provided there is valuable, the Web site's banal, liberal political conclusion—that people should campaign and vote for Democrats in the midterm elections to reclaim the flag—is a false perspective that will only help keep things in this country running rapidly downhill.

It's not just the Republicans! An infuriating series in the *New York Times*, "A Debate Over Darwin," makes this clear. This august spokesman of liberal Democratic Party opinion splashed hogwash across its front page day after day (see nytimes.com/evolution) and legitimized the neo-creo kooky proponents of religious reaction by oh-so-judiciously presenting their views—as if one could debate human origins and evolution with creationists. Thus the *Times* abets the Discovery Institute's purpose by accepting the logic of Bush's demand to give equal status to science and religious superstition. ***Science and religion cannot be reconciled.***

We salute the eminent British scientist Richard Dawkins (dubbed "Darwin's Rottweiler"), whose forthright defense of science against the encroachments of religion have roiled the purveyors of superstition. Dawkins concluded in *The Blind Watchmaker—Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe Without Design* (1996):

> "Nearly all peoples have developed their own creation myth, and the Genesis story is just the one that happened to have been adopted by one particular tribe of Middle Eastern herders. It has no more special status than the belief of a

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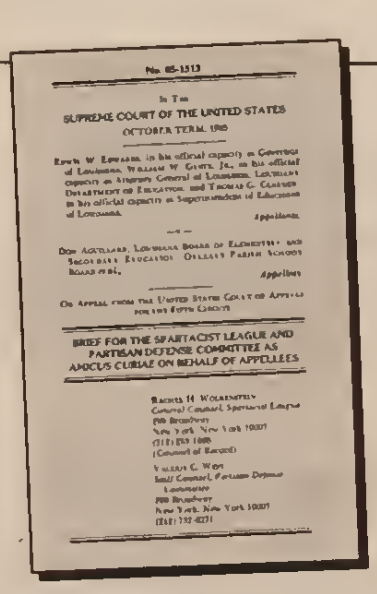
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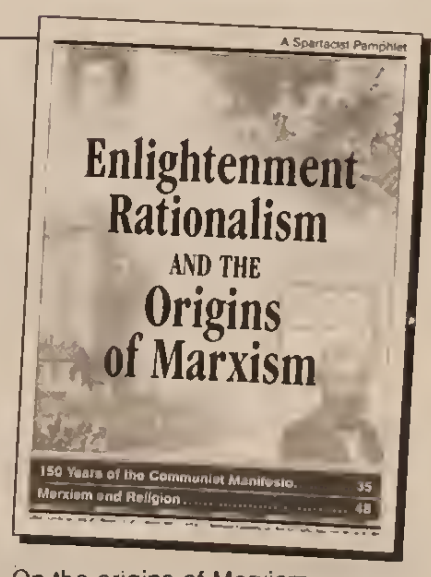

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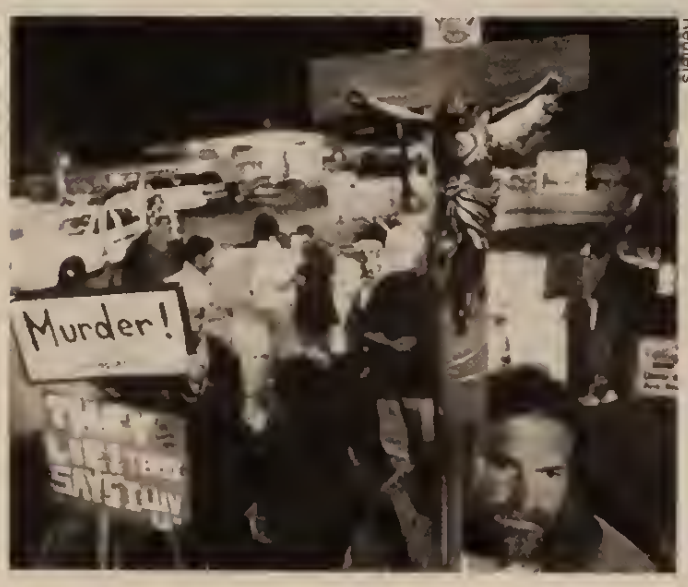
Evolution...

(continued from page 5)

> particular West African tribe that the world was created from the excrement of ants. All these myths have in common that they depend upon the deliberate intentions of some kind of supernatural being."

Every leftist who has ever tried to get so much as a letter printed in the *New York Times* learns the race and class bias of "all the news that's fit to print" in that paper. Turning over page after page of their paper to proponents of "intelligent design" was a political decision in keeping with a decades-long Democratic Party strategy: to conciliate religious reaction in order to present themselves as credible rulers for God, country, family, and the "little guy."

The "culture wars" in America—and evolution is a big one—do indeed reveal differences between the two capitalist parties. After Clinton's 1992 election, a Democratic-controlled Congress passed the "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," which would have required states to adopt federally approved standards for teaching science and history as a prerequisite for receipt of federal funds. Right-wing Republicans, led by neocon Lynne Cheney, went nuts over requirements to teach a little truth about the Ku Klux Klan and McCarthyism. When the Republicans recaptured a Congressional majority in the 1994 midterm elections, they quickly



Reuters

March 2005: Scene outside Terry Schiavo's hospice in Florida. Capitalist rulers have fostered resurgence of religious reaction, anti-science forces.

acted to allow states to adopt standards without federal oversight.

These are examples of the not unimportant distinctions between the oddly demented Bush gang and the more liberal Democrats. In the absence of a class alternative, it is precisely such distinctions that explain the, in many cases half-hearted, support for Democrats among labor and the oppressed. But the "lesser evil" is still the class enemy of the working people. Democratic president Clinton outflanked the Republicans by signing legislation to "end welfare as we know it," by invoking the union-busting Railway Labor Act 14 times against potential rail and airline strikes, and by vastly augmenting the arsenal of state repression directed mainly against black people through the passage of his 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act." Hillary Clinton's recent pandering to the anti-abortion bigots to secure her own electoral fortunes lies on the same continuum.

Jimmy Carter, Democratic president in the late 1970s, epitomizes the contradiction of the religious element in the ruling class. Underneath that humble Southern Christian peanut farmer *shtick* is a man who was trained as a nuclear engineer and helped design nuclear submarines for the U.S. Navy. Carter brought being "born again" from its public perception as a backwoods affliction to the apex of political power in the White House. This served to morally rearm post-Vietnam U.S. imperialism for launching Cold War II against "godless Communism."

Religion: Social Glue for a Society Riddled with Contradictions

America is a deeply unstable, stable bourgeois democracy. Stripped of its democratic mask, the state is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a class that accumulates vast wealth through the raw exploitation of labor. The working class is divided and prevented from uniting in its own interest mainly through the special oppression of black people as a segregated race-color caste—the last-hired, first-fired bottom rung in a society buttressed by the myth of social mobility for all. Yet black workers still have tremendous potential social power as a leading part of the working class. The material reality of racial oppression itself perpetuates fear of and prejudice against people forced by capitalism to live in filthy, violent ghettos with few social services. The color line is the visible birthmark left by slavery and so fundamental to modern American society that it cuts straight across the multiple fissures of successive waves of immigration. As the census forms say, "Hispanics may be of any race." Sure, and where one lands on the

Frederick Douglass House

Frederick Douglass, revolutionary abolitionist.

wheel of fortune is heavily influenced by whether one appears to be black or white.

America's other peculiarity among advanced capitalist countries is its deeply religious character. Nowhere else—not even in Italy where the Vatican still heavily influences civil society—is there such refractory religiosity and visceral hostility to the long-established facts of Darwinian natural selection as the motor force of evolution. Why? The absence of even a mass reformist workers party that expresses in even a blurry way that working people have needs and interests counterposed to those of their exploiters is a large part of the explanation for political backwardness in the U.S. But like everything else in this country, it also boils down to the central intersection of ***race and class***. Religion in the U.S. supplies an ideology that can seemingly harmonize conflicting class interests while keeping this society with two races firmly ordered: capital above labor and white above black.

Although fundamentalist preachers and churches had been around for a while, it was the impact of World War I, the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and massive labor strikes that drew them together as a political movement to fight "godless Communism," immigration, booze and the teaching of evolution. In the summer of 1919 the "World's Christian Fundamentals Association" was founded. The country was gripped by fear, cynically manipulated by the government through legal and extra-legal terror. Civil liberties were nullified as people were jailed for expressing anti-war views. Murderous racist pogroms raged, with 26 anti-black rampages across the country between April and October 1919. Immigrants (who were often anarchists and communists) were rounded up and deported. Labor strikes, such as the Seattle general strike of 1919, were denounced as unpatriotic "crimes against society" and "conspiracies against the government," and broken by deployment of federal troops. In 1921, the trial of the Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti began, and they were executed in 1927.

The ways in which the fundamentalist movement served to bind a reactionary yet deeply contradicted society together were played out in Tennessee when a former Chicago Cubs outfielder turned evangelical preacher, Billy Sunday, arrived for an 18-day crusade in 1925 against the teaching of evolution. Leaping across the stage and screeching that "education today is chained to the devil's throne," Sunday whipped up more than 200,000 people in multiply segregated rallies against "the old bastard theory of evolution." *Summer for the Gods* (1997), Edward J. Larson's Pulitzer Prize-winning book on the Scopes trial, recounts:

> "Thousands attended Men's Night, where males could freely show their emotion out of the sight of women. Even more turned out for Ladies' Night. The newspaper reported that '15,000 black and tan and brown and radiant faces glowed with God's glory' on Negro Night. An equal number of 'Kluxers'—some wearing their robes and masks—turned out for the unofficial Klan Night."

That was the immediate backdrop to the most famous battle between evolution and creationism in U.S. history. In 1925, the Scopes "monkey trial" took place in Dayton, Tennessee. That same year, some 40,000 Klansmen in full regalia marched through the nation's capital. It was a period when anyone who wasn't as conformist and as patriotic as possible was suspect. Substitute "terrorist" for "communist" and it sounds eerily like the social climate today, and once again religious fundamentalism is advancing in lockstep with social reaction.

John Scopes was indicted for violating Tennessee's statute that banned teaching evolution. The high school biology textbook he taught from reeked of the racist Social Darwinist views of the times. Man was presented as the highest life form of evolution, with the Caucasian race being "finally, the highest type of all." A large political contradiction of the times was that many of the promoters of evolution were Social Darwinists who crusaded for bettering the human race by eliminating the "feebleminded" through eugenics. By 1936, 35 states had laws compelling sexual segregation and sterilization of those deemed "eugenically unfit." In America, that was a loosely applied euphemism for "poor white trash," black people and immigrants.

Southern slaveowners often denounced the cruelty of Northern capitalism while falsely portraying themselves as loving Christian protectors of their Negro property. So, too, the eugenics movement enabled William Jennings Bryan, the blowhard orator, 1896 Democratic Party presidential candidate and prosecutor of John Scopes, to posture as a humanitarian! Bryan said, "The Darwinian theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate—the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak." Dismissing geological evidence that the age of the earth was much older than the Bible said, Bryan blustered, "Men who would not cross the street to save a soul have traveled across the world in search of skeletons."

John Scopes was defended by Clarence Darrow, who used the trial as a platform to defend science and defeat Bryan's religious foolishness and phony goodness. As Darrow once said in a speech to a group of prisoners on the false definition of crime in an unjust society, "It is not the bad people I fear so much as good people. When a person is sure that he is good, he is nearly hopeless; he gets cruel—he believes in punishment."

Fundamentalism became notorious and identified with rural backwardness as a result of the Scopes trial. In response, fundamentalists constructed their own world with their own religious schools, universities and social institutions, beginning in the 1930s. But at every peak of fevered anti-communist and racist reaction, they were brought out of their subculture to center stage. Fundamentalists played a large role in the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s, identifying the United States, Jesus and the Bible as God's gifts to humanity and the Soviet Union as the Antichrist and Devil.

What used to be the kooky fringe of John Birch ilk is now frighteningly mainstream and mobilized. No longer content with ruling their own schools, they want to destroy the public schools, and indeed the entire world. Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and bigwigs who overlap heavily with the Texas Republican Party and the Bush White House are "Dominionists" or "Christian Reconstructionists." They believe that fundamentalist Christians are mandated by God to occupy all secular institutions in order to destroy society as we know it and usher in "the thousand-year reign of Christ." Then, as Bill Moyers wrote in "Welcome to Doomsday" (*New York Review of Books*, 24 March):

> "Once Israel has occupied the rest of its 'biblical lands,' legions of the Antichrist will attack it, triggering a final showdown in the valley of Armageddon. As the Jews who have not been converted are burned the Messiah will return for the Rapture. True believers will be transported to heaven where, seated at the right hand of God, they will watch their

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TORONTO

political and religious opponents writhe in the misery of plagues—boils, sores, locusts, and frogs—during the several years of tribulation that follow.
"I'm not making this up."

Communism = America's Last Best Hope

Civilization does not continually advance. Throughout history, human society has also paused, decayed or moved backward. This motion, its tempo and direction are intrinsically linked to the economy and class struggle. Science is not independent of these processes. At the time of the industrial revolution, when the ascendant bourgeoisie challenged and replaced the feudal order, there was not only tremendous progress in the material results of knowledge (e.g., the steam engine), but also leaps in ideas of human freedom (the Enlightenment). But the French Revolution's philosophy of "liberty, equality, fraternity" was limited in application to the new ruling bourgeoisie once it had achieved its own fundamental class interest: the abolition of feudal restrictions on private moneymaking through exploitation of the working people. Marx surpassed the radical idealism of the French Revolution, understanding from his analysis that the dominant ideas of every historical period are those of the ruling class. Enlightenment philosophy could find universal material expression only through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat as a bridge to communism.

The working-class seizure of power in the 1917 Russian Revolution took Marxism out of the realm of ideas and gave it flesh and blood. Despite the relative backwardness of Russia, hostile imperialist encirclement, civil war and invasion by more than a dozen capitalist armies, the establishment of collectivized property and a planned economy spurred huge advances in science, technology, art and ideas. Despite the degeneration of the revolution in its national isolation and its grotesque deformation by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the standard of living as measured by key indexes of modern civilization (literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, etc.) was testimony to the superiority and tremendous potential of working-class rule.

The last time the U.S. ruling class undertook a sustained effort to promote science education was after the Soviet Union launched its Sputnik I satellite in 1957. Fear of a Soviet lead in military technology led President Eisenhower to demand a billion-dollar program to improve science education in American schools and to the enactment of the National Defense Education Act in 1958. Creationism was elbowed aside as the newly formed Biological Science Curriculum Study (BSCS) wrote evolution into new high school textbooks.

Once again, the centrality of the struggle for black freedom to all progressive social change in Ameriea was revealed. The new textbooks reached Little Rock Central High in 1965 after almost a decade of pitched battles against court-ordered desegregation of Arkansas' Jim Crow schools. The civil rights and Vietnam antiwar movements were ripping apart the conservative fabric of post-World War II America. In *Epperson v. Arkansas*, the trial judge made no secret of his contempt for the state's anti-evolution statute, scheduling the trial for April Fools' Day and ruling in favor of Susan Epperson's constitutional right to teach modern biology, namely Darwin's theory of evolution. This and similar cases went up to the U.S. Supreme Court. For about 30 years, the creationists mainly lost and were decried even in Supreme Court decisions as "anachronistic."

G.P. Putnam's Sons

Der Spiegel

Above: Young Communists studying atheism following 1917 October Revolution. Right: Russian Orthodox priest on barricades of counterrevolution, Moscow, August 1991.

So, what changed? Capitalist counterrevolution across East Europe and in the USSR, where the final undoing of the Russian Revolution took place in 1991-92, defines today's deeply reactionary period. Those wrenching events have been catastrophic for the people of the former Soviet Union and East Europe, especially women, whose rights and lives have been shattered by religious reaction and destitution.

Leningrad's Kazan Cathedral provides a vivid illustration of what's changed. In the Soviet Union, this former center of the deeply reactionary Russian Orthodox Church was turned into a grand Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism. The central apse showcased an exhibit on Darwin's theory of evolution, with life-size portraits of the transition from ape to man. Today the icon of the Madonna is back and the cathedral is again a nexus of reaction, bolstering an unjust social order with appeals to piety and mystical promises of reward after life on this earth ends.

Drunk with success in its crusade against the Soviet Union, the American ruling class falsely boasts that "communism is dead." With a military budget almost as large as the rest of the world's, according to the 2005 report by the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, U.S. imperialism is plundering the world without fear of reprisal. The same unfettered imperialist monster that is laying waste to Iraq targets labor, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed at home. When the Soviet Union existed, in order to sport credentials especially in the Third World as top cop for "democracy," the U.S. was forced to concede some basic civil rights to black people at home. Now, with affirmative action gutted, many black voters disenfranchised, jobs destroyed and jails filled, the Democratic and Republican rulers cynically pretend that racism is a bygone thing, that there is no need to talk about racial equality anymore—at least until the murderous abandonment of the black population in the flooding of New Orleans threw a worldwide spotlight on racial inequality in the U.S.

Science is subordinated to the capitalist state and its purse strings. Science is primarily funded for techniques of war, mass destruction and misery. From the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the napalming of Vietnam, to the bunker-busting destruction of Baghdad—in the cradle of civilization—the legacy of science in the service of imperialism is measured in mass graves worldwide. Even advances in biological science that could better the human condition, stamp out disease or eradicate hunger are deformed by the profit system. That developing countries must vow to respect drug company patents as a condition of membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) illustrates the point. AIDS ravages Africa, but anti-retroviral drugs that give people the possibility to live with this disease are priced beyond reach. U.S. imperialism and the WTO have made India knuckle under and pledge to cease producing patent-busting, low-cost generic versions of the same drugs, thereby condemning millions around the world to death.

The war against teaching evolution in the schools is irrational even from the bourgeoisie's own class standpoint. To take the above example, pharmaceuticals can't be developed without an understanding of modern biology, which is incompatible with and counterposed to Biblical literalism. New bacterial strains emerge every day, exchanging whole DNA sequences and becoming drug-resistant; viruses mutate. Replace modern biology with Genesis and a new threat like the species-jumping avian-borne flu virus has a better shot at killing millions worldwide. The Bush administration has outlawed government funding for extraction of stem cells from new human embryos, thereby blocking therapeutic cloning and growth of tissue transplants for research to help treat diseases such as Alzheimer's, Parkinson's and diabetes.

To be sure, an elite will continue to be trained at private universities that are beyond the reach of the working class. But the anti-scientific religious dogma pushed by elements of the ruling class retards science even in those bastions of class privilege. Ultimately, it isn't possible to remain a world power and destroy science education and industry, the way the U.S. rulers largely have. In the short term, they can certainly stay on top of the world as Western ayatollahs with nukes. Thus, even a very basic issue like the right to learn Darwin's theory of evolution in public school requires that a multiracial revolutionary workers party be built in this country to rip power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie. Communism is the last best hope for America and the world. ■

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For more information: (510) 839-0851
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Race, Class and Capitalist Decay
New Orleans: Racist Atrocity
Wednesday, September 21, 7 p.m.
Meet in Hamilton Hall Lobby
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 267-1025
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TORONTO

The *Communist Manifesto* and the Ideological Roots of Marxism
Wednesday, Sept. 21, 6:30 p.m.
U of T, Sidney Smith, Room 1080
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
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The *Communist Manifesto* and the Ideological Roots of Marxism
Thursday, Sept. 22, 5 p.m.
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Room B334
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New Orleans...

(continued from page 1)

but a spotlight was thrown on the desperate conditions faced by black people across the country. New Orleans has its own peculiarities, including geography. But across the U.S., the mass of black people is forced to live in inner cities that are little more than rotting shells—from Newark and Camden to Detroit and Gary. No jobs, no health care, schools that are little more than prisons. This country's racist rulers see no reason to spend money to maintain a layer of the black population that is increasingly seen as a surplus population. The horrific images of homeless, hungry and dehydrated black men, women and children in New Orleans prompted many to compare them to images of the Third World. In fact, in measures such as infant mortality, America's ghettos do approach Third World conditions.

Rap musician Kanye West was widely cheered for saying on a telethon what millions are thinking: "George Bush doesn't care about black people." The matriarch of the Bush clan, former first lady Barbara Bush, sniffed disdainfully after looking in on the Houston Astrodome, "What I'm hearing, which is sort of scary, is they all want to stay in Texas"! With naked class contempt, she declared, "So many of the people in the arena here, you know, were underprivileged anyway, so this is working very well for them." She was

AP

Cars leaving New Orleans ahead of hurricane. Thousands, mainly black, were crammed into Houston Astrodome after days trapped by flooding in New Orleans.

Stravato/NY Times

AP

Former presidents Clinton and Bush senior backing George W. Bush in wake of Gulf Coast disaster. Bipartisan neglect prepared way for New Orleans flooding.

speaking of starving people who had just had everything in their lives ripped up, had just lost their homes and their jobs. Many didn't even know if their friends and companions and family members were drowned or saved.

But it's not just Bush and the Republicans. The other capitalist party, the Democrats, is also directly responsible for deaths that likely number in the thousands. The black Democratic Party New Orleans mayor, Ray Nagin, ordered an evacuation but provided no resources for anyone without a car to get out. Former president Bill Clinton publicly solidarized with Bush Junior and also Senior, seeking to restore the spirit of "national unity." Nationally, Democratic politicians are clamoring that the administration's inaction over New Orleans shows its incapacity to respond to "terrorist" threats. They aim to present themselves as the party best able to wage the "war on terror," a code word for ripping up the rights of immigrants, black people, the labor movement and most everyone else.

Despite differences over particular policies, the Republicans and Democrats are united in defending capitalism—an anarchic, irrational profit-driven system that cannot even provide for the safety and welfare of the population. The situation cries out for a socialist planned economy, in which natural resources and the technological and productive forces of society would be marshaled *on behalf of human needs*, not profit. What is urgently required is to build a workers party that can lead a workers revolution to rip power from the hands of the capitalist class and its political agents, right-wing Republican and liberal Democrat alike.

Criminality Upon Criminality

Billions in government handouts are being shoveled out as fast as possible—to the politicians' corporate cronies. It's a real "gold rush reminiscent of corporate America's efforts to profit from the reconstruction of Iraq," as the capitalists' house organ, the *Wall Street Journal* (9 September) put it. Republican Congressman (and former real estate entrepreneur) Richard Baker of Baton Rouge told lobbyists in Washington, D.C., that "We finally cleaned up public housing in New Orleans. We couldn't do it, but God did." Forty years ago, this was expressed as: "urban renewal" means "Negro removal." In fact, the social disaster was *manmade*, and what's happening now is sheer profiteering. Gasoline prices have soared above $3 a gallon and are expected to go higher. A *Wall Street Journal* (7 September) editorial was cheerfully headlined: "In Praise of 'Gouging'."

The government's generosity toward its corporate pals stands in stark contrast to its murderous indifference and gratuitous cruelty toward the black working people and poor of New Orleans. Fury at the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) finally forced the removal of its chief, Michael Brown. When Wal-Mart tried to deliver trucks of bottled water, FEMA turned them back. Absurdly evoking "terrorist" threats, FEMA delayed evacuation flights until they could get federal marshals on board every plane, which is not even done for everyday commercial flights. When starving, dehydrated, dying people tried to board flights out, FEMA "Homeland Security" agents initially stopped them because there weren't working X-ray machines to check if they were carrying bombs!

Many liberals are complaining that the disastrous government response to Hurricane Katrina shows how FEMA, now part of the Department of Homeland Security, has been "neglected" over the years. In fact, FEMA's "mission," established in the heat of the U.S. rulers' anti-Soviet war drive in the 1980s, was to prepare the infrastructure for a military dictatorship in the event of a "national emergency," including plans for rounding up Central American immigrants and U.S. citizens in concentration camps (see "Reagan/North's Plot for Military Coup," *WV* No. 433, 24 July 1987).

On August 30, two Navy helicopter pilots disregarded orders and ferried more than a hundred hurricane victims to safety. They should have been greeted as heroes. Instead they were reprimanded, and one of them was reassigned to overseeing a temporary kennel to hold the pets of service members evacuated from the area. Their commander said, "We all want to be the guys who rescue people. But they were told...that is not the priority." Anger ran so hot over this incident that several men in their unit removed the patches from their sleeves reading, "So Others May Live," in open defiance of military discipline.

New Orleans police tried to keep people from even helping each other. Malik Rahim, a veteran of the Black Panther Party of the 1960s and a local activist in the Algiers neighborhood, which was not flooded and where phones worked, reported that police told people who had dry homes and boats that their help wasn't needed. Rahim wrote that "the people who could help are being shipped out. People who want to stay, who have the skills to save lives and rebuild are being forced to go to Houston" (*San Francisco Bay View*, 31 August).

Rahim described "gangs of white vigilantes near here riding around in pickup trucks, all of them armed, and any young Black they see who they figure doesn't belong in their community, they shoot him." When a band of some 200 people, including visiting paramedics from a downtown hotel, tried to walk out of New Orleans over a Mississippi River bridge into a white area, suburban cops turned them back and fired over their heads, saying, "This isn't New Orleans" (*New York Times*, 10 September).

Now the forces of the capitalist state are taking steps to disarm residents who managed to stay. No one, except for the armed thugs of the government, is to be allowed to defend himself. In this dire situation and in general, we defend the right of the population to bear arms. No to gun control!

The rulers' fear of an armed population harks back to the fear of "servile insurrection" that haunted the slaveowners of the pre-Civil War South. The role of the federal troops sent in to New Orleans is above all to reassert control *over* the city and its people. Immediately following the flooding, the cops herded prisoners out of New Orleans and into the infamous hellhole of Angola prison. Many were kept handcuffed on a highway overpass in the merciless heat, held at gunpoint until they could be shipped to a prison. About the only thing this government knows how to build and maintain is prisons. One of the first "public works" undertaken by local authorities was to turn the Greyhound bus station into a jail for "looters," with a sign reading, "Welcome to the New Angola South." We say: Release them and drop all charges against them! Immigrants along the Gulf Coast are in particular danger of deportation if they can't produce legal residency documentation. We call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!

Capitalist Chaos and Profiteering

The fatal undermining of the flood control system around New Orleans did not begin the day that George W. Bush entered the White House in January 2001. Far from it! Over two decades of neglect include the eight years of the Democratic Clinton administration in the 1990s, during which the U.S. experienced an economic boom and the federal government managed to run a sizable budget surplus.

But the pork barrel triumphed as usual, as politicians of both parties diverted the Army Corps of Engineers' money to far less important projects, as right-wing *New York Times* columnist John Tierney pointed out in "The Case for a Cover-Up" (10 September). Thus the Louisiana Congressional delegation and Democratic Senator Mary Landrieu, who now attacks Bush for not anticipating the breach of the levees, "have been short-changing the levees themselves" and have "directed large sums to dubious Corps projects aimed at increasing barge traffic, not preventing floods." And it's not just the Mississippi Delta. According to the American Society of Civil Engineers, some 13,000 traffic fatalities each year result from inadequate highway maintenance. Compare this one, all but hidden index of death by government neglect to the number of youth killed each year by firearms—some 2,800 in 2002—which is widely publicized by proponents of gun control.

The Gulf Coast disaster has exposed the deadly logic of the capitalist ideologues who extol the "magic of the market" and preach the virtues of "small government." One of these types, right-wing libertarian Grover Norquist declared: "I don't want to abolish government. I simply want to reduce it to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub." The White House and Congress reduced the size of government funding for flood control and disaster

Bengiveno/NY Times

After leaving thousands to die, authorities left corpses to rot on streets of New Orleans.

relief, and as a consequence, there are likely thousands of people, mainly black and poor, who have now drowned.

The decades-long deterioration of this country's government-maintained and -funded infrastructure has gone hand in hand with the ***deindustrialization*** of the United States. Hurricane Katrina knocked out 10 percent of the country's oil refining capacity. There is *no* spare capacity, which is why oil companies are about to make a killing at the pumps. There has not been a new refinery built in the U.S. since 1976. Over the past quarter-century, total refining capacity has declined by 10 percent while consumption of gasoline has increased by 45 percent.

Why has this happened? At bottom, it is because of the basic laws governing the capitalist system of production. The rate of profit, which determines where the money goes, was too low to induce the oil companies to invest in new refineries. As Robert Mabro, head of the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, explained: "The fundamental problem is that we depend on oil companies that dislike the refining business because of historically low returns but whose deficit can produce an economic, social and political crisis" (*New York Times*, 4 September). Even before Katrina, sharply rising energy costs were dampening the feeble economic expansion. Now the energy crisis, a blatant case of the irrationality of capitalism, is likely to tip the U.S. economy into a recession.

Meanwhile, the airlines are trying to bust workers' unions, destroy their pensions and cut their wages, all the while claiming that high oil prices are making them do it. With early grain ready to ship but with few facilities working, farmers who ship crops down the Mississippi River are faced with ruin. The shrimping and oystering industries are wrecked. Poultry plants are destroyed, their stock rotting.

WV Photo

May 1983: ILA mobilized in defense of school busing in Norfolk, Virginia.

What Needs to Be Done

Over a million people are displaced. The masses of displaced people must be provided with jobs—***union jobs*** at union wage scales, with health care, housing, clothing and all other necessities. Instead of being regarded as victims, these working people can be incorporated into a force for their own revitalization. What is needed at the minimum is a massive program of federally funded public works to rebuild New Orleans and the rest of the devastated Gulf Coast. There should be workers committees that would make sure that shoddy designs and penny-pinching construction could be vetoed before they endangered people's lives, and that lifesaving repairs and maintenance would not fall victim to the ax of austerity.

However, not only the Republicans but also the Democrats will oppose any such program that smacks of "socialism." There is one and only one force in American society that can change the current political balance in favor of working people: a revitalized labor movement. A number of Democratic politicians and liberal commentators are talking about public works programs like those of the 1930s New Deal. But it was the great labor battles of the time that forced the U.S. rulers, represented by Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt, to institute those projects as well as economic reforms like Social Security, unemployment insurance and welfare.

The labor bureaucracy—in both John Sweeney's AFL-CIO and the recent breakaway coalition led by the SEIU's Andy Stern—are just as opposed to fighting for a program of unionized public works as the two capitalist parties are to accepting it. Despite wide sentiment at the base to participate in relief and rebuilding efforts, the union misleaders have done nothing to undertake the mobilization of unionized workers that is necessary.

The union tops' refusal to engage in class struggle is rooted in their support to the capitalist profit system, expressed politically in their ties to the Democratic (and sometimes Republican) parties. To unleash the social power of this country's multiracial proletariat, there needs to be a fight to replace the labor bureaucracy with a leadership committed to mobilizing labor's power, independent of the capitalist state and politicians, in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Bush administration and Congress are handing out billions in no-bid contracts for Gulf Coast rebuilding to the big corporations that are already looting Iraq—Halliburton; Bechtel; the Fluor Corporation. Significantly, Bush issued an order exempting jobs created by these companies from the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, which stipulates that federally funded construction projects pay prevailing wages, which in practice are usually significantly above the legal minimum wage. This is a calculated blow against the labor movement.

Popular outrage at the response of the Bush administration to the devastation of Hurricane Katrina extends to anger at its crony capitalists who run Halliburton, Bechtel et al. A labor campaign to unionize the corporations engaged in "rebuilding" New Orleans and the rest of the Gulf Coast would have massive popular support. Such a campaign could be an important first step in the long-needed unionization of the South and more generally the revival of the declining union movement.

Reformist leftist groups are pumping out lists of immediate demands for flood relief, for housing, for jobs—all urgent necessities. But what is left out of the equation is *how* we're going to get those things. The agency for social change—the working class, including its key black component—is not what they look to to carry out their demands.

Typical of this approach is the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). In a 4 September statement that calls for "a planned, cooperative economy run by the workers," the FSP argues that "public pressure" can prevent the Bush administration from using the crisis to enrich Hallihurton, Bechtel, et al. Workers World Party's new front group, the "Troops Out Now Coalition," one of the groups organizing the September 24 protests against the occupation of Iraq, calls for "Money for Hurricane Relief, Not for War." A coalition statement calling for a "national campaign for emergency action" headlines, "The Bush Administration Is Criminally Negligent." It then states, "We call on the Bush Administration" to do all manner of good things, including "a massive jobs program at union wages for rebuilding." What is this, Christian redemption through good works by war criminals?

Reuters

New Orleans, September 1: Texas game wardens terrorize black residents who used mail truck to escape rising floodwaters, forcing them to continue on foot.

Such groups cynically appeal to naive young liberals who believe that the American government, even under Bush, can be made to respond to "public pressure." In practice, such pressure politics is a vehicle for bourgeois "lesser evilism," i.e., the Democratic Party.

Left-liberal publicist Naomi Klein states in the *Nation* (26 Septemher), "New Orleans could be reconstructed by and for the very people most victimized hy the flood." But how? New Orleans is ***owned*** already, by corporations and big landlords. They must be ***expropriated***, their system of exploitation overthrown ***by workers revolution***, before such mass rebuilding in the interests of the people can take place.

American Capitalism and Black Oppression

Some 40 years after the passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts, the Gulf Coast disaster demonstrates that the basic condition of blacks as an oppressed color-caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of American society has not changed. Black and white liberals have long hailed the civil rights movement of the late 1950s-early 1960s as a historic triumph in the struggle for racial equality. Certainly, the end of legalized segregation in the South was a genuine and important democratic gain. But black oppression is rooted in the very structure of American capitalism, as the catastrophe in New Orleans has so graphically demonstrated. As we wrote in an early, basic document of the Spartacist League:

> "The vast majority of Black people—both North and South—are today workers who, along with the rest of the American working class, must sell their labor power in order to secure the necessities of life to those who buy labor power in order to make profit. The buyers of labor power, the capitalists, are a small minority whose rule is maintained only by keeping the majority who labor for them divided and misled. The fundamental division created deliberately along racial lines has kept the Negro workers who entered American capitalism at the bottom, still at the bottom. Ultimately their road to freedom lies only through the struggle with the rest of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian, socialist society.
>
> "Yet the struggle of the Black people of this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is more than that struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class.... Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."
>
> —"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* special supplement, May-June 1967

The mass mobilization of black people in the Southern civil rights movement, and the subsequent Northern ghetto rebellions, disrupted and challenged the racist American bourgeois order. But the civil rights struggles remained under the leadership of liberals like Martin Luther King Jr. who were tied to the Democratic Party and more fundamentally came up against the inadequacy of democratic reform in addressing the de facto segregation and impoverishment of black people.

The deindustrialization of the Northeast and Midwest beginning in the 1970s has been especially devastating for blacks, since unionized industrial jobs were central to the fragile economic base of the segregated black communities. Budget cuts at all levels of government and the slashing of social welfare programs, carried out by Democratic as well as Republican administrations, have hit particularly hard at the large sector of black workers employed in public services, and all but eliminated the slim lifeline formerly available to the unemployed ghetto masses.

The net worth (assets minus debt) of the average black family is today ***less than one-tenth*** that of whites ($6,000 versus $67,000). Black unemployment is almost two and a half times that of whites. And black people are twice as likely to die from disease, accidents and homicide. Seeking to escape poverty

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Black History and the Class Struggle No. 18

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

$1 (48 pages)

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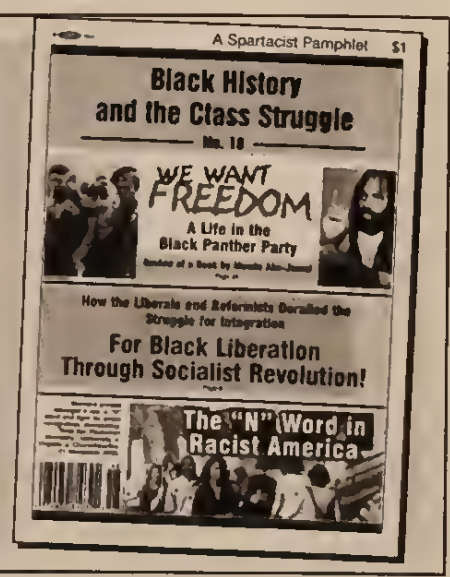


New Orleans...

(continued from page 9)

and learn a usable job skill, young black men join the armed forces at a rate close to 50 percent higher than their white counterparts, thereby becoming cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialists in their military adventures like Iraq. Over 900,000 black men and women, including one out of every eight black men between the ages of 25 and 29, are in prison, mainly victims of the bipartisan "war on drugs."

The attacks on the black population have also been wielded to undermine the conditions of the entire working class. In 1980, the average CEO received compensation 40 times that of an average worker in his company. Today it's more than 500 times. The average real hourly wage of workers without a college degree is less today than 25 years ago. Today as before, labor and black struggle will go forward together or be driven back separately.

The Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

Black people are not just victims of American capitalism. Despite the destruction of industrial jobs and erosion of union strength, black workers, whose rate of union membership is 32 percent higher than that of white workers, continue to be integrated into strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat—in urban transit, longshore, steel and auto. The proletariat alone has the power to shatter this racist, capitalist system. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will be the living link fusing the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses with the social power of the multiracial proletariat under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party.

But for that to happen, the two main obstacles preventing black workers from playing that historic role must be overcome. These are the Democratic Party, especially its black component, and the trade-union bureaucracy. Beginning in the 1960s, the Republican Party positioned itself as the party of the "white backlash," while the Democrats moved to co-opt young black activists into the government bureaucracy, initially through the "War on Poverty" programs. Since then, black Democrats have often served as mayors of major cities where they act as overseers of the ghetto masses. It is these politicos who have implemented on the ground the killing cuts in social welfare programs. It is the cops under their command who brutalize and imprison young black men en masse.

The trade-union misleadership's willful refusal to combat the racist oppression of blacks, and in recent decades of mainly Latino immigrants, is the single most important factor underlying the decline of the union movement. This is nowhere clearer than in the South, which has been the main regional bastion of anti-labor reaction since the building of the integrated industrial unions in the 1930s.

The momentous working-class battles that built these unions, often under the leadership of "reds," took place against the political backdrop of the so-called "New Deal coalition." In the North, this consisted of sections of the liberal bourgeoisie, the labor movement and the black and Jewish minorities. However, key to the Democratic Party's dominance nationally was the support of the white ruling class (the Dixiecrats) in the Jim Crow South, a racist police state in which blacks were stripped of every democratic right and liberty. The New Deal coalition literally extended from black leftist union organizers in the Midwest to Southern sheriffs who were members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Even in the heyday of labor radicalism in the 1930s and early-mid '40s, no serious and sustained effort was made to unionize the South, for the labor tops recognized that this would require smashing the entrenched system of white supremacy and would therefore have destroyed the fragile "unity" of the Democratic Party. That unity was finally broken up by the civil rights movement, as the main body of Dixiecrats decamped to the Republican Party.

Since the 1970s, parts of the South have experienced significant industrial growth, including large-scale investment by European and Japanese corporations attracted by the region's relatively cheap labor. Only a very small fraction of Southern workers are unionized, although there are some crucially important beachheads of union strength such as the predominantly black ILA longshore union locals on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Organizing the region's proletariat, which now includes increasing numbers of immigrants, especially from Latin America, cannot be achieved on the basis of narrow business unionism which accepts and adheres to this country's harsh anti-labor laws. It will require a level of working-class and black struggle that challenges the very foundations of the American bourgeois order.

On the one side, the black masses will rally behind racially integrated workers struggles against the local white power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the U.S. ruling class—both Democrat and Republican—will resort to police, company goons and professional strikebreakers while using racist demagogy to turn white workers against the labor movement. The defense of strike pickets and the need to defeat racist terror will be directly linked.

This is a concrete expression of our perspective of *revolutionary integrationism*. Counterposed to both liberal integrationism—the false view that black people can achieve social equality within the confines of American capitalism—and to all forms of black separatism, revolutionary integrationism is premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. There will be no social revolution in this country without a united struggle of black and white workers led by their multiracial vanguard party. And there is no other road to eliminating the special oppression of black people than the victorious conquest of power by the U.S. proletariat. ■

RALLY

The "War on Terror" Targets Blacks, Immigrants, Labor and Leftists!

Fight Government Repression!

Mumia Abu-Jamal — COC Productions

Lynne Stewart — AP

Assata Shakur — Elana Levy

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Hands Off Lynne Stewart!
Hands Off Assata Shakur!

Bay Area

Saturday, October 1, 2 p.m.

Berkeley Public Library — 2090 Kittredge St., Berkeley

Speakers include: **Robert R. Bryan**, lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal
Video showing of **Lynne Stewart**'s presentation at New York Rally
Don Cane, Labor Black League for Social Defense

Moderator: **Valerie West**, Partisan Defense Committee

For more information: (510) 839-0852 or e-mail: pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Chicago

Saturday, October 1, 5 p.m.

University of Chicago Law School, Room 2 — 1111 East 60th Street

Speakers include: **Lydia Barashango**, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Standish E. Willis, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
Mike Elliott, UAW Local 551, Chair, Education Committee*
Don Alexander, New York Labor Black League for Social Defense
Fred Redmond, USWA Assistant Director District 7*

Moderator: **Brian Mendis**, Partisan Defense Committee

*organization affiliation for identification purposes only

For more information: (312) 563-0442

Los Angeles

Saturday, October 8, 4 p.m.

Immanuel Presbyterian Church* — 3300 Wilshire Blvd. (at Berendo St., 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red-line Station)

Speakers include: **Lydia Barashango**, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Don Cane, Labor Black League for Social Defense

Moderator: **Valerie West**, Partisan Defense Committee

*The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church.

For more information: (213) 380-8897

Statement...

(continued from page 1)

But even the paltry millions that had been budgeted for repair and reinforcement were slashed and diverted to help pay for the occupation of Iraq and the phony "war on terror," while the filthy rich got more tax cuts. As Hurricane Katrina approached, black Democratic mayor Ray Nagin ordered a full evacuation of New Orleans. But no transport was provided for the 35 percent of black households without cars, and for the tens of thousands of the elderly and disabled. *They were all left to die.*

Then it took *five days*—with temperatures in the 90s, with elderly people dying in their wheelchairs and desperate mothers begging for food and water—for the government to even begin providing relief. Bush timed a photo-op in New Orleans to coincide with the first convoys of relief supplies. Meanwhile his man at the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) claimed that the government had not known that there were thousands in the Convention Center—this as hundreds of millions of TV viewers around the globe watched scenes evocative of concentration camps or the Middle Passage.

Barely a day after the flooding, the government and its media mouthpieces turned the victims into "criminals," depicting black people as those who "loot" and white people as those who "find" items from local grocery stores. Mayor Nagin called off search-and-rescue operations and redeployed police to stop looters. With depraved indifference to the desperate masses, Louisiana governor Kathleen Blanco announced that some 300 members of the Arkansas National Guard had been sent to New Orleans not to help the survivors but to terrorize them: "These troops know how to shoot and kill...and I expect they will."

Even as it joined the anti-looting hysteria, the *New York Times* (3 September) was compelled to admit that those abandoned by all levels of government viewed as "Robin Hood figures" the young black men who "found milk and food" or broke into fancy hotel kitchens to serve up gigantic breakfasts for those stranded in the Convention Center. These are the heroes of this disaster. It is the American ruling class that has looted entire countries and continents, that in this country bled workers' pension funds dry and gorged themselves on record profits while diverting funds from health care, education and life-saving measures like flood prevention. And now the oil companies are seizing on the disaster to further jack up prices.

Today the administrators of the capitalist state reveal the incredible depth of their class contempt and ignorance—they believed they could simply abandon the poor, the old and the sick of New Orleans to their own fate. But everyone was evacuated from the oil rigs in the Gulf before the storm hit. Commentators now speak of "the storm after the storm," advising America's rulers to prepare for social blowback at the base of society. Even from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, the administration's seeming indifference to the destruction of a major American city and a crucial port, with a petrochemical industry responsible for 20 percent of the country's oil, is irrational. Coast to coast, working people, minorities and much of the rest of the population are furious with the people running this country.

The Democrats are now going after Bush hammer and tongs. This administration is a particularly crass expression of the greed and arrogance of America's capitalist rulers. But the decline in real wages and the decimation of the labor movement gathered speed under Democrats and Republicans alike, as did the gap between rich and poor, the impoverishment of the ghetto and barrio population and the massive incarceration of their youth. Indeed, it was Democrat Clinton who boasted of having axed "welfare as we know it."

The devastation of New Orleans is the result of decades of bipartisan neglect by a ruling class that doesn't want to pay for repairing its deteriorating infrastructure, driven as it is by lust for immediate gain. Four years ago, FEMA itself warned that a major hurricane hitting New Orleans was one of the three deadliest disasters that could befall the U.S. Scientists at Louisiana State University modeled hundreds of storm possibilities and predicted that more than 100,000 people could die. The government responded by repeatedly slashing urgently needed funds. By 2004, the Bush administration had cut more than 80 percent of the Army Corps of Engineers budget request for strengthening the levees for Lake Pontchartrain. This June the government made even deeper cuts.

Bush and the Democrats cynically used the bodies of the working people killed in the criminal September 11 attack on the World Trade Center as a bloody shirt in launching the "war on terror" and invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Ask any black person in the Gulf Coast: Has the government protected them from catastrophe? Are working people safer? "Homeland Security" is now being directed with guns drawn *against* black people in New Orleans. Meanwhile, black troops from Louisiana and Mississippi who were sent to Iraq to kill and die for American imperialism now wait in anguish to hear if their own loved ones at home remain alive. The bloody subjugation of the Iraqi peoples is carried out by the same capitalist class that has consigned thousands upon thousands of New Orleans residents to death and devastation. *U.S. out of Iraq—now! Down with the imperialist occupation!*

The capitalist rulers have their priorities, and taking care of working people isn't one of them. When Hurricane Michelle, a Category 4 storm, hit Cuba in 2001, some 700,000 people were evacuated in a matter of hours—despite poor roads and fuel shortages. Some 25,000 volunteers were mobilized to go door to door to prepare people for evacuation; trucks and buses were provided to move the population to safety and living spaces organized for the refugees. Similar operations took place in 2002, 2004 (evacuating 1.9 million people out of a total population of 11 million) and again this July. This shows the power of Cuba's collectivized economy, which, despite Castro's bureaucratic regime, is organized not on the basis of capitalist competition for profits but on the basis of economic planning. The 1960-61 Cuban Revolution threw out the capitalists, the U.S. imperialists and their CIA spies and Mafia henchmen, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, which must be defended unconditionally against U.S. imperialism.

The situation cries out for a workers revolution in the U.S. to do away with the capitalist system and establish a society with a planned, collectivized economy. This country was founded on black chattel slavery, and the continuing enforced segregation of the black population as a last-hired, first-fired race-color caste is the key prop to capitalist rule. This material subjugation of the black population is what perpetuates the racist bigotry that divides and weakens the working class. Karl Marx got it exactly right when he said, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Today, the trade unions—especially the heavily black ILA longshore union in the Southeast and on the Gulf Coast—should be mobilizing for the rescue effort and demanding a massive rebuilding effort that would provide every unemployed person with a job at good union wages. But the pro-capitalist trade-union tops, tied as they are to the Democratic and Republican parties, stand condemned through their inaction.

The "national unity" patriotism promoted by the bourgeoisie and embraced by the labor misleaders is being challenged by the mass anger over the government's New Orleans disaster and over the widely unpopular Iraq war. The current strikes at Northwest Airlines and Boeing, if backed up by the rest of labor, could point the way toward unleashing the social power of the working class. It is the class struggle of the multiracial proletariat that can open the road to overthrowing the decrepit capitalist order and establishing a workers government. The Spartacist League is committed to assembling the most conscious class-struggle militants to forge a revolutionary party to lead all the exploited and oppressed in this fight. As New Orleans shows, the choice is clear: socialism or barbarism. ■

Bush Bans Cuban Medical Aid

It's more killing by the Bush administration, this time in the name of anti-Communism. Cuban leader Fidel Castro offered to immediately dispatch nearly 1,600 Cuban doctors with over 26 tons of medical supplies to the Gulf Coast of the United States to help treat the thousands of sick and injured victims of Hurricane Katrina. But Cuba's offer was snubbed as the hurricane victims were left to die.

A comparison of the U.S. government's disastrous response to Hurricane Katrina with the successes of the Cuban deformed workers state illustrates why overthrowing the capitalist profit system is literally a life and death question for working people, minorities and the poor. According to a study by Oxfam, Cuba has a "culture of safety," committed to reducing risks and saving lives. Before a Category 5 hurricane blasted Cuba last year with 160 miles per hour winds, nearly two million people were safely evacuated with *no loss of life and no serious injury.*

Before a hurricane season begins, Cuban authorities review and revise disaster plans based on the past year's experience. The entire country goes through a hurricane drill, the *Meteoro*, trimming tree limbs, checking dams for weak points and making repairs. Every shelter is stocked with food, water and medical supplies. Neighborhood representatives from the Federation of Cuban Women identify those most vulnerable—the elderly and single mothers with young children—who might need extra help evacuating. Schools ensure that even young children know what to do and where to go. Doctors are evacuated with the communities they serve, so they know who needs insulin, heart medication, etc.

Cuban doctors have saved lives worldwide and are often first on the scene to help the victims of disasters, whether the stricken region is ruled by an ally or foe. In 1972, when a devastating earthquake hit Nicaragua during the Somoza dictatorship, Cuban doctors and field hospitals were immediately dispatched to help the victims, as they were again recently to victims of the tsunami in Indonesia and Sri Lanka.

Reuters photos

Havana, September 4: Cuban leader Castro addressing doctors equipped for Gulf Coast relief. Bush refused offer of almost 1,600 doctors and over 26 tons of medical supplies.

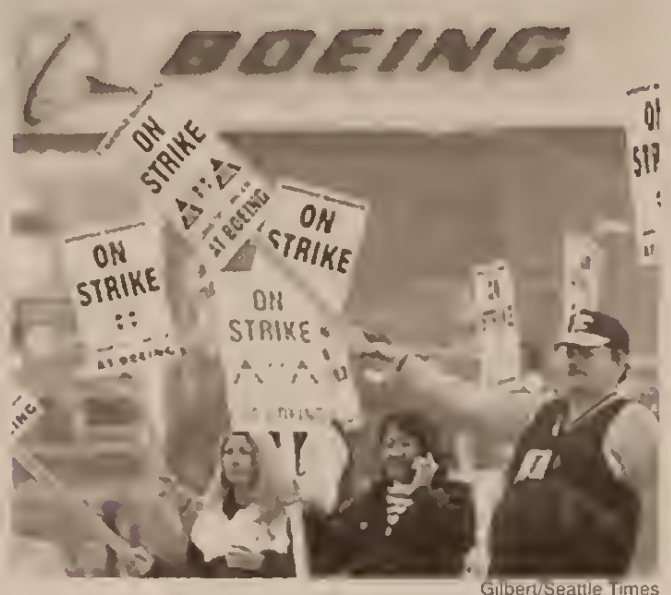
Despite the choke hold of the U.S. imperialist blockade and the loss of economic aid from the former Soviet Union, the quality of medical care in Cuba is high. Amid the barrage of imperialist propaganda that Marxism "failed," this in itself is testimony to the superiority of the planned, collectivized economy that was created in Cuba when a workers state was consolidated following the expropriations and nationalizations of private property in the summer and fall of 1960. Although the workers state was bureaucratically deformed from its inception, the planned economy, modeled on that of the Soviet Union, brought enormous gains to the Cuban people, such as jobs, free medical care, housing and universal education. These gains are today increasingly threatened, from without and within.

The Bush administration has pledged to maintain the starvation blockade against Cuba imposed by Democrat John F. Kennedy in 1962. We say: *End the embargo! For unconditional defense of the Cuban Revolution against imperialist attack! U.S. out of Guantánamo!* Since 1991-92, when capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union—Cuba's chief ally and economic lifeline—the Castro regime has increasingly opened up the country to imperialist economic penetration. This has led to growing inequalities, particularly for the black population and women. Defense of the Cuban Revolution requires a *workers political revolution* to oust the bureaucracy and put political power in the hands of the working class. Defense of the Cuban Revolution requires its international extension through successful struggles for proletarian power throughout Latin America, and especially here in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to IAM Boeing Strike!

Morton/Seattle Times



Gilbert/Seattle Times

Left: Seattle IAM members call for strike, September 1. Right: Pickets outside Boeing plant in Everett, Washington, September 2.

IAM: Honor AMFA Northwest Picket Lines!

SEPTEMBER 9—Some 18,400 workers at Boeing facilities in the Seattle area, Gresham, Oregon and Wichita, Kansas, have shut down production of commercial aircraft at one of the two largest aircraft manufacturers in the world. The aircraft producer is an industrial giant in the Seattle/Puget Sound region, supplied by and subcontracting to dozens of smaller companies. The resulting loss to capitalist profits therefore goes far beyond its direct effect on Boeing.

Members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) walked off the job on September 2 after a resounding 86 percent strike vote (reportedly 93 percent in Wichita) that decisively rejected the company's takeaway "best and final offer." The key issues in this strike are health care, pensions and job security. This is an important battle for all labor. As one striker told *Workers Vanguard* supporters who joined the Seattle-area picket lines of IAM District 751, "This strike could be a cornerstone that other unions could build on." ***Victory to the IAM Boeing strike!***

WV reporters found a mood of grim determination among strikers. Workers spoke with contempt of the company's "divide and conquer" tactics—attempting to set one region against another and younger workers against those with more seniority in an effort to cripple the union. The bosses' demands included a separate and inferior economic package for Wichita and the elimination of retiree medical benefits for anyone hired after 1 July 2006. The company further demanded hefty increases in workers' health care premiums and offered a miserly percentage increase in pension payments. Pensions are a central issue for this workforce, whose average age is over 50. Strikers are furious that while the company countered their demand for an increase of $20 a month in pensions per year of service with a miserly $6 a month, new CEO James McNerney was reportedly awarded a ***$22 million*** pension package after only two months.

This is the third or fourth strike that many Boeing workers have been through, the most recent being a 69-day walkout in 1995. A *WV* reporter observed: "These workers have a long memory for the crimes and outrages they have suffered over the years at Boeing. In many ways, these workers seemed more like miners who could remember every strike and disaster and really hated the company." Several IAM members spoke about the bitter, 144-day 1948 Boeing strike, which was centrally in defense of seniority rights and equal job access for women. One worker said his father still has the scar he got when company thugs beat him and other workers during that strike.

Boeing workers have a lot of power. The company is rolling in money brought in by extremely lucrative contracts as aircraft sales have rebounded in recent years. Recognizing the Machinists' struggle as their own, members of other unions have joined the picket lines. According to the *Seattle Times* (3 September), members of Plumbers and Pipefitters Local 32 refused to cross picket lines at Boeing's headquarters in Renton. However, while the strike has stopped production of planes, the facilities, including Boeing's mammoth Everett plant, remain open with thousands of employees crossing picket lines every day and nothing being done to stop them.

This scabbing scandalously includes some 18,000 members of the Society of Professional Engineering Employees in Aerospace (SPEEA) as well as about 230 members of Teamsters Local 174 who work for Boeing. Officials of both organizations claim to "support" the IAM but tell their members they cannot honor picket lines at Boeing due to no-strike clauses in their contracts. The IAM bureaucrats are deliberately keeping the picket lines small so that workers don't get the idea to stop the scabs. Moreover, the IAM tops used the same excuse to instruct their members to continue working when the SPEEA was on strike for 40 days in 2000. No such strikebreaking provisions—a sellout when they were agreed to in the first place—can justify violating the fundamental labor principle that ***picket lines mean don't cross***. The IAM needs to mobilize all of the more than 18,000 strikers in mass picket lines to shut Boeing down. More fundamentally, there needs to be a ***single industrial union*** at Boeing, from engineers to production workers and plant maintenance workers.

A member of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) in the Seattle area, currently in a bitter strike against union-busting Northwest Airlines, told *WV* that some AMFA strikers were joining IAM picket lines at Boeing. He added that some IAM members had come out to support AMFA, in his words, "against the advice of their leaders." Most Boeing workers knew little about the Northwest strike and seemed surprised that the IAM leadership was calling for IAM members to scab. Northwest's attempt to smash AMFA threatens all workers in the airline industry and the entire labor movement. If backed up by the rest of labor, the strikes at Northwest and Boeing could point the way toward unleashing the social power of the working class in this country. ***IAM: Honor AMFA picket lines! Shut down Northwest!***

Boeing Machinists had, in one man's words, "taken it in the shorts" in 2002, when they were forced to accept a giveback contract after voting it down by 62 percent but failing to get the undemocratic two-thirds majority required for a strike. The IAM tops use this kind of union provision to undercut effective class struggle. Three years ago, the airline industry was cutting back as the recession hit, Boeing was heavily laying off, and, in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the capitalist rulers' campaign for "national unity" was in full swing. Now that Boeing is doing well, workers think they should get a share. But the very notion of "national unity" between the filthy rich capitalists who run this country and the workers whose labor they exploit is a lie.

The capitalist atrocity in New Orleans, in which the ruling class left the poor and overwhelmingly black population to rot and die in the flooded city, has struck a deep chord among Boeing strikers. Black workers were clear about its racist character, while some white workers attributed this crime to "bureaucracy" or "just Bush." One black Boeing worker commented, "It's all about class," and concluded: "We need a revolution, a serious revolution."

It is notable that this strike against a major military contractor takes place amid an increasingly unpopular imperialist military occupation of Iraq. In conversations with strikers, *WV* supporters could find no one who defended the occupation of Iraq and found many who were opposed to the invasion from the start. Opposition was often couched in terms of bringing the troops home or bringing the National Guard back from Iraq to help in New Orleans. In fact, the war and occupation of Iraq stem from the capitalist drive for profits and, more generally, for imperialist global dominance. At home this means war on workers, black people and all the oppressed.

With Machinists' jobs at Boeing in Washington state having plummeted from 39,000 in 1990 to 16,500 today, job security is one of the workers' main concerns. Boeing has increasingly contracted out construction of parts and subassemblies to countries such as Japan, South Korea, France and Italy. The labor bureaucracy's response is to try to set workers in the U.S. against their brothers and sisters overseas through protectionist campaigns to keep "our jobs" in the U.S. What's needed instead is to unite workers across national lines in struggle against their common enemy, the capitalists.

Boeing has also exported some of its production to China, a country where capitalist rule was overthrown in the revolution of 1949. The Chinese workers state is centrally based on collectivized ownership of the means of production, but was deformed from birth by the political rule of a privileged, nationalist bureaucracy. The gains of the 1949 Revolution are endangered by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms," which propel the forces of capitalist restoration. The U.S. ruling class strives to return China to the realm of unfettered exploitation, promoting capitalist counterrevolution backed up with the threat of military intervention. The China-hashing protectionism of the IAM tops and other sections of the U.S. labor bureaucracy feeds into the counterrevolutionary aims of American imperialism. Workers in the U.S. and throughout the world have a vital interest in defending China against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack.

On the picket lines, *WV* supporters talked about the need for a workers party to fight for a workers government and a planned socialist economy. Many strikers said this would be a good thing but considered it utopian. On the contrary, it is a necessity. IAM officials are pushing reliance on Democratic Party politicians such as Washington governor Christine Gregoire. But far from being "friends of labor," the Democratic Party is a capitalist party; it is the labor tops' alliance with the Democrats that is the main political obstacle to mobilizing the power of labor in the interests of workers, blacks and all the oppressed. As we noted in an exchange with a Portland IAM official during the 1995 Boeing strike, "The labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party...has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor" ("Protectionism vs. Class Struggle: Exchange on Boeing Strike," *WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995). A political struggle within the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership is an essential part of the struggle to build a multiracial, revolutionary workers party. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 855 | GCU C-701 | 30 September 2005

New Orleans: Capitalist Crimes and Cover-Ups

SEPTEMBER 27—Hurricane Rita was supposed to be the Bush administration's opportunity for a comeback from the manmade social disaster around Hurricane Katrina, when the federal, state and local governments abandoned thousands of poor and black people to suffer and die. Yet what happened when Hurricane Rita slammed into Texas and Louisiana? People trying to evacuate by car were trapped for up to 20 hours in the broiling sun on jammed highways that became parking lots. At least 23 nursing home patients died when their damaged bus, brought into service after Governor Rick Perry ordered a waiver on safety restrictions, burst into flames. Nobody could board flights out of the area until government officials flew in airport screeners to check that passengers didn't pose a "terror" threat. Some of the poorest residents of Houston and other cities were simply left behind. As one man standing in a line of 100 people trying to cash his paycheck angrily put it, "This is crazy. How are you supposed to evacuate a hurricane if you don't have money?"

Commenting on the nightmarish evacuation of Houston, a *New York Times* (25 September) article reveals that across the U.S., government plans to relocate, house and feed hundreds of thousands of people who could be displaced by natural disasters "are embryonic at best and nonexistent at worst." Compare this with Cuba and its collectivized economy. Despite its relative poverty, intensified by the U.S. imperialists' 43-year economic embargo and Stalinist bureaucratic

continued on page 6

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

Black Liberation and the Fight for a Workers America

Ainsworth/Dallas Morning News

WV Photo

Left: Capitalist rulers left New Orleans blacks, poor to die. Right: Southern California grocery workers on strike, October 2003. Under revolutionary leadership, black workers would link anger of ghetto masses to social power of proletariat.

We print below a September 15 speech, edited for publication, by Don Alexander of the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League Central Committee. Comrade Alexander's presentation was part of a united-front rally in New York City initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee under the slogans, "The 'War on Terror' Targets Blacks, Immigrants, Labor and Leftists! Fight Government Repression!" More coverage of the rally inside.

I appreciated some of the speakers emphasizing the fact that all the victims of this racist, capitalist frame-up system have to be defended. We are here to rally and to demand: Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Hands off Lynne Stewart! Hands off Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar! Hands off Assata Shakur!

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The same ruling class whose capitalist system framed up and imprisoned Mumia and countless other fighters is responsible for the racist atrocity in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast region after Hurricane Katrina.

Over the years, I've helped to fight numerous racist and anti-labor frame-ups—Angela Davis, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Mumia—and have participated in building the labor/black mobilizations against the Klan and Nazis that were initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, the Spartacist League and also the Labor Black Leagues. About the remark that was made here that we're living under fascism—far from it. This is a very right-wing capitalist government, which has carried out a qualitative diminution of our rights. But the working class has not been defeated in struggle.

In 1995, I went to South Africa for the first time. I met many leftists, trade unionists and women's organizations and won support for Mumia. It was crucial that we got the support of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), whose millions-strong organizations came out to save the life of Mumia and for the abolition of the racist death penalty. While we were there, Pennsylvania Democratic governor Tom Ridge signed a death warrant for Mumia. It's hard to overstate the importance of the power of mobilizing international protest, centered on unions representing millions of workers around the world, to beat the rulers back! And that's the power we urgently need to mobilize today to stop them from persecuting and crushing our fighters, like Lynne Stewart, Mumia and Assata.

The Labor Black League, which is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, has assisted in distributing the very fine statement issued by the Spartacist League in the wake of the New Orleans disaster (see *WV* No. 854, 16 September). On the LBL membership card is a statement made by Karl Marx almost 150 years ago: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The LBL is an activist organization, based upon a class-struggle program that encapsulates the perspective of the Leninist tribune of the people: mobilizing the social power of labor on behalf of all of the oppressed, challenging American capitalism's bedrock of anti-black racism. Our work is to further the common struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a workers government.

Hurricane Katrina has ripped away the tattered facade of the U.S. government as "of the people, by the people, for the people," exposing the racism, venality and ineptitude of the White House gang. It also demonstrated the utter irrationality and anarchy of the profit-driven capitalist system. And what we saw on the streets of New Orleans in the past two weeks was the core of the racist capitalist state: bodies of armed men defending private property. The Democratic governor of Louisiana authorized troops to "shoot and kill" as National Guardsmen, cops and private gunmen tried to reassert capitalist "law and order." Their cops acted like they were facing an incipient slave insurrection, and at every opportunity they pointed guns at people trying to escape.

continued on page 7

Court Approves "Disappearing" Citizens

Free Jose Padilla!

Reuters

In the latest setback to basic democratic rights, on September 9 a federal appeals court overturned a lower court ruling and affirmed the government's indefinite detention of American citizen Jose Padilla in the name of the "war on terrorism." Seized at Chicago's O'Hare airport on 8 May 2002, Padilla was initially held for a month as a "material witness" in the September 11 grand jury investigation. The Bush administration then declared him an "enemy combatant" on the basis of outlandish allegations that he had been thinking of building and setting off a radioactive "dirty bomb." He has been locked up for over three years without charges or recourse to a hearing or trial—for most of that time without access to an attorney.

The recent decision was written by Judge J. Michael Luttig, one of the right-wing judges on the short list to replace Sandra Day O'Connor on the Supreme Court. Luttig's decision seeks to overcome limitations placed on the government by last year's Supreme Court ruling in the case of Yasser Esam Hamdi, an American citizen imprisoned without charges who the U.S. claimed was captured on the battlefield in Afghanistan. In that decision, the Supreme Court held that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president" and that the government could not indefinitely hold Hamdi without "notice of the factual basis for his classification" as an enemy combatant and a "fair opportunity to rebut the government's factual assertions before a neutral decision-maker." In a companion case, the Court also ruled that the hundreds detained at Guantánamo had to be provided the right to file *habeas corpus* petitions to challenge their imprisonment. Some 200 of these detainees have been on a hunger strike that began in mid-August protesting their indefinite imprisonment and abuse and beatings by guards.

As we stated in "Supreme Court Rulings—Partial Setback to Bush Administration" (*WV* No. 829, 9 July 2004):

> "Any impediment to the government's police state designs is welcome, but the Court's decisions were far from the 'emphatic repudiation' of the Bush administration the ACLU claimed them to be. Though upholding some limits on presidential power, the Court's decisions recognize a right of due process and *habeas corpus* so truncated that in any other context, these decisions would be seen as consistent with the wholesale shredding of these protections."

While granting Hamdi the limited right to challenge the allegations under which he could be jailed indefinitely, the Supreme Court accepted the government's pretext that since Hamdi was captured on the battlefield, he could be held as an "enemy combatant." In the Court's eyes, the "neutral decisionmaker" for such an "enemy combatant" could be something as obviously biased as the military commissions set up by the Bush administration. Three commission prosecutors have resigned, protesting that the tribunals were rigged. Following last year's Supreme Court ruling, Hamdi agreed to be deported to rejoin his family in Saudi Arabia on condition that he renounce his U.S. citizenship.

The same day it issued its ruling in Hamdi's case, the Supreme Court dismissed Padilla's first legal challenge on the flimsy ground that his *habeas corpus* petition was filed in the wrong court. While the Court ruled that the government has the authority to prevent "enemy combatants" from returning to the field of battle while fighting continues—Afghanistan in Hamdi's case—a ruling on Padilla's case would have compelled the Court to confront the administration's claims that the "battlefield" in the "war on terror" is everywhere and its duration eternal. To conform to the Court's Hamdi ruling, the Feds simply changed their story on Padilla. Now they claim Padilla was a member of Al Qaeda who fought on Afghan battlefields. Dumping the "dirty bomb" pretext, the Feds manufactured new lurid allegations that Padilla "may have been planning" to destroy apartment buildings by using gas lines (*New York Times*, 10 September).

In *amici curiae* (friends of the court) briefs submitted on Padilla's behalf in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and later in the Supreme Court, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee denounced the "unprecedented assertion of imperial powers by the President." The briefs noted: "What the President asserts is nothing less than the right to disappear citizens.... The District Court's deference to the President's determination of Padilla's status as an enemy combatant relegates to the President the role of sole arbiter of the exercise and applicability of democratic, constitutional rights. This is consonant with the rationale of a police state."

From the outset of the "war on terror," we have insisted that the government's repressive measures, directed initially at Muslims and immigrants, and trampling on political dissent along the way, would necessarily broaden to include black people and the integrated labor movement. Workers, fighters for black rights and all defenders of civil liberties must demand: Free Jose Padilla! ■

To get a copy of the brief filed in defense of Padilla by the PDC and SL, which is reprinted in *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 31, order for $.50 from: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Black Emancipation Through Socialist Revolution!

The social disaster in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast following Hurricane Katrina graphically exposed that the racist oppression of black people is embedded in the very foundations of U.S. capitalism. Writing in the late 1950s in the midst of the developing civil rights struggles, James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, argued against the liberal policy of gradual reform and stressed that genuine black equality can only come about through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system by the multiracial working class.

The right to occupy a vacant seat on a bus; the token integration of a handful of Negro children in a few public schools; a few places open for individual Negroes in public office and some professions; fair employment rights on the books, but not in practice; the formally and legally recognized right to equality which is denied in practice at every turn—that's the way it is today, 96 years after the Emancipation Proclamation....

The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary.

An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.

Reforms and concessions, far more important and significant than any yet attained, will be by-products of this revolutionary alliance. They will be fought for and attained at every stage of the struggle. But the new movement will not stop with reforms, nor be satisfied with concessions. The movement of the Negro people and the movement of militant labor, united and coordinated by a revolutionary party, will solve the Negro problem in the only way it can be solved—by a social revolution.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement" (1959), reprinted in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, Pathfinder Press (1962)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial); (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 27 September.

No. 855 **30 September 2005**

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Mexico: López Obrador, Democratic Rights and the Tasks of the Working Class

We print below the concluding part of an article translated from Espartaco *No. 24 (Summer 2005), published by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. Part One was printed in* WV *No. 853 (2 September). The article centrally deals with the attempt by Mexican president Vicente Fox of the National Action Party (PAN) and a section of the former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) to strip Andrés Manuel López Obrador (known as AMLO) of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of his political immunity—a process called* desafuero*—in order to eliminate him from next year's presidential race.*

No Support to Capitalist PRD! Forge a Workers Party!

PART TWO

The reactionary policies of the PRD are not the result of an underhanded betrayal or the corruption of this or that leader, but the logical and inevitable consequence of its class character. In a backward and dependent capitalist country like Mexico, the national ruling class depends overwhelmingly on credit and investment from its U.S. masters. Any political alternative that, like the PRD, stands for the continuation of Mexican capitalism—i.e., that ultimately defends the rule and interests of a wing of the national bourgeoisie—will be forced to reject in deeds the democratic demands it promises. Thus, confronting a modern and socially powerful proletariat and a vast and discontented peasantry on its own territory, the national bourgeoisie is fundamentally much more hostile to "its own" masses than to its American masters. Whatever the rhetoric, there is no anti-imperialist wing of the bourgeoisie. The only thing bourgeois nationalists can propose is to better negotiate the terms of their own subordination to imperialism and the consequent abrogation of the population's democratic rights. The PRD doesn't even oppose NAFTA, which by its nature is a "treaty" for the one-sided rape of the Mexican economy by the imperialists, but merely wants to renegotiate it.

AP

VAAP

Petrograd, June 1917: Bolshevik banner (right) demands: "Down With the Ten Capitalist Ministers! All Power to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies!" Theory of permanent revolution developed by Leon Trotsky (inset) was confirmed by October Revolution.

The inextricable link between the broad, unresolved democratic demands and the international and socialist struggle of the proletariat is at the core of Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. In one of his "Basic Postulates" of the permanent revolution, Trotsky explained:

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of a permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1931)

The peasantry, submerged in the most remote and backward regions, is part of the heterogeneous layer Marxists call the petty bourgeoisie. The landless peasants are reduced, in the best-case scenario, to subsistence agriculture and lack social power. The small landowners compete with each other to market their produce. Their interest lies in the private ownership of land. That is why the peasantry is incapable of reorganizing society, of playing an *independent* revolutionary role. Today's peasantry is the product of the backwardness inherent in Third World capitalism; peasants fight against the large, mechanized farms whose spread is turning many peasants into rural workers. We communists take sides with the peasants in their struggles against the landowners and the government and seek to win their support for socialist revolution. But we understand that, inasmuch as it struggles to maintain its existence against modern industrial capitalism, the peasantry seeks to roll the wheel of history *backwards*. The poor peasantry, still millions strong, may play an important role in the revolution, but it will necessarily be subordinated to the leadership of the industrial urban proletariat.

The working class, or proletariat, is responsible for collectively turning the wheels of the modern industrial economy—the factories, communications, transport. Possessing nothing other than its own labor power, the working class has no interest in the continuation of the rule of private property. Its historic interest lies in *the abolition of private ownership of the means of production*, which would place the entire economy at the service of human needs and would lay the fundamental basis to eradicate exploitation, oppression and misery. For this reason, the working class is the only genuinely revolutionary class of our epoch, able to lead the peasantry, the impoverished urban masses and all the oppressed in the fight for their emancipation.

The Russian Revolution points the way forward for Mexico. In fact, the Trotskyist perspective was confirmed in practice by the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. At that time, the Russian working class took in its hands the tasks of the democratic revolution that the bourgeois regime had not been able to solve: it freed the country from the imperialist yoke by repudiating the foreign debt contracted by the tsar and the bourgeoisie; it laid the basis for the emancipation of women and issued laws banning all types of discrimination against homosexuals and ethnic minorities. It also abolished private ownership of land and called on the poor peasants to carry out an *agrarian revolution* to destroy the feudal estates and the remnants of peonage. But in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to begin expropriating the means of production and establishing a collectivized, planned economy, as well as a state monopoly of foreign trade. Instead of bourgeois parliamentarism, the Russian Revolution implemented workers democracy through the soviets—councils of workers and soldiers in charge of directing the economy and the whole society. That is what a workers government meant: a government based on the proletariat supported by the peasantry.

These measures laid the initial basis for the socialist reorganization of society. Certainly, given the degree of economic interpenetration in the modern world and as the example of the Soviet Union showed, no country can grow in isolation from international trade. Thus, from the very beginning, a victorious revolutionary party in a backward country—and even more so in one that shares a border with the U.S.—would have to fight, as part of a single international party, *for praletarian revalution* within the American imperialist behemoth and on an international scale. In fact, only the triumph of workers revolution in the U.S. could guarantee the genuine national emancipation of Mexico. The multiracial U.S. working class, in particular its strategic black component, is potentially the most powerful ally of Mexican workers. As our U.S. comrades recently wrote in an article denouncing the racist atrocities of the paramilitary "Minutemen" and demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrants (*WV* No. 849, 27 May):

> "An effective defense of the working class requires an *internationalist* program, expressing the common class interests of workers on both sides of the border drawn when the U.S. stole much of the Southwest from Mexico in 1848. The fight for immigrant rights must be seen as part of the struggle against all forms of oppression. And in the U.S., that means a struggle against black oppression, the bedrock of American capitalism. Workers must fight against the capitalist rulers' attempts to pit one oppressed group against another—such as the recent gross statement by right-wing Mexican president Vicente Fox that Mexican workers 'are doing the work that not even blacks want to do in the United States'."

The millions of Mexican and Central American workers and peasants who migrate "illegally" to the U.S., facing all sorts of dangers, lack any rights and are forced to take the hardest and worst-paid jobs. But the racist hypocrite Fox cares for neither the rights of Mexican workers nor those of blacks. ***For joint class struggle in Mexico and the U.S. against the capitalist rulers!***

The LTS: "Free and Sovereign" Reformism

Among those who claim to be "Trotskyists," the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS) opposed the antidemocratic attacks by the PRI and the PAN while correctly emphasizing its denunciation both of the PRD as a bourgeois party and of those "socialist" groups that collaborate with it (*Estrategia Obrera*, 16 April). However, the strategic aim that the LTS links to its position on the *desafuero* is explicitly reformist and not revolutionary: for the Mexican masses to mobilize in order to "impose a Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly in which the great demands of the worker and peasant majorities of the country are discussed."

This constituent assembly would be open "not only to the PRD and AMLO, but also to all social, labor and left-wing organizations" and would "discuss" burning democratic issues such as a "radical agrarian reform," "decent wages and

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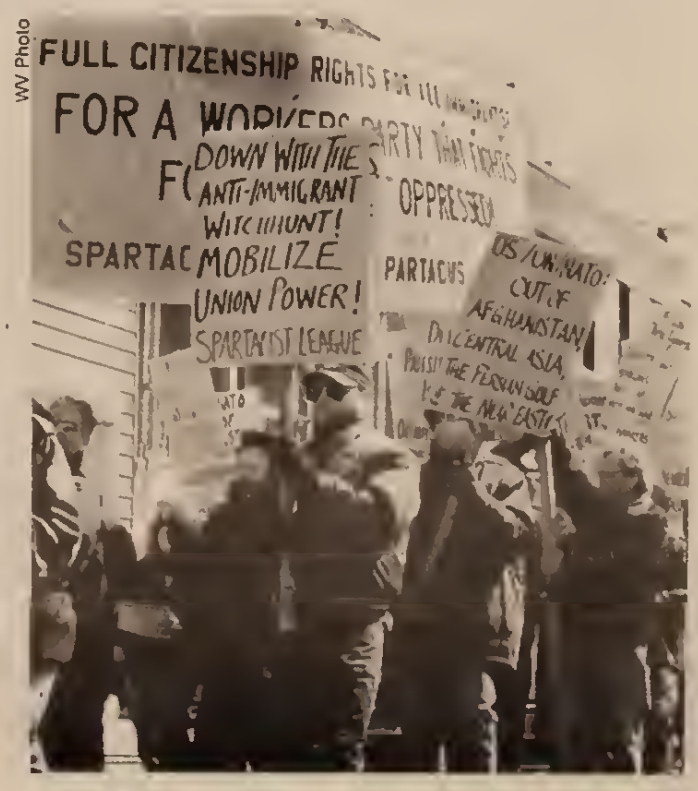


WV Photo

Spartacist contingent in March 2002 Brooklyn protest against anti-immigrant repression.

Mexico...

(continued from page 3)

employment," the refusal to pay the foreign debt and the cancellation of "all treaties, like NAFTA, that subordinate us to American imperialism." The LTS assigns to a constituent assembly—i.e., a *bourgeois* parliamentary body—the task of solving the just aspirations of the masses, promising beforehand it will include the PRD! Throwing permanent revolution overboard, the LTS' plan does not mention, even in passing, that the solution of these questions requires a socialist revolution: the creation of a collective, planned economy and the struggle to extend workers power internationally.

For communists, the call for a constituent assembly—i.e., a legislative assembly within the framework of bourgeois democracy—is justified in situations in which existing laws do not even establish the most basic and formal democratic liberties (as in the case of a military dictatorship or under unconsolidated bourgeois-democratic governments, like the Russian "Provisional Government" of February 1917). In those cases, this call can be used to link the concrete and immediate aspirations of the people with the struggle for socialist revolution. It is, hence, a "transitional demand," proceeding from the spontaneous consciousness of the masses to revolutionary consciousness.

However, if this call is used, as it is by the LTS, simply as a means to "improve" the existing capitalist democracy in a backward country, it has exactly the opposite effect, reinforcing the illusion that capitalist democracy can be qualitatively improved. Linking the legitimate aspirations of the masses for fuller democracy *not* to the struggle for socialist revolution *but* to a "Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly" constitutes a "transitional program" moving from the spontaneous struggle of the masses...to conscious reformism.

IG: From Break with Trotskyism to Break with Reality

But without a doubt, the most absurd of the pseudo-Trotskyist groups is the (mis)named Internationalist Group (IG), whose leadership is made up of ex-members of our organization. For years they have stridently accused us of "abstentionism" and "abstract propagandism," while they promise to find the road to the masses. Having broken in deeds with revolutionary Marxism, in order to justify its existence the IG first got rid of basic honesty, but now has also had to break with reality.

In its most recent publication in Spanish (*El Internacionalista*, May 2005), this little group boasts of its absolute indifference toward the legal campaign against López Obrador. The extraordinary thing about the case is that, in the same article, the IG itself affirms that it defends "the elementary democratic right of any political party to run in the elections with whatever candidates it chooses" and recognizes that:

> "What they [the Fox government and the PRI] are seeking is that, once he is subject to trial, according to Article 111 of the Mexican Constitution, López Obrador will be denied the right to participate in the elections."

How do they explain this obvious contradiction? With this absurd argument, which immediately follows:

> "But it will be months before this is concretized. At the present time, he [López Obrador] isn't even the candidate of the PRD (others, including the perennial PRD presidential hopeful Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, are also vying for the nomination), and no party has presented, much less registered, its standard bearer.... Should Fox and the PRI be so bold as to carry out their idiocy...then we would defend the right of López Obrador to run for president....
>
> "Up to now AMLO hasn't been denied the right to present his candidacy. To pretend otherwise is to enter openly into the electoral game of the PRD."

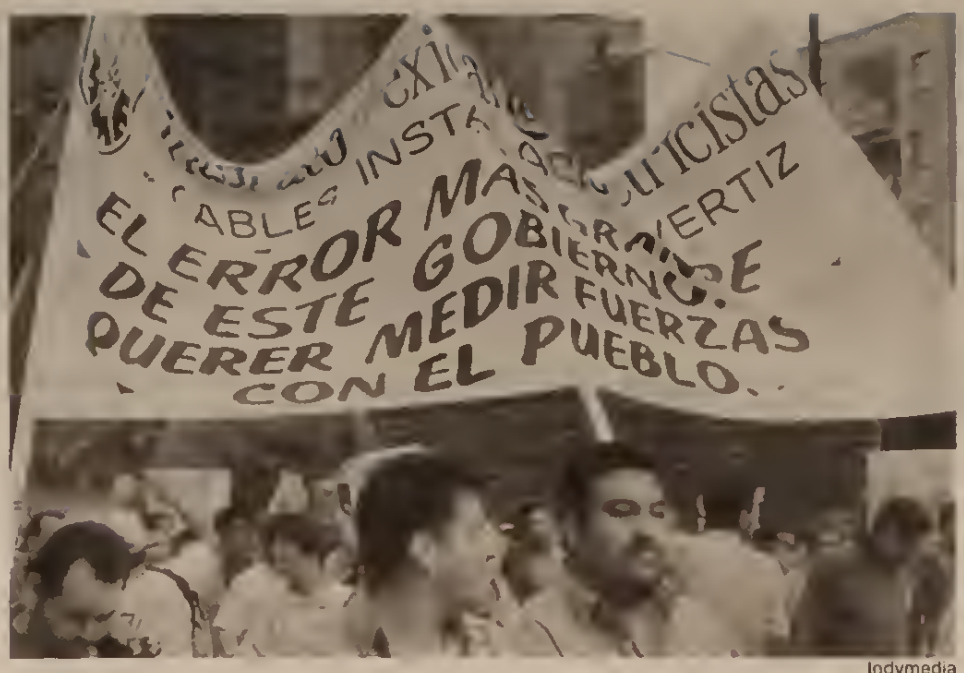
So the IG would only defend the democratic rights of an *official* PRD candidate? What a Marxist criterion! In reality, the "idiocy" of Fox and the PRI that the IG's article situates in a hypothetical future ("Should Fox and the PRI be so bold as to carry out") had already culminated in the *desafuero* 15 days before the date of the IG's article (25 April). It is comical that just two days after the date of its article, and *three days before* the date of the paper in which it first appears, Fox himself gave implicit recognition to the fact that he had been attempting to take away López Obrador's political rights, and backed down. In denying that the attack on democratic rights was already a reality, the charlatans of the IG would have entered into a de facto bloc with the Fox government...which wasn't to be because the IG got there too late. But maybe the deposed attorney general, General Macedo de la Concha, would still appreciate their arguments.

The IG also scolds us for opposing AMLO's *desafuero* because the *fuero* [political immunity] for members of the executive branch, the IG maintains, is an "anti-democratic measure." In order to justify its refusal to defend an elementary democratic right *in the concrete*, the IG resorts to democratic *abstractions*. We took a position against the *desafuero of López Obrador* based on the interests of the working class in the concrete case, not on generalizations about *formalities* of hourgeois law like whether or not the Chamber of Deputies should vote on whether to prosecute *any* functionary based on *any accusation*. The question is rather simple: 1) expropriating land to build an access road to a hospital isn't a crime against the proletariat; 2) the accusation was nothing more than an anti-democratic lie of the clericalist Fox & Co. to get rid of the bourgeois-nationalist AMLO as a contender for the presidency.

Understandably, many leftist youth who are fed up with the sludge of capitalist politics feel that revolutionaries should never "take sides" in "intrabourgeois" quarrels, nor oppose the injustices of the state when the victims are capitalist politicians, since, from this moralistic point of view, these people "deserve it." These are the sentiments that the IG appeals to. However, this has never been a Marxist criterion. The task of communists is not to adapt to existing consciousness but rather to raise it, telling the truth in all its complexity. The social polarization at the root of Fox's maneuver posed pointblank the *concrete* application of permanent revolution. The IG can quote Trotsky hackward and forward, but in refusing to oppose Fox's attack it is renouncing the essence of the Trotskyist perspective: the struggle for the democratic demands of the population in underdeveloped countries is a motor force of socialist revolution. In deeds, this group turns its back on the millions of workers fighting for their democratic rights.

The IG asserts:

> "The attack on López Obrador is not the plot between Fox and the North American imperialists that pseudo-Marxists like the Militante group make it out to be. On her visit to Mexico in early March, hawkish American secretary of state Condoleezza Rice stated that the U.S. government would accept a left-wing government in Mexico. According to a report in *Reforma* (10 March), 'Rice ruled out the idea that electoral victories by governments headed by left-wing politicians could worry the United States'."



Indymedia

Mexico City, August 2004: Electricians union marches in protest against Fox government.

PRD

PRD leaders López Obrador (left) and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, 2003.

The IG shows such touching faith in the promises of the Bush administration! We do not know what secret dealings went on between Fox and his imperialist masters. If for now the U.S. imperialists find it expedient to restrain Fox out of concern that his *desafuero* campaign could destabilize Mexico, only someone very naive would conclude that the imperialists have forsaken their decades-long practice of using the CIA and other forces to foment military interventions in Latin America against regimes not to their liking.

Indeed, the IG's dismissal today of the very real dangers posed by the provocations of the right-wing Fox government is reminiscent of the kid-gloves treatment the IG gave to the leaders of the Venezuelan CTV trade-union federation, who are closely linked to the CIA and have played an active role in the imperialist-supported failed coups directed against the populist bonapartist Hugo Chávez. In a November 2000 article, the IG played down the dangers of U.S. imperialist intervention in Venezuela and the connections between the CTV and the imperialists.

The IG's double standard is captured by the fact that it considers the corporatist CTV to he a genuine trade union while asserting that the corporatist CTM union in Mexico (which sometimes calls strikes against the bosses) "represents the class enemy" (*El Internacionalista/ Edición México*, May 2001). In the IG's mind, the only real unions in Mexico are the "independent" unions run by pro-PRD bureaucrats (see "IG on Venezuela—Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows," *WV* No. 787, 20 September 2002). The IG is incapable of defending the class independence of the proletariat, repeatedly tripping over the class line and oscillating between conciliating the PRD left-nationalists and being blind to right-wing provocations.

The IG also accuses us of repeating "the PRD's electoral propaganda and joining in its campaign" for having written in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 846, 15 April), in the introduction to a translation of our 7 April leaflet, that Fox is a "longtime ally of Bush and a favorite of the U.S. imperialists." That the IG attacks such an obvious assertion is testimony to its distance from reality. It does not take a Marxist to realize that Fox licks the hoots of U.S. imperialism and that his right-wing economic policies and obscurantist religious backwardness match those of the current Republican Party administration. The PRD demagogically denounces these facts in order to increase its popularity while making it clear to its masters in the north that AMLO is not a "Mexican Chávez," as his opponents on the right say.

Polemicizing against us, the IG also writes:

> "Taking sides for López Obrador against Fox's attack, no matter what provisos are tacked on, is giving him political support. Think of parallel cases: 'Down with the Republican Attack on President Clinton!' during the impeachment proceedings, for example. Or, 'Down with Bush's Attack On Gore!' following the 2000 elections, when the U.S. presidency was decided by a right-wing Supreme Court. No matter how many times one might say 'Break with the Democratic Party!' this would indisputably amount to political support to a section of the bourgeoisie."

The IG implies, retrospectively, that it was indifferent to the Republicans' right-wing attack against Clinton. In 1998, the Republicans subjected Clinton to impeachment proceedings, similar to a political trial, for having lied about his sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky. This move was part of a reactionary moralistic crusade, which Clinton himself had widely promoted, to shore up "family values." As our U.S. comrades wrote at the time in an article titled "Impeachment Drive Threatens Right to Privacy for All" (*WV* No. 697, 25 September 1998):

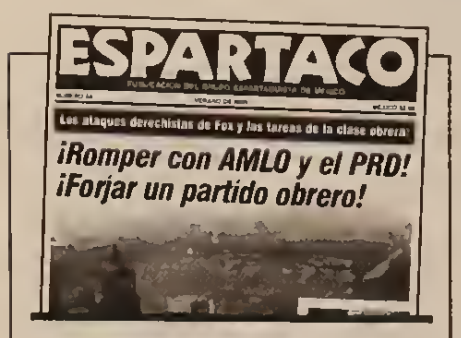
> "The drive to remove Bill Clinton from the presidency for his consensual sexual affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky poses a threat to every one of us. At issue is one of the most fundamental democratic rights, the right to privacy—which in practice comes down to the right to a private sex life without meddling or snooping by state and church authorities. The politicians and media are going after Clinton for about the only thing he's done that *isn't* a crime from the standpoint of the working class."

In general, one of communism's most distinctive and unique trademarks is the capacity to distinguish between opposition to reactionary attacks and political support to the victims of those attacks. But the IG finds it very difficult to make this distinction.

Norden vs. Norden

The IG truly has a lot to explain in order to justify its line. In July 1988, in the face of obvious electoral fraud that gave Salinas the presidency over Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and even before the election results were known, we wrote in *WV* (No. 457, 15 July 1988), whose editor was none other than Jan Norden, today the IG's main international leader:

> "If Cárdenas was elected president, Marxists defend his democratic right to take office. But we do not join forces



Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 24, Summer 2005
$.50 (24 pages)
Subscription: $2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

with a bourgeois Cardenista political bloc; rather we defend the workers' democratic rights by proletarian means."

This was a genuinely Trotskyist position, in contradiction with the IG's current indifference to *the same* democratic rights. The absurd pretexts that the IG presents today to justify its agnostic position with respect to Fox's attempted fraud only serve to dishonestly hide its break with this tradition.

In a similar case, in 1984 we offered to contribute a security team composed of trade unionists and supporters of the Spartacist League to defend the Democratic National Convention against growing threats of attacks by the belligerent lunatic Reagan's Republicans. We wrote then: "The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate" (*WV* No. 358, 6 July 1984). Has Norden changed his mind? Ironically, our pseudo-Trotskyist opponents at that time accused us of capitulating to the Democrats by inventing a "fictitious threat" to the Democratic Convention, just as today the IG declares Fox's bonapartist attack to be nonexistent.

While in AMLO's case we are dealing with a judicial attack and not a military coup, our position in defense of democratic rights under right-wing attack has a historical precedent in the fight of the Bolsheviks against Kornilov in August-September of 1917, on the eve of the Russian Revolution. At that time, Russia was still governed by the bourgeois Provisional Government headed by Alexander Kerensky. Lacking a social base, the Kerensky government tried to balance between the proletariat and the autocratic bourgeoisie. The growing discontent of the workers and the opposition of the workers soviets shackled the Provisional Government. The bourgeoisie and the monarchists were also fed up with social "instability" and the weakness of the government, which was incapable of smashing the workers. Under these conditions, General Kornilov—the Pinochet of his time—risked an attempt at a coup d'état to defeat the Kerensky government and smash the soviets.

Lenin argued for a change of tactic: Since Kornilov's attack was directed, ultimately, against the masses, it was necessary to fight with Kerensky's troops against Kornilov, without giving any political support to Kerensky and without ceasing to denounce the bourgeois character of his government. Lenin wrote ["To the Central Committee of the RSDLP," August 1917]:

> "What, then, constitutes our change of tactics after the Kornilov revolt?
>
> "We are changing the *form* of our struggle against Kerensky. Without in the least relaxing our hostility towards him, without taking back a single word said against him, without renouncing the task of overthrowing him, we say that we must *take into account* the present situation. We shall not overthrow Kerensky right now. We shall approach the task of fighting against him *in a different way*, namely, we shall point out to the people (who are fighting against Kornilov) Kerensky's *weakness* and *vacillation*. That has been done in the past *as well*. Now, however, it has become the *all-important* thing and this constitutes the change."

According to the IG's new line, Lenin was giving political support to Kerensky, "no matter what provisos are tacked on."

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

As the entire history of the workers movement shows, no isolated generation of militant workers can, alone, accumulate sufficient experience to form their own fully developed politics. However combative their spontaneous consciousness might be, they will not question the social dominance of the bourgeoisie and will necessarily tend to look for their political complement in one or another capitalist party.

It is urgently necessary that the most advanced workers and radicalized intellectuals who take the side of the proletariat on the basis of a Marxist program organize as an independent and disciplined tendency, that is, as a party. That is the only way to combat class collaborationism, nationalism and all the other ideological means by which the ruling class chains and disarms the proletariat. Only Marxism, which embodies the combination of humanity's highest culture and more than a century of experience in the workers movement, can arm the proletariat with the capacity to defend its historic interests on the political plane. Thus, to speak of the independence of the working class necessarily implies speaking of forging a revolutionary workers party.

For now, illusions in the bourgeois López Obrador are dominant in the consciousness of the masses in struggle, including the working class. While this continues, however massive their mobilization might be, they will be condemned to remain within the sterile framework of a huge electoral campaign. We know that today our revolutionary politics won't be the most popular in the movement of the masses. But when, in the not-too-distant future, the Mexican working masses, struggling in their own interests, run up against the bourgeois PRD's class opposition and begin to consider left alternatives, the most conscious workers will remember who defended their basic democratic rights when the right wing was attacking them in 2005, and, most importantly, who dared to denounce the reactionary nature of López Obrador when he was at the height of his popularity. Therefore, today we invite the most conscious leftist youth and workers to seriously consider these arguments and to join the struggle of the Grupo Espartaquista to build a revolutionary workers party. ■

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Don Cane, Labor Black League for Social Defense
Jack Heyman, ILWU Local 10—Executive Board
Brian McKeever, AMFA Local 9—Vice-President*

Moderator: **Valerie West**, Partisan Defense Committee

*organization affiliation for identification purposes only

For more information: (510) 839-0852 or e-mail: pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO — Saturday, October 1, 5 p.m.

University of Chicago Law School, Room 2 — 1111 East 60th Street

Speakers include: **Lydia Barashango**, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Standish E. Willis, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
Mike Elliott, UAW Local 551, Chair, Education Committee*
Don Alexander, New York Labor Black League for Social Defense
Fred Redmond, USWA Assistant Director District 7*

Moderator: **Brian Mendis**, Partisan Defense Committee

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LOS ANGELES — Saturday, October 8, 4 p.m.

Immanuel Presbyterian Church** — 3300 Wilshire Blvd. (at Berendo St., 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line Station)

Speakers include: **Lydia Barashango**, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Don Cane, Labor Black League for Social Defense
Henry Walton, Host, KPFK—Labor Review*

Moderator: **Valerie West**, Partisan Defense Committee

*organization affiliation for identification purposes only
**The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church.

For more information: (213) 380-8897

New Orleans...

(continued from page 1)

rule, the government has repeatedly safely evacuated up to two million people from hurricanes.

As we wrote in a 4 September Spartacist League statement (reprinted in *WV* No. 854, 16 September): "This anarchic, irrational profit-driven system cannot even provide for the safety and welfare of the population—the system must go." The situation starkly underlines the need for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the marshalling of the resources and wealth of society by a workers government administering a planned, collectivized economy. To realize this goal, a workers party must be forged to lead the working class, at the head of all the exploited and oppressed, to power.

The Real Looters

The government and media are still covering up the real number of those who died in New Orleans and surrounding Gulf Coast areas. When the Feds finally sent in troops to New Orleans, it wasn't primarily to get anybody out but to assert control over the city, to disarm the remaining population and to enforce the government's suppression of the truth about the death toll. How many bodies had been washed away will never be known. Democratic Louisiana governor Blanco's contemptuous message to those who refused to leave as Rita threatened was: "Perhaps they should write their Social Security numbers on their arms with indelible ink."

Getty

AP

Left: Cops arrest New Orleans flood survivor. Right: Clinton rushed to back up Bush in face of massive popular anger at government.

The murderous racism of the U.S. rulers' response to Katrina was unmistakable and indelible. Echoing the capitalist press and government spokesmen at all levels, black Democratic New Orleans mayor Ray Nagin ranted that the masses packed into the Superdome had descended into an "almost animalistic state," with "hooligans killing people, raping people." The "looting" and "rape" hysteria whipped up to depict black survivors as criminals now turns out to be a *pack of lies*. A front-page article in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* (26 September) reports that according to soldiers, police and rescue personnel, "most of the worst crimes reported at the time never happened." The only verified shooting inside the Dome was of a soldier...who shot himself in the leg!

Meanwhile, the real looting going on is by the capitalists and their patrons in government, who see this mass devastation and death as a golden opportunity for profit-making. The Feds have arrested David Safavian, who before he resigned as the White House's top federal procurement official was enmeshed in Gulf Coast rebuilding contracts, for obstructing an investigation into lobbyist corruption. But Bush & Co. continue to dole out big bucks to their cronies like the Shaw Group and Halliburton's Kellogg, Brown & Root subsidiary, both of which are represented by former Bush campaign manager and former FEMA head, lobbyist Joe Allbaugh. More than 80 percent of the $1.5 billion in FEMA contracts has been handed out without bids or with only limited competition. In a case of criminals investigating criminals, the Bush administration is running its own investigation into the disaster.

The government has also moved quickly to carry out long-sought reactionary social measures. Bush issued a wage-slashing order exempting jobs created by companies engaged in rebuilding efforts from the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, which stipulates that federally funded construction projects pay prevailing wages. Then the White House dumped affirmative action provisions for federal contractors on new Gulf jobs. Right-wing ideologues are even pushing plans to make the region a "flat-tax free-enterprise zone." The "faith-based" administration is also giving business to churches for relief efforts—as those packed into the Houston Astrodome saw when they were handed bibles—and pushing for a bill to give school vouchers to displaced children, an attack on public education in favor of private and especially religious schools.

The cronyism and profiteering that is such a blatant hallmark of the Bush administration is not an aberration but is in fact the essence of capitalist "democracy." As Friedrich Engels, cothinker of Karl Marx, wrote in 1884 in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*: "The democratic republic no longer officially recognizes differences of property. Wealth here employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption of officials, of which America is the classic example, and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange."

The government's murderous contempt for black people and the poor, its corruption and incompetence, its attacks on fundamental democratic rights, the continuing bloody occupation of Iraq—all have stoked growing popular revulsion and outrage. More than 250,000 people rallied in Washington on September 24 in a protest initially called against the occupation of Iraq, but which included demands addressing the Gulf Coast disaster. The protest was organized chiefly by the ostensibly socialist Workers World Party (WWP), through its ANSWER coalition, and the liberal United for Peace and Justice. The speaker's platform featured the usual array of liberal-pacifist warhorses, a few "progressive" trade-union tops and some black Democratic Party politicians. The message was summarized by Jesse Jackson: "We'll change the Congress in 2006 and take back the White House in 2008."

But what would it mean to have a Democrat back in the White House? The last Democratic president, Bill Clinton, responded to the New Orleans atrocity by rushing to the side of the Bush administration as popular anger against the government swelled. Now, the Democrats see electoral advantage in taking some swings at the administration. On September 18, Clinton attacked Bush, saying, "You can't have an emergency plan that works if it only affects middle-class people up." He claimed that under his presidency, from 1993 through 2000, black and poor people were better off. Clinton stated that while poverty went up under the Reagan and Bush administrations, "we had a different policy."

Despite the fact that Clinton's presidency spanned the short-lived economic boom of the 1990s, under his administration the income gap between rich and poor increased massively as did the wealth gap between black and white households. Using a recent survey by the Pew Hispanic Center, the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* online reports that between 1996 and 2002 the median net worth of black families fell by 16.1 percent, while net worth for white families grew by 17 percent. Median white family wealth is now ***more than 14 times*** that of black families. The article added that "in 2002, nearly one third of all black families in the United States had a negative net worth." Over the past 20 years, both Democratic and Republican administrations have presided over the massive enrichment of the already rich, with the net worth of the 400 richest Americans increasing ***almost five-fold***, from an average of $600 million in 1985 to $2.81 billion now.

It was Clinton who enacted the end of "welfare as we know it" and presided over the huge increase in incarceration of black and also Latino youth. Clinton paved the way for Bush's Iraq war through eight years of regular bombing attacks and a starvation embargo, which led to the deaths of some 1.5 million Iraqis. He also helped pave the way for Bush's "war on terror" at home with the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 and other repressive measures.

Unchain Labor's Power!

Organizers for the Laborers' International Union are attempting to fight the undoing of Davis-Bacon and to defend union rights in the reconstruction effort. In Mobile, Alabama, the Laborers have set up tables to inform workers recruited by construction companies that they should be entitled to union-scale wages, and union organizers have canvassed shelters to sign up workers to join the union. But it's going to take a hell of a lot more than information tables to turn this situation around.

The 29 September *Workers World* uncritically publishes an article by two left-talking union officials, Clarence Thomas, executive board member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, and Chris Silvera, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 808. The two denounce the labor leadership's lack of response to the New Orleans racist atrocity, adding, "They're not calling on their elected officials that they've endorsed to say, 'This is an attack on labor!'" But a fighting labor movement will not be forged through impotent appeals to "friend of labor" capitalist politicians but through a sharp political struggle to break with such representatives of the capitalist class enemy. That means seeing that the Democrats are the alternate party of capitalist rule and thus every bit as much a part of the problem as the Republicans—even more so because there's the element of trickery in their posture as the friend of labor and the oppressed.

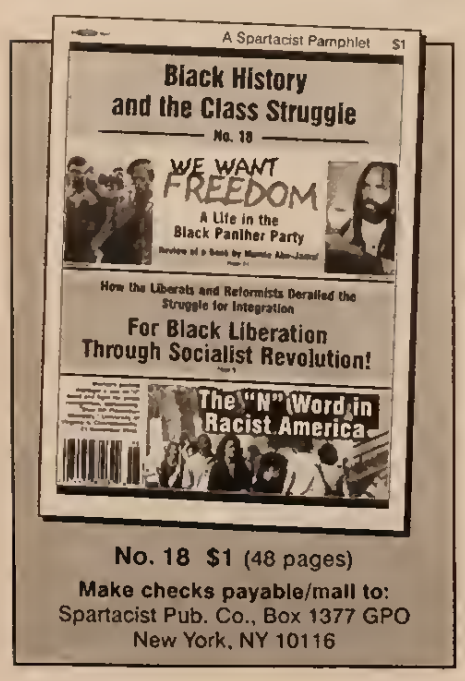
Frederick Douglass said that "power concedes nothing without a demand." It is necessary to galvanize the evident anger among black people, trade unionists and others at the government around an axis of ***working-class struggle*** against the capitalist profit system. It took a Civil War to end chattel slavery, and it's going to take a socialist revolution to end wage slavery and overcome the segregation of the black population on the bottom rungs of this capitalist society. To unleash the social power of this country's multiracial proletariat, there needs to be a fight to replace the labor bureaucracy with a leadership committed to mobilizing labor's power, independent of the capitalist state and politicians, in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed.

Reformist leftists like the WWP and International Socialist Organization (ISO) provide platforms for capitalist politicians (Democrats or Greens) because, at bottom, they share the same framework as liberals like Jesse Jackson—reforms under the aegis of the capitalist state. The reformists' lifework is protest politics within the framework of bourgeois democracy, and not the training of workers and youth in the revolutionary understanding that fundamental change can come about only through uprooting the capitalist system. What all their talk of "grassroots democracy" and "mass movements" amounts to is pressuring the capitalist state to reorder its priorities from money for war to...fill in the blank.

The fight must be for a workers revolution that shatters the capitalist state apparatus and erects a ***workers state***, replacing the anarchic, exploitative and oppressive capitalist order with a society based on the collectivization of the means of production and centralized economic planning. The power of the working class to carry out this revolution is based on its numbers and its organization and social position derived from the unique role it plays in the process of production. What is needed is the consciousness that exploitation and oppression are inherent in the profit system, that the interests of the proletariat and its exploiters are irreconcilably counterposed, and that the historic role of the working class is, indeed, to be the gravedigger of the capitalist system. That consciousness can be achieved only in the course of class struggle and through the intervention of a revolutionary Marxist party, such as the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the workers to power in the October Revolution of 1917.

There is a host of immediate, burning needs in the wake of the Gulf Coast disaster: a fight for union jobs at union wages, putting displaced and unemployed people to work building housing, schools and the infrastructure necessary for a modern society to function. All this points to the fundamental needs of working people and the oppressed: jobs for all, quality integrated housing and education, free quality medical care. The capitalists will always claim that there is not enough money to provide these necessities, that there will always be rich and poor. But as Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding program of the Fourth International:

> "If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery." ■



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Letter

On New Orleans Racist Atrocity

10 September 2005

To the editor,

During the Reagan years I spent many occasions in the Mississippi Delta and New Orleans. My lasting impression of the two is that New Orleans was the most unpleasantly racist place I have ever endured. In Mississippi racist whites try to be civil and if they have Klan sympathies they reveal them in subtle ways. In New Orleans racist whites were uncivil and those with Klan sympathies were provocative. I attributed this difference to the prominence at the time of David Duke, the Klan in a suit. In everyday affairs Duke supporters were commonly visible and accepted. But there were more reminders that I found at the time—a park placard commemorating the bloody white gangs that overthrew Reconstruction; restaurants where blacks simply did not go; black ghetto housing stock that reminded one of Richard Wright stories, etc.

Today the administrators of the American capitalist state reveal the incredible depth of their class arrogance and ignorance. They honestly believed they could abandon the poor, the old, and the sick of New Orleans to their own fate with the excuse that "we told them to get out and they didn't"! One commentator titled his piece "The Storm After the Storm," advising American rulers to prepare for social blowback at the base (*New York Times* online, 1 September). He noted the obvious: the sight of so many desperate blacks will ignite outrage among wide layers of the oppressed. The disgustingly racist anti-crime propaganda will not cover up this fact. The key question here is who controls production, distribution and transport, presently held as private property of the capitalists. This is the big picture buried under the looting question—which is nothing but a plebeian assault on private property. The American ruling class has looted entire countries and continents. Now, every manner of black leader admonishes or apologizes for New Orleans blacks "acting badly" by seizing the necessities of life. But even the "good" people (presumably white) are not trusted to respect the sanctity of private property; they line up to enter stores one at a time, under watchful eyes no doubt, to spend their money.

Shepard Sherbell

Abandoned public housing in New Orleans, 1995.

The notion that the average American worker is only a paycheck away from homelessness was given concrete expression in the New Orleans tragedy. It was no doubt working-class families, white and black, that, after several days on the road crammed into SUVs, found their cash and credit reserves exhausted. The average American worker, burdened with credit card debt, has no savings; instead workers invest most of their earnings into their homes. All is truly lost. In the 1960s, urban renewal was dubbed "Negro removal," but with the loss of an entire city we have "Negro removal" on a grand scale.

New Orleans has historical significance for the working class and blacks. The 1896 Supreme Court "separate but equal" ruling, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, that legitimized Jim Crow hails from New Orleans. New Orleans is where the left-wing International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) was beaten back in its 1938 attempt to expand east and supplant the right-wing International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). Decades later the New Orleans ILA rendered material assistance to the Deacons for Defense in their heroic 1965 struggle against the Klan in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

Don C.

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 1)

For those who say, "But this is America; how can this be happening?" we say: Yeah, this is America, the so-called land of the free but in reality a brutal, racist capitalist system, in which a handful of exploiters own the means of production, that is preparing even worse atrocities. Our program is for socialist revolution, for expropriation of the capitalists without compensation, for a planned economy under workers rule. Such a socialist society would be a system of production for human needs and not profits.

Library of Congress

Black soldiers played key role in defeat of Southern slavocracy in Civil War.

This racist atrocity of leaving black people, poor people to die has created a major political crisis for the Bush administration. It intersects growing opposition to the bloody U.S. occupation of Iraq, which is supported by the majority of Democratic politicians. The revulsion over the New Orleans racist atrocity undercuts "national unity" patriotism, which has been whipped up under the guise of the "war on terror" following the criminal attack on the World Trade Center. The "war on terror" is a war on labor, blacks, immigrants and leftists. There can be no unity between the capitalists and exploited workers because their interests are irreconcilably counterposed.

Iraq is unraveling, as the U.S. imperialists kill thousands and now desperately scramble to create a woman-hating Islamic regime. We demand: U.S. troops out now! Down with the imperialist occupation! Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. But we give no political support to the insurgents and vehemently oppose the inter-communal violence and religious fundamentalism. It is necessary for class-conscious workers to wage class war at home against the racist capitalist rulers, to fight for workers revolution to defeat bloody U.S. imperialism.

Finish the Civil War!

Bush has been pretty blatant with his racist contempt for black people. He refused to even visit the shelters where they were suffering and dying, holed up in glorified slave pens. His Secretary of State, his secretary of imperialist slaughter, Condoleezza Rice, denied that racism was a factor in the government's response. Kanye West spoke the truth. But it's not only Bush who doesn't care about black people. Neither did Clinton nor the rest of the bloodsuckers before him who ran this system. The capitalist oppressors are modern-day slaveholders who regard black people as expendable.

What happened in New Orleans was no "aberration" but grows out of the entire history of American capitalism, which was built upon black chattel slavery and many of whose "democratic" founding fathers were slaveholders. It took a civil war to end slavery and destroy the economic and social power of the Southern slaveholders. The Civil War was the last progressive war of the American capitalist class. But the political counterrevolution that destroyed Reconstruction left the black masses in a position of semi-slavery and cemented ties between the Northern industrialists and the defeated slaveholders in order to extend capitalism on a nationwide scale. Bourgeois domination was secured through bloody Klan terror and the brutal subjugation of the black masses. We say: *Finish the Civil War! Fight for a workers America!*

American capitalism is a racist nightmare for the majority of black people. Our program is revolutionary integrationism. It is premised upon mobilizing the working class to take up the fight for black freedom—a class-struggle fight to uproot the source of black oppression, which is capitalism. We fight against every manifestation of racial oppression: for an end to segregation in schools (championing busing against the white racist demagogues), against segregation in housing, jobs and education. This program is counterposed to both liberal integrationism and separatism, both of which accept the permanent existence of racial divisions and of capitalism. Many misleaders push reactionary schemes such as "black capitalism" in order to exploit the ghetto poor. The role of the petty-bourgeois black leadership is to console the masses with the empty promises and lies of the capitalists, and to keep the black masses in check.

Contrary to the utopian perspective of black nationalism, which is a pseudo-nationalism, blacks are not a "nation" with an independent political economy. The special oppression of black people as an oppressed race-color caste—stigmatized by skin color—is deeply rooted in the structure of U.S. capitalism. The material basis of this oppression is the capitalist system of production for profit, now consigning an entire generation of black youth to permanent unemployment, jail and the imperialist military. The last hired, the first fired, the first jailed—the black masses will finally achieve liberation through proletarian revolution, the smashing of racist capitalist rule.

Black people are not simply victims. Although a lot of industrial jobs have been lost over the years, black workers are a leading component of the working class and, armed with a class-struggle program, can open up the road to struggle against this system. But what kind of program and leadership will be in place

continued on page 8

WV Photo

South African workers at June 1995 COSATU protest hold up flyers demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamall" International mass protest, which stayed hand of executioner, must be mobilized to free Mumia.

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 7)

is decisive. Program is key.

In response to New Orleans, all over the country there is a lot of sentiment among working people to rally on behalf of the thousands of terribly suffering, displaced people and to help in the rescue and massive rebuilding efforts. There are powerful unions with large black and immigrant memberships such as the TWU transit workers and ILA and ILWU longshore unions, representing thousands of workers with tremendous social power that could be wielded on behalf of the oppressed. In the face of this crisis that has uprooted thousands, a class-struggle labor movement would hurl aside and defy the social parasites who are using this massive breakdown and immiseration to fatten the coffers of Halliburton, Bechtel and the like. It would organize black and white, Hispanic and immigrant workers *now* to organize unions, to fight for union jobs, public works at union wages with health care, emergency clothing and safety equipment. Such a fight would also strike a blow against the bosses' and the capitalist government's attempts to pay below prevailing wages on federally funded construction projects. And since the capitalists will undoubtedly resist these most modest demands, we say: Let's organize to get rid of their system!

There has to be a political struggle to mobilize that power to fight for the jobs, housing and education that we desperately need, not only in New Orleans but throughout the country. If you look at Detroit today, for instance, sections of the city have been hard hit by layoffs and cutbacks by a series of Democratic Party administrations. I was recently there, talking to some workers in AMFA [Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association] who are on strike against Northwest Airlines. And one of the stories that was in the papers the days I was there was about a funeral home that had been shut down for over one year. Someone discovered that there were two black male bodies still remaining in the coffins. This is a surplus population in the eyes of the racist rulers. We have to weld the power of the multiracial labor movement to the anger and desperation of the ghettos and the barrios, which requires forging a class-struggle leadership.

Neither the AFL-CIO tops nor the Andy Stern wing of the labor movement are rallying on behalf of displaced workers. None of them. They're not fighting against the racist union-busters who are trying to smash the AMFA mechanics and cleaners on strike at Northwest Airlines. The South today is still largely unorganized because the misleaders of labor have a program of class collaboration, which means that they are loyal to the "sacred" private property system. Their refusal to fight for black rights is the single most important factor in crippling class struggle against the racist rulers. A class-struggle leadership will be forged by waging a political struggle to replace the trade-union bureaucracy. Such a leadership will champion the interests of the oppressed: for abortion and gay rights, for full citizenship rights for immigrants, for an end to the bloody occupation of Iraq, for a revolutionary workers party that would fight for a workers government.

We need a Bolshevik party, a Leninist vanguard party that's a tribune of the people—like the one built in tsarist Russia under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the working class to a socialist revolution in October 1917. It was the only successful workers revolution in history.

The Capitalists Are Not Fit to Rule

There are natural disasters. But thousands of people have had their lives shattered through this racist atrocity that was facilitated by capitalist madmen who, under both Clinton and Bush, cut the funds needed to protect New Orleans. They knew that the disaster was upon us. The poor people who couldn't get out were mainly black, though to be sure there were poor whites and a lot of immigrants left to die also. The capitalists are not fit to rule. The workers have to fight to run this world.

The profit and rent hogs, the Wall Street money sharks and their political allies—both Democrats and Republicans—are the ones looting and lining up at the trough, feeding off the corpses while ranting about black "criminals" running wild in New Orleans. You've got corporation heads in this country making several hundred times more than an average worker makes. Their real intent was made clear by a sign that was put up by the cops at a temporary jail in a Greyhound Bus station that said, "We Are Taking New Orleans Back."

To increase the rate of exploitation, the capitalist rulers target for destruction workers and the oppressed at home and abroad. Their gratuitous racist cruelty in the U.S. is matched abroad by similar barbarism toward dark-skinned people. Never forget that it was the Democrat Clinton whose administration implemented United Nations sanctions that killed about a million and a half Iraqis, many of them children who died from malnutrition and starvation. Or, if you're simply in the way, they bomb you virtually into oblivion, as the Serbian population found out in 1999. Clinton is known in the eyes of some benighted people as "America's first black president." Now he has the nerve to put his arms around black children after having driven black and poor women into miserable, low-wage jobs by axing welfare. And during his first presidential run, as governor of Arkansas he oversaw the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a brain-damaged black man.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union—the main military and industrial powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states—and East Europe has meant terrible impoverishment and repression for the working people. And it has emboldened the capitalist exploiters here and around the world to intensify their assaults on workers and the oppressed. But they don't always get their way. The Cuban government has thwarted the U.S. imperialists' attempt to have their slavecatchers snatch Assata Shakur.

If you look at how the Cuban deformed workers state deals with hurricanes, you can see the superiority of a collectivized property system and planned economy in action. The Cuban Revolution threw out the bloody Mafia and the capitalist exploiters. The profit motive does not rule there. There are no Rockefellers or Donald Trumps deciding who to send to their death. Despite having had to endure a 45-year embargo by the U.S., the Castro regime offered doctors and financial assistance to the U.S., which was of course arrogantly and predictably rebuffed. On many occasions they have provided assistance to the poor and oppressed around the world.

We fight for the unconditional military defense of Cuba and the other remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea and Vietnam—and their collectivized property against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Undermining the defense of the deformed workers states are the ruling nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. We say that the best defense of the gains of those states against capitalist imperialism is to fight to extend the revolutions internationally. Basing themselves upon the anti-internationalist perspective and program of "socialism in one country," however, the Stalinist bureaucracies are hostile to this perspective. This was shown, among other examples, by the support that the Castro regime gave in 1973 to the Chilean bourgeois popular-front government of Allende, which paved the way for a bloody massacre of the working class and for the rise of the blood-soaked, U.S.-backed Pinochet regime. We fight for workers political revolution in Cuba to sweep away Stalinist bureaucratic misrule and to establish genuine workers democracy and Leninist internationalism.

For Proletarian Independence!

It is necessary to have a historical materialist perspective that is based upon understanding the role of class struggle as the motor force of history. The barbaric attacks against the black population are part of decades of bipartisan assaults on workers and the poor, from "ethnic

Mumia Abu-Jamal Greetings to NYC Rally

The following taped message by Mumia Abu-Jamal was played at the September 15 New York City rally.

Ona Move! Long live John Africa! I want to thank you all for your long and consistent support for my struggle for liberation. When we began this journey for justice, we were virtually alone. We can't say that today. The struggle has grown by leaps and bounds and yes, so too has resistance. Yet we struggle on. For, to quote a slogan from the Black Panther Party, "Repression breeds resistance." And for that, I thank you.

This is a struggle that we can and will win. As you all gather today, it's not solely for my benefit, but for the freedom also of two extraordinary women, Assata Shakur and Lynne Stewart. One, the state seeks to imprison for an alleged breakage of a mere prison rule. The other, the state seeks to return to the New Jersey dungeons for the rest of her life, or to kill her in the tropical streets of Cuba. Some may consider this as but rhetoric, but was it not just days ago that a major American religious leader called, on nationwide TV no less, for the assassination of a Latin American head of state? If Reverend Pat Robertson can call openly for the killing of Venezuela's president Hugo Chávez because, in his words, "It's cheaper than a war," why should we regard the state's one-million-dollar bounty on Assata as anything other than hit money?

Assata is targeted because she is what America has always hated the most: an escaped slave. Lynne is targeted because she dared to represent folks who were in the underbelly of the U.S. empire, folks like Larry Davis, imprisoned for daring to survive a police hit team, and a blind Egyptian sheik, Omar Abdel Rahman. The real crime that Lynne Stewart committed was the very same offense charged against John Brown: treason. Lynne Stewart, by coming to the defense of the oppressed, is facing prison for betraying the white nationalist, capitalist empire.

All of us are targeted for being rebellious to this empire of blood and greed. We need look no further than the cold response of the state to the hurricane, the horror and sufferings of poor blacks on the Gulf Coast. They don't care. They really don't care. It is for us to care, to dare, to resist, for freedom for us all. I thank you. Ona Move! Long live John Africa! From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Reuters

Reuters

Alan Pogue

Democratic Clinton administration: imperialist murder abroad, war on poor at home. Left: Serbian passenger train destroyed in U.S./NATO bombing, 1999. Center: Signing of bill ending "welfare as we know it," 1996. Right: UN-imposed sanctions, 1990 to 2003, killed some 1.5 million Iraqis.

Fight Government Repression!

Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Rally

Some 150 trade unionists, leftists and students turned out for a united-front rally against government repression on September 15 in New York City, the first in a series of rallies across the country. The rally was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein acted as moderator.

Participants with a range of political views joined together to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, a symbol of defiant opposition to racist oppression, on death row for over 20 years, falsely convicted of killing a policeman; Hands off Assata Shakur, framed-up former Black Panther who escaped prison hell and fled to Cuba and who has had a million-dollar bounty put on her head by the U.S. government; Hands off Lynne Stewart, leftist lawyer who faces decades in prison—effectively a life sentence—for her vigorous legal defense of Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman (see *WV* No. 842, 18 February). Stewart and co-defendants Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar are scheduled to be sentenced on December 22.

Speakers included James Webb, President Emeritus of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Cleo Silvers from 1199ers for Peace and Justice, the Communist Workers Organization and Workers to Free Mumia; Pam Africa, International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal; Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 808 and Chairman of the Teamsters National Black Caucus; Brother Sadki "Shep" Ojore Ougbala, N.Y. Hands Off Assata Shakur Coalition; and Don Alexander of the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense and the SL Central Committee (see article page 1). The rally heard taped greetings from Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Monique Code read a statement of support for the rally from Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, imprisoned on frame-up firearms possession charges for speaking out in defense of his father.

WV Photo

Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart addresses NYC defense rally.

The execution of a black woman, Frances Newton, in Texas the day before the rally gave added emphasis to the fight to abolish the racist death penalty. As the PDC wrote in a September 11 protest to the governor: "The despicable death penalty is an outgrowth of lynch law in the United States, the racist legacy of centuries of slavery and segregation. It is this legacy which led to the grotesque atrocity in New Orleans where thousands of poor and black people were literally left to die."

We print below an abridged and edited version of Lynne Stewart's speech to the rally. *WV* plans further coverage of these rallies in an upcoming issue.

* * *

When I heard that Frances Newton had been executed in Texas, my heart sank, just as it always sinks when I hear of anyone being executed. But so much more particularly in this case. This young woman, 40 years of age (we just celebrated our daughter's 40th birthday), went to her death because the lawyers didn't care. She went to her death because the lawyers didn't file her appeals on time. They didn't share the evidence with her. She was just a defendant; that stuff's "too important" for defendants. And so here she was, strapped to the gurney—and let's not make it nice, because it's not nice—strapped to the gurney knowing that she's innocent, knowing there are ballistics that can prove that, and knowing that nobody gave her the shot she deserved in front of a jury.

That's why my fight is important. My fight is important because of all the Frances Newtons out there, all those people who are accused by the state of crimes, which the state decides they are guilty of without doing the investigation, without testing them in the way that they should be tested in the adversary system. And let's not forget, the same "dream team" that's prosecuting me—George Bush and Attorney General Gonzales—is the same team that put Frances Newton in the death house. This is Texas. This is their place. This is where they worked all this out. So, we are looking right now at a case where justice was so miscarried, and yet at the final moment there was not one person on the Board of Pardons and Paroles, there was not one person on the United States

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purity" Jimmy Carter (which is the way he described himself in defense of segregated neighborhoods) to Reagan and Bush Sr. and the "new Democrat" Clinton. Successive Democratic and Republican administrations have taken deadly aim at the gains of labor and the civil rights movement that were wrested from the exploiters through struggle. It didn't begin with New Orleans. Remember the 1985 MOVE massacre, which killed eleven black men, women and children. That was the bloody signature of the Reagan years, orchestrated by the FBI, the Philadelphia Police Department and black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode. We have been fighting to burn the memory of that racist crime into the consciousness of the working class and the oppressed—as we must do with the racist atrocity in New Orleans. We do this not only in order to illuminate how terrible the oppression of blacks is (despite the lies of the capitalists and their apologists to the contrary) but to imbue the working class with a consciousness of its historic interests and tasks. The working class cannot be free unless it fights for black freedom, and you cannot have a workers revolution without black freedom at the center of your program.

The workers in this country have to have a class-conscious perspective because the Democrats—that's the other party of capitalism and war, racism and repression—are working to turn this political crisis for the Bush regime into electoral gains for themselves. They have smiles on their faces and knives behind their backs. Malcolm X, who wasn't a Marxist with a class-struggle perspective but had sharp observations about the capitalist politicians' con games, referred to the Democrats as "foxes" and "Dixiecrats" and the Republicans as "wolves." And he didn't just denounce white Democrats. The liberals, both black and white, feared and hated him.

The white ruling class has at its disposal black Democratic Party front men and women, who work to keep any struggle within the bounds of capitalism. While black suffering was unfolding in New Orleans, Jesse Jackson stated early on that he knew that there were black people saying that there was racism in the government's response. But "no sir, boss," *he* wasn't saying that, "yessuh, boss." Sharpton went to Louisiana—and I bet when he was there he didn't tell the people that here in New York he was stumping for a fellow Democrat named Fernando Ferrer who said it wasn't a crime when the murderous cops pumped more than 40 bullets into African immigrant Amadou Diallo.

WV Photo

SL contingent at February 2000 NYC protest against acquittal of cops who gunned down Amadou Diallo.

Watch out for the hustlers who occasionally use militant rhetoric but whose program is to deflect the anger and outrage at this system away from the racist capitalist rulers and to channel it right back into pro-Democratic Party electoral politics. They are not our friends. They are enemies of the working class and the oppressed. And now you have the anti-Semitic, nationalist demagogue Farrakhan calling for a march commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Million Man March. This is obscene. That march in 1995 blamed black people for their own oppression; it was a march for "atonement," which appeased the racist exploiters—and it also excluded women. We have nothing to atone for! Clinton & Co. ate it up. It changed nothing, and that's why Clinton is supporting this Millions More March. It's an attempt to pressure the Democrats to pressure Bush.

It's the same old, same old—pressure the capitalists to reorder their priorities. One of the organizers, Reverend Willie Wilson, has spewed vicious, anti-gay bigotry, which tells you a lot about who's organizing this. We say that democratic rights are indivisible. It's in our interests to fight for democratic rights for gays in all aspects of social life, including the right to marriage. The Millions More March is not about waging militant struggle against this brutal system of exploitation and oppression, but about venting some steam in light of growing anger against the present government. Its purpose, again, is to keep the struggle within the safe bounds of this system.

The working class, because of its numbers, organization and role in production, uniquely has the social power to bring down this barbaric profit system. But it takes revolutionary leadership. We have the program to unleash the power of labor and black to strike a hard blow against the growing government repression! So let's use it!

The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of young black radicals who wanted a social revolution. I was attracted to the Panthers because of their boldness and revolutionary spirit. In 1972 I saw Geronimo ji Jaga convicted. He remained unbowed and unbroken. He exemplified courage, and that certainly helped me to continue to fight. However, through intensive struggle, study and travel, I learned the truth of what Lenin said: that the most "refined" and "just" nationalism is incompatible with proletarian internationalism. And that is why I became a Trotskyist.

The reason for the Panthers' demise was not simply the bloody role played by the hideous FBI COINTELPRO program that killed 38 Panthers and fanned internecine factional bloodletting. I saw this unfold from the vantage point of being a visitor at the Panthers' international headquarters in Algiers in 1971, since I was living in the Middle East during that period and had met Panthers. But what also facilitated their destruction was their false program, which they called "revolutionary nationalism." Like most of the New Left, they rejected the central role of the working class, which meant basically going it alone.

Capitalism is a worldwide system and must be overthrown internationally. Our program must be revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist. It must be a program for world socialist revolution. The road to this lies through building internationalist revolutionary workers parties. Otherwise the capitalists will prevail.

We say: ***Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! Fight government repression! Hands off Lynne Stewart! Honds off Assota Shakur! Free all class-war prisoners! Join us!*** ■

Stewart...

(continued from page 9)

Supreme Court, there was not one person that could say, "Hold it, let's check this out again." She died, and she died because of had lawyering. She died because nobody cared. And they remarked thal there were 50 people gathered at the time—that was the size of the protest.

But we know life is cheap. We know black life in particular is cheap. It is, at least, to this administration. It is to the people running things. We know that from New Orleans, and we know it from Frances Newton. We know it because Assata—after she leaves to go to Cuba and is basically out of their hair, out of their sight, no longer doing the great political work she did when she was here—suddenly is named a "terrorist" (and I want to come hack to that in a second), and a bounty is being put on her head.

What is the importance of "terrorist"? You know, because I know some of you here. I see the gray hair out here. You had on your door like I had on my door, "Assata Shakur is welcome here." That's when she was on the run and underground. But now if you put that on your door, you could he accused of materially aiding terrorism. And if they prove that that was your intent, to help this "terrorist"—whether she's innocent or guilty doesn't have anything to do with it, whether she went to jail and served time, whether she was shot by a cop when she was down on the ground—all of that doesn't matter. What matters to them is being able to prosecute you and me.

So the real important change ahout Assata is probably the fact that they have added her to the "terrorist" list. And I can just tell you that the latest from my case (and I'll come back to this, too) concerns the government in the pre-sentence report. This is the report that the Probation Department writes to inform the court about the case. We have been urging everybody to write letters to ask for no jail. The judge has the power to give nó jail. The sentencing guidelines is the grid which puts you at a certain level, and the judge in days gone by had to follow that grid, *had* to sentence you at that level. That is no longer true. He now has complete discretion. But the Probation Department still figures it out, because, you know, these are judges, but they are also part of a big hureaucracy. And bureaucracy likes grids and likes to say, "Well, I think the guidelines are fair." and that they can mete out a fair sentence.

At any rate, the Probation Department has decreed that my guidelines (get ready to take your breath) come in at 260 months. If you put that into years, it's over 20. So, when we said 30, we weren't kidding. That's the maximum. But 26 is what the guidelines said because they bumped them up for terrorism, and they hump up everything for terrorism. And so I will be sentenced the same as if I were mayhe a three- or four-time loser. That's the category I get put in, as does Mohamed Yousry, the translator. He ends up also in that category.

So we know we are going into a situation here that started out unfair, that started out outrageous and remains outrageous. It doesn't change. I can say that I'm not in the same position as Jose Padilla [detained since May 2002 as an "enemy combatant"; see article on page 2], who Rachel mentioned. If we really think about how far the scene has shifted to the right, we just have to think about the fact that here is a U.S. citizen, arrested on U.S. soil, never charged with a crime, who first had to fight over whether be could get a lawyer. Now two courts, including a court of appeals, have ruled that he does not even get a chance to go to court and confront the charges against him. Not that any charges have been made, just some Ashcroftian innuendos about "dirty bombs." But that's enough to scare people. And that's enough to keep the populace where this government wants them, scared. Scared and docile and willing just like the Nazis of the '30s to go along with whatever is going on as long as the government does it.

Indymedia

Frances Newton

I thought, and I am still hoping we have a window, that when the population sees what happens in Louisiana and sees that this government, far from being all-powerful and able to protect people, is actually doddering, ineffectual—these are mild words for what happened there—is incompetent to protect us. And they never had that on their minds to begin with. What they had on their mind was paying off paramilitaries, was getting their friends the best contract, i.e., Halliburton. But will the American public wake up? Will they wake up when they pay four dollars a gallon for gas? Will that be enough to cause people to get to the streets—I don't know. But I know one thing. We got to keep working at it. They are giving us a golden opportunity here to raise consciousness, to show people.

Donna Dietrich

Bronx, 1988: Lynne Stewart and William Kunstler won acquittal of Larry Davis (on Stewart's right) on charges of attempted murder of cops wounded in shootout.

And that's what keeps me going, because it seems to me they are experiencing a decline. And we have a certain insight. We have a politic that informs us. We have a politic that lets us know why this is happening, what is likely to happen next, and what we have to do to make it real to the people we talk to. That is why my case is important, because it brings it home to the people I talk to.

I will say to you that the real reason—if you ask anyone in the Bronx why I was prosecuted, persecuted—has nothing to do with Sheik Omar and the Middle East and terrorism. The people up there and the guys I've defended, they all know it's Larry Davis. [In 1988, Larry Davis, a black resident of the Bronx, was acquitted of charges of attempted murder stemming from a 1986 shootout during which six policemen were shot, probably from their own crossfire.] That's why they are out to get me. And there are those that carry it maybe a step further. One was in to see me the other day—he has done 17 years for mainly being nothing much more than someone they denigrated as being a follower of Larry Davis. But anyway, he had gotten out of jail; he came down to say hello, and he said: "It's because you're out there helping all of us. You aren't helping them; you're helping us, and that's why they want to put you away."

So if I am guilty of anything—and we all sometimes get guilty of this—it was that at a point in my career in life I was complacent, and I underestimated the perfidy and power of the government to want to get me. I didn't think that was in the cards. I should have known better. I had a lifetime of political experience. I had a lifetime of people telling me how they were framed. I should have known better and I didn't. And I didn't really understand that what they wouldn't do to Ramsey Clark [co-counsel for Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and former U.S. Attorney General], they would do to me.

So, I go back to my old professor, Arthur Kinoy, who said, we don't win these cases in the courts, we win them outside the courts. We win them by mobilizing people, by making the people speak with a voice that can't be denied, that even the *New York Post*—with all its clever headlines and "terror lawyer" and clever positioning of my picture next to the latest leader of Al Qaeda—cannot deny. And that voice has got to say: ***Hands off Lynne Stewart!*** We have urged people to say "no jail." They are urging the judge to say "24, 26, maybe a life sentence." So we have to be aware of that. The date of sentencing is now October 21. [Note: Sentencing has been rescheduled for Decemher 22 at 9:30 a.m.] Please engrave that on your memory bank and please be there.

We have an opening. The opening is the juror who came forward. Those of you who attended the trial remember the very slender black woman who sat in the back row. She's a Harlem resident. She wrote to the judge about a couple weeks after the trial ended and said that she had heen intimidated, that she had rendered a verdict that wasn't truly hers, that she feared for her life from the other jurors who came in, she said, with an agenda. Now, will they brush this under the rug? Will they say it doesn't really matter? She "didn't come forward in time"? Will they allow Lynne Stewart, like Frances Newton, to lose on a technicality? Or is this really profound? Is this really something important that this juror felt that she was being intimidated by her fellow jurors to the extent that she feared for her life, and she rendered that verdict under that kind of pressure.

We have all this business before the court. We are going to keep on fighting, I'm going to keep on fighting. I feel that this cause is so righteous. It exposes the inequities of the judicial system. And I just hope that there will he people to keep on fighting in the courts even as I fight outside the courts.

My newest lawyer, I am happy to announce here, who has made application to the court this day, is Liz Fink. And Liz of course is of Attica history, which we celebrated only two days ago. She stayed with that case for 30 years. She finally won that case for the people who were so terrorized, traumatized, tortured—all three T's. She likes to say to me, "Lynne, there are only about ten of us who do this work." And that is true. But we need more. Because I believe there is going to be greater and greater repression, greater and greater need for the ***real deal***, the real lawyers to stand up. And as I said when I heard that the Cuban Five had been exonerated or at least are getting a new trial, my only sadness is that I'm not there to say I'd like to sign on for that next trial [see "Cuban Five Convictions Overturned," *WV* No. 854, 16 September]. Because as you know, the greatest punishment is not to be able to practice.

I can only say that it's meetings like this that keep me going. You know, I can have some low points. When I picked up that probation report and it said 24 years, I said, "Whoa!" But when I come and I see your shining faces here—and I know you turned out on this sticky, miserable night, and I know that you're politically involved, and we're all working like demons to try to set this back, to make sure that these things are stopped from happening, that we can live a life that is full and rich and with all the promise that America should be—I am heartened because I am not alone. Thank you very much. ■

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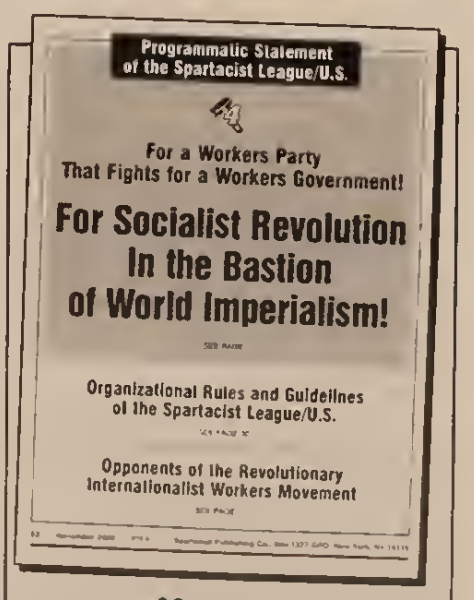

$2 (40 pages)
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Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
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Abortion...

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to enforcing age-of-consent laws and limiting abortion rights for minors, they are promoting a witchhunting atmosphere over "child sexuality." And according to California state law, no one under the age of 18 can legally consent to sexual activity, and anyone 18 or over who has sex with a minor can he charged with statutory rape. ***Down with reactionary age-of-consent laws!*** We advocate the concept of ***effective consent***—that is, as long as both parties consent to the act, nobody, least of all the state, has any right to tell them they can't do it. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Cluhs fight for a socialist society that, among other things, would guarantee teens the means to lead independent lives.

Heightened media sensationalizing over "fetal pain" has helped promote proposed national legislation mandating that doctors tell women seeking an ahortion at 20 weeks or later that the letus will feel pain during an abortion! Such hypocritical, guilt-tripping statutes—already law in Georgia and Arkansas—go against all known science. Such laws are being pushed by the forces of religious reaction, which serve as a mainstay for the oppression of women. *For the separation of church and state!*

The truth is that the government doesn't give a damn about the suffering of children and teens. Even by the state's own inadequate guidelines, tens of thousands of California students are failing to meet the most basic standards of literacy and mathematics. Fully 20 percent of California's high school students—predominantly those from the ghettos and barrios of the impoverished inner cities—and 40 percent of those who don't speak English as a native language are failing the state exit exam that is now required to receive a high school diploma. California's high school graduation rate is now only 71 percent—60 percent for Latino students and 56.6 percent for hlacks—according to Harvard University's Civil Rights Project. Schools are often little more than underfunded, understaffed, rat-infested holding pens, "preparing" youth for unemployment, lousy jobs or a "future" as cannon fodder in the imperialist army.

WV Photo

San Francisco, July 23: Clinic defense action protected patients from anti-abortion bigots.

It's common to associate the Democratic Party with abortion rights as against the Republicans. But while claiming to support a woman's "right to choose," Democratic president Bill Clinton presided over a drastic cutback in the availahility of abortion across the country. "Pro-choice" icon Hillary Clinton has announced her respect for those who believe that there are "no circumstances under which any abortion should ever be availahle." Meanwhile, Democrats proclaim their support for "family values," pandering to the same hackward religious forces that fuel the anti-ahortion crusade. The liberal feminists' program of reliance on the Democratic Party to safeguard abortion rights effectively disarms any real struggle for women's rights, including by diverting it into campaigns to get a "pro-choice" justice on the Supreme Court. But whether it's John Roberts or someone else in the black robe, the right to ahortion must he defended through a class-struggle mohilization for women's rights, independent of the capitalist parties.

The ruling-class onslaught on abortion emholdens "pro-life" fanatics and the violent thugs who intimidate and harass patients, homb clinics and murder abortion doctors and staff. On July 23 in San Francisco, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club participated in the defense of an abortion clinic targeted by the anti-abortion group American Life League. Joined by the Freedom Socialist Party and the International Socialist Organization among others, our forces formed a blockade hetween the doors and the bigots, helping to ensure that the clinic remained open and that patients remained safe from the anti-ahortion fundamentalists. We led chants like, "Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand!" Our signs included: "No to Prop. 73! For Abortion Rights for Teens!" and "For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" A socialist society would lay the material basis for replacing the family by providing quality, socialized child care, laundries and other services, opening the door to genuine social equality for women.

We advocate a strategy of mass, labor-hacked mobilizations to defend abortion clinics. Prop. 73 must be defeated at the polls, hut only a real defense of abortion rights through class-struggle methods will count in the long run. There must he a struggle in the labor movement to mobilize the unions to defend the clinics, to defend the rights of women, black people and all the oppressed. We need to build a revolutionary workers party that can provide such class-struggle leadership. ***Vote NO on Prop. 73! Free abortion on demand!*** ■

Poll Tax...

(continued from page 12)

Detroit. Initiated hy Jesse Jackson, the rally was dominated by Democratic Party politicians such as House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi, Congresswoman Maxine Waters and former Atlanta mayors Andrew Young and Bill Campbell, as well as current mayor Shirley Franklin.

The prominent trade-union presence at the rally points to the social force that can lead the fight to defend and extend black rights in this country—the integrated labor movement, of which black workers are a key component. The struggles of black people and lahor advance together or fall back when they are divided. Today, there is hoth an urgent need to defend black rights and for lahor to organize the unorganized, especially in the South, where black oppression and union-busting have always gone hand in hand.

However, the Atlanta rally underlined how labor's potential power is subordinated by the union misleaders to the capitalist Democratic Party, which is no less responsible than the Republican Party for the all-sided oppression of black people that is integral to the American capitalist order. When it comes to voting rights, the chief vehicle through which black people have been disenfranchised in recent years has been the ***bipartisan*** "war on drugs." Over 900,000 black men and women, including one out of every eight black men hetween the ages of 25 and 29, are in prison, mainly on drug charges. Indeed, hlack Democrats like Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton were at the forefront of promoting the "war on drugs" in the 1980s. We say: Decriminalize drugs!

The "war on drugs" has a direct effect on who votes and who doesn't. All but two states restrict the franchise for convicted felons, and every state of the former Confederacy except Louisiana bars some or all of them from voting. As a result, 13 percent of black men are barred from voting, while many more who could vote believe they cannot.

While black voters have been a core constituency of the Democratic Party, the Democrats have been tepid at most in their defense of the franchise for black people. Heading up the Commission on Federal Election Reform was former Democratic president Jimmy Carter, along with James Baker III, an old Reaganite who was the official lawyer for the Republicans during the contested presidential vote tally in Florida in 2000.

Nearly 140,000 black men in Florida were denied suffrage in the 2000 elections due to felony convictions. Police roadblocks barred the way to polling places, and many black people who managed to get through found themselves barred from voting even if they carried a voter registration card. When black Congressmen contested the election results, Al Gore, as president of the Senate, ruled them out of order—even though the lost black votes certainly cost him the presidency. The overriding factor for Gore and the Democratic establishment was not black voting rights but the "sanctity" of the imperial American presidency, which they did not want blemished by a dispute over who won.

Marxists are intransigent defenders of the hard-won right to vote and other democratic rights. But the fight for black freedom cannot be advanced through support to ***either*** the Democratic or Republican parties of capitalism. As we wrote in "Black Disenfranchisement and American 'Democracy'," (*WV* No. 833, 1 October 2004):

> "Working people need their own party, a revolutionary party that recognizes that the fight for black freedom and the fight for the emancipation of labor are inextricably linked. We in the Spartacist League seek to build such a party to do away with the capitalist order and create an egalitarian socialist society in which the perfidies of the past shall be relegated to the history books and expunged from the lives of future generations." ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

LOS ANGELES

Come Discuss Revolutionary Marxism!
Wednesday, October 5, 5 p.m.
UCLA, Ackerman Union, Rm. 2410

Marxism and the Scientific Worldview
Saturday, October 15, 2 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

The 1917 Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Wednesday, October 5, 6:30 p.m.
U of T, Sydney Smith, Room 2115
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

NEW YORK CITY

Marxism and the Scientific Worldview
Wednesday, October 5, 7 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 703
Columbia University
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Independence for Quebec! Marxism and the National Question
Thursday, October 13, 5 p.m.
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 212
Information and readings (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

Visit the International Communist League Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Spartacist Forums

Not One Person, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Military!
U.S. Troops Out of Iraq Now!

Marxism, Militarism and War

Saturday, October 1, 4 p.m.
First Parish Church
3 Church St., Harvard Sq., Cambridge
(This forum is not sponsored by the First Parish Church.)
For more information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail bostonsyc@yahoo.com
BOSTON

New Orleans: Racist Atrocity—Capitalist Rulers Left Blacks, Poor to Die

Black Liberation and the Fight for a Workers America

Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

Thursday, October 20, 7:30 p.m.
322 W. 48th Street, 1st Floor
(between 8th and 9th Ave.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com
NEW YORK

WORKERS VANGUARD

California: No on Prop 73!

"Squeal Rules" Threaten Abortion Rights for Teens

For Free Abortion on Demand!

SAN FRANCISCO—In yet another ominous attack on women's right to abortion, a proposed law would, if it passes in California's "special election" this November, slap a 48-hour parental notification requirement on abortions for women under age 18. The Spartacist League calls for a "no" vote against this "squeal rule," which is an assault on what should be every woman's basic right. Doctors would be required to report abortions performed on minors to the government, and those found not in compliance could face civil suits and liability for damages. Proposition 73 would also rewrite the California constitution to include the religious language of the "right to life" bigots, declaring abortion to be the "death of the unborn child, a child conceived but not yet born."

Prop. 73 is just one of the more prominent of a near-record number of proposed anti-abortion laws sweeping the country in the last year. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, 13 states already have parental notification requirements; 21 others require the consent of the young woman's parents. These "squeal rules" are not only a gross violation of privacy, they also hit the most vulnerable the hardest and threaten to turn a simple and safe medical procedure into a traumatic ordeal.

Planned Parenthood, the California Nurses Association and the California Medical Association, among others, have formed the Campaign for Teen Safety to combat Prop. 73. A court ruled against their lawsuit challenging the despicable lie in the California voters' guide that "these laws reduce minors' pregnancy and abortion rates without danger and harm." "Squeal rules" mean more back-alley abortions, and they only make access to abortion more complicated, more dangerous, more expensive and subject to interference by parents, judges or other self-appointed guardians of virtue. Teenagers need sex education and access to free, quality birth control, not religious dictates pushing abstinence or punishment. We call for free abortion on demand as a part of free, quality health care for all.

The U.S. capitalist ruling class is on a crusade against teen sexuality, seeking to make teenagers obedient to authority, above all to their parents, and to reinforce their status as "dependents" within the institution of the family. From funding abstinence-only sex "education" programs

continued on page 11

WV Photo

1998 NYC protest against bombing of Birmingham, Alabama abortion clinic.

Georgia Brings Back Jim Crow Poll Tax

This past April the state of Georgia enacted a law sharply restricting the right of black people to vote. Widely seen as a "21st-century poll tax," the law requires those who do not have a driver's license to get a government-issued photo ID in order to vote. Such IDs will cost $20 and will have to be renewed every five years—this in a state where black people are nearly six times as likely as whites to be below the poverty line! Moreover, such IDs can be obtained in only 56 locations throughout the state—not one of which is in heavily black Atlanta. Angry black Democratic legislators walked out of the state Capitol when the law was passed. On August 26, Bush's Department of Justice approved the new Georgia law.

This law is nothing less than a frontal attack on the basic democratic right of blacks to vote, won through over a century of hard and often bloody struggle. The Civil War that smashed chattel slavery won black men the right of the franchise. In the ensuing era of Reconstruction, the most democratic period in American history, large numbers of black people voted, and many held office in the South. But the betrayal of Reconstruction by the Northern bourgeoisie, signaled by the withdrawal of the last federal troops from the South as part of the Compromise of 1877, led to a wholesale assault on black rights. Under the rule of the Dixiecrat Democratic Party, Jim Crow laws, backed up by Ku Klux Klan terror, systematically enforced racial segregation. Selectively applied "literacy" tests and poll taxes were among the methods used to prevent black people from exercising the right to vote.

Black people in the South regained voting rights through the tumultuous struggles of the civil rights movement—struggles that faced brutal police repression and KKK nightriding terror. Civil rights activists Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney, whose bodies were dredged from a muddy dam in Neshoba County, Mississippi, in 1964, were among those lynched for fighting for black people's right to the franchise. That year, the 24th Amendment to the Constitution barred the poll tax in federal elections, and the Supreme Court later extended this prohibition to state elections. The following year, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act.

Ted Polumbaum

Mississippi, "Freedom Summer" 1964. Voting rights for black people in South, won through massive struggles, face renewed attack.

The current attacks on voting rights—vividly demonstrated by the disenfranchisement of black voters in Florida, and elsewhere, in the 2000 presidential elections—epitomize the tenuousness of basic democratic rights in capitalist America. This is especially true for the black population.

Today, Georgia is not alone in rolling back the right to vote. The Pennsylvania State House recently passed a bill requiring a photo ID to vote and increasing restrictions on former felons' voting rights. On September 19, a Commission on Federal Election Reform, set up after the 2004 elections, announced proposals that would require voters to present a "Real ID" card at polling stations. This proposal would augment the sinister "Real ID" Act passed by Congress this spring with bipartisan support, which deprived undocumented immigrants of driver's licenses by requiring Social Security cards, birth certificates or proof of legal residency. The Spartacist League opposes any and all restrictions on the right of citizens to vote and stands for full citizenship rights for all immigrants (documented or not)—including the right of franchise.

Some 12,000 people, overwhelmingly black, turned out for a "Keep the Vote Alive!" rally in Atlanta on August 6, which was timed to commemorate the passage of the 1965 act and called to extend those of its provisions set to expire in 2007. Notably, the rally included some 2,000 largely black trade unionists—including significant contingents from the SEIU service employees, AFSCME government workers, UFCW food and commercial workers and other unions—from throughout the South and from as far away as California, New York and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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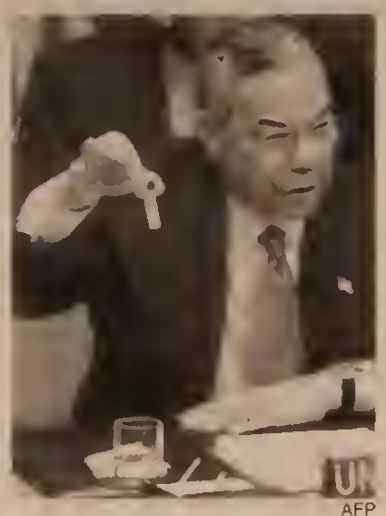
No. 856 — GCU C-701 — 14 October 2005


AFP

DPA

Judith Miller and Bush Disinformation

Big Lies and Imperialist War

Down With U.S. Occupation of Iraq!

OCTOBER 7—*New York Times* reporter Judith Miller walked out of prison last week after being held for nearly three months for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating the outing of CIA agent Valerie Plame. The entire time, her bosses at the *Times* portrayed Miller as a martyr in the cause of the "free press." But in fact, Miller was freed because she had promised that she would immediately testify before the grand jury.

Many liberals and leftists took up Miller's cause on the ground of freedom of the press. But what the Miller affair is about is not such a First Amendment right. It is about the U.S. government lies of Saddam Hussein's "weapons of mass destruction" that were a pretext for the bloody U.S. war and occupation of Iraq, which Miller and the *Times* shamelessly purveyed.

It is today a commonplace that George Bush and his cronies are contemptible liars on a vast scale. From the myth that Saddam Hussein worked hand in glove with Al Qaeda in carrying out the criminal World Trade Center attack to the bankrupt assertion that Iraq possessed stockpiles of "weapons of mass destruction" and the fantastic notion that it was on the verge of developing nuclear weapons—no falsification was too outrageous for these cynics and their lackeys in the capitalist press if it could serve the purpose of preparing the U.S. population for the war. George Bush probably never read *Mein Kampf*, but he clearly would appreciate Hitler's explanation that the "big lie" can be so effective because, for the common folk, "it would never come into their heads to fabricate colossal untruths, and they would not believe that others could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously."

Democratic Party politicians complain about how they were duped by Bush into supporting the war. But the administration's fabrications were transparent as the war was approaching. It was the Democratic Clinton administration that paved the way for the Iraq war through eight years of bombing attacks and a starvation embargo. And the Democratic Party—the other party of U.S. imperialism—largely voted to grant Bush a blank check to wage war against Iraq. But then the imperialist occupation got into deep trouble. Last year, the John Kerry campaign argued that the Democrats could carry out the occupation in a more "responsible" way by looking for more support from other imperialist powers as well as the UN and deploying more troops to Iraq. Today the Democrats, even as they continue to vote for funding measures for the occupation, smell opportunities over the mounting troubles of the Bush administration: popular outrage over its handling of the Gulf Coast disaster; financial scandals embroiling Tom DeLay and other leading Republicans; the Plame investigation that has spread to Karl Rove and other key administration figures.

AP

U.S. troops brutalize Iraqis, April 2003. Top left: Colin Powell at UN pushing lie of "weapons of mass destruction," February 2003. Top right: Bush beating war drums at UN, September 2002.

In a transparent attempt to divert attention from these problems, and from his plummeting poll figures, Bush stirred the pot of the "war on terror" in a major speech on October 6. The same day, New York City imposed a "terror alert" in the subway system. Typically, Democratic Senate leader Harry Reid responded to Bush's speech by saying that "the administration's mishandling of the war in Iraq has made us less safe." This is the standard complaint raised by the Democrats over Bush's Iraq policy: that it has encouraged "terrorists" as well as diverted resources away from the "war on terror." The repressive measures enacted after the September 11 terror attacks are the government's attempt to carry out a qualitative diminution of democratic rights, aimed not only at immigrants but at black people and the working class as a whole.

Iraq today threatens to completely unravel under the bloody U.S. occupation. More than 4,000 civilians have been killed in Baghdad alone since April. The number of American dead in Iraq is closing in on 2,000. With the approach of the October 15 "referendum" on the Iraqi constitution, the daily toll of car bombings and other deadly attacks is increasing, as is the terror campaign carried out by U.S. forces in predominantly Sunni areas. Illustrating the farcical nature of the "referendum," earlier this week the provisional Iraqi parliament rewrote the rules to make it all but impossible for the Sunni population, whose interests the document makes decidedly secondary to those of the Shi'ites and Kurds, to vote it down. The move was quickly scuttled as U.S. and UN officials worried that it would blow up in the face of the U.S. and its Iraqi puppets. Meanwhile, occupation authorities are preparing the show trial of Saddam Hussein. Rest assured that his rise to power through the killing of Iraqi Communists and his collaboration with Donald Rumsfeld during the Reagan administration will not be among the evidence used against him.

Such is the "democracy" that the American imperialist state, already a prison house for the black population at home, declares it has brought to Iraq. One reason that liberal politicians and newspapers such as the *New York Times* are today more openly critical of the Bush administration is that the Iraq debacle and the revelations of torture of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo and other U.S. military prison camps are undermining the global "war on terror" by shredding the notion that Washington is pursuing "democracy" in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, the Spartacist League took a side for the military defense of these countries against imperialist attack. At the same time, we stood in irreconcilable political

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From Berlin to Moscow

The ICL's Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution

For New October Revolutions!

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William Bennett: A Swine for All Seasons

Republican bigwig William Bennett said on his September 28 "Morning in America" radio show: "If you wanted to reduce crime, you could—if that were your sole purpose, you could abort every black baby in this country, and your crime rate would go down." Bennett hypocritically intoned that this would be "an impossible, ridiculous, and morally reprehensible thing to do." But the murderous racism of Bennett's statement was obvious—and it was unusual only for its brazen nakedness.

To the extent that the capitalist media has wagged a finger at Bennett, it was mainly for his audacity. He openly blurted out what many in the ruling class and its political establishment usually say only in private. An editorial in New York *Newsday* (4 October) scolded Bennett because he "ventured into this area glibly and foolishly. Big mistake." *Mistake?* Is "oops" an acceptable response to a bourgeois political insider's expression of a Ku Klux Klan and Nazi genocidal fantasy?

Bennett's all-sided reactionary views are matched by his deeds on behalf of the U.S. government. In the 1980s, as Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Education, the Catholic anti-abortion bigot Bennett was a crusading general in the "culture wars," whipping up opprobrium against people with AIDS as sinners who deserved what they got. As "drug czar" under George Bush Sr., he presided over the drive to send thousands of black and Latino youth to prison.

Bennett pulls down hefty speaking fees as a Republican spokesman for "moral values," the theme of his *The Book of Virtues*. His high-toned "cultural" facade notwithstanding, upholding racial oppression is the real motive behind Bennett's constant plugging of anti-scientific biological determinism, which originated as a justification for slavery. It's known as the "American school" of anthropology. The scientist Stephen Jay Gould exposed this fallacious theory, by which black people are continually denounced as "inherently" criminal or inferior, "while the corruption and violence of some congressmen and presidents provoke no similar theory" (*The Mismeasure of Man*, 1981).

In 2002, former Senate Republican majority leader Trent Lott got caught hailing Strom Thurmond's 1948 "Dixiecrat" presidential run, an open stand by Southern Democrats for segregation. Every so often bone-deep hatred of blacks and other minorities just spills out, like Barbara Bush's contemptuous comment that the traumatized survivors of New Orleans never had it so good, or Nixon's obscene, bitter attacks on Jews revealed on the Watergate tapes. Like Lott, Bennett openly expressed the deep racist contempt for and cruelty toward black people that defines the American capitalist order, whether under Republican or Democratic rule. "Genocide U.S.A." (*WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988) is how we headlined a 1988 article addressing bipartisan plans to gut welfare that were promoted particularly by New York Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan. And welfare was given its deathblow by Democrat Bill Clinton, the great pretender to partisanship of black people.

As Labor Black League spokesman Don Cane stated at a Bay Area October 1 rally initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee against government repression: "We live in a class society ruled by criminals who talk absurdities as they practice atrocities.... America's anti-black racism is bottomless and knows no shame. America's ruling class is dismantling education, and the racist pig Bennett gives voice to their contempt for black youth. This is a call for genocide that the workers must answer with uncompromising class struggle." ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Democratic Rights and the Class Struggle

Especially in the most advanced capitalist societies, democratic forms of government serve to veil the nature of the state as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the exploited and oppressed masses. Delineating three categories of rights that exist under bourgeois democracy, James Burnham, who in the late 1930s was a spokesman for the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, stressed that the rights of the working class and the oppressed can be defended and furthered only through class-struggle means.

(1) The first group consists of those special "rights" which embody and enforce bourgeois property relations. These include the right to hold property in the basic means of production; the right to employ wage labor; the right to monopolize for the sake of private profit; the right of individuals and private corporations to control the instruments of propaganda—press and telephone and radio; the right to suppress the products of science and invention in the interest of profit; and many similar "democratic rights." Such rights as these it is the aim of the proletariat to ***destroy***, in exactly the same way that the bourgeoisie itself destroyed the special feudal and slave-holding rights.

The bourgeois-democratic state, however, has as its primary function the defense and maintenance of just these "democratic" rights. Thus the struggle against these rights is identical with the struggle against the bourgeois state.

(2) There is a second group of democratic rights which, though likewise having its historical origin in the struggle for power of the bourgeoisie, has a different social status. These include many of the so-called "civil liberties": the rights of free speech, free assembly, *habeas corpus*, petition, public secular education, etc. In bourgeois society these rights are manipulated by the ruling class to its own ends. For example, we discover that the campaign of the newspaper owners against unionization of their employees proceeds under the slogan of defense of free speech; or that the right of *habeas corpus* is used by skilled lawyers to evade investigation and criminal punishment.

Nevertheless, the attitude of the proletariat toward this second type of "democratic rights" is not one of simple and direct opposition, as in the case of the first type. This follows for two reasons: first, because, in spite of their perversion by the bourgeoisie, these rights can be used by the proletariat also in the defense of its own class interests and in preparation for its own struggle for power.... Secondly, the attitude of the proletariat toward this second group of rights is different because part of the historical aim of the proletariat is, by changing the social content of these rights and eliminating their class bias, to deepen and extend them as part of the structure of the true and genuine democracy of a classless society.

(3) There exists under capitalist democracy, to one or another extent, a third group of rights which are not, properly speaking, "democratic rights" at all, but rather *proletarian* rights. These are such rights as the rights to picket and to strike and to organize. The historical origin of these rights is in all cases to be found in the ***independent*** struggle of the proletariat ***against*** the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state.

—James Burnham, "The People's Front: The New Betrayal,"
Pioneer Publishers (1937)

New Orleans Racist Hell

AP photos

October 8: Robert Davis, a 64-year-old retired elementary school teacher, was viciously beaten in the French Quarter by three white New Orleans cops, abetted by two federal officers. Davis, who doesn't drink, was arrested on bogus charges including public drunkenness. Police roughed up an AP producer and tried to stop the videotaping of the scene. The three cops now face minor charges. Hurricane Katrina showed the world the reality of racist America. Today, under police/National Guard occupation, New Orleans remains a nightmare for black survivors.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 11 October.

No. 856 **14 October 2005**

Letter

Correcting a False Equation

4 October 2005

To: WV Editor

The forum "How Revolutionary Marxists Fight Against Imperialist War and Militarism," printed in *Young Spartacus* pages in *WV* No. 851 (8 July), contained the following formulation: "Over the course of the past 15 years, one political generation, the political landscape on this planet has been totally reshaped by two events" and goes on to list these events as the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and September 11.

There is a problem with this formulation: these events were qualitatively on a different scale. The destruction of the former USSR was the final undoing of the October Revolution, a profound defeat for the world working class. However striking the criminal attack on the World Trade Center was, and however much the capitalist rulers used it to strengthen the repressive government apparatus and to further military adventures abroad, this was an event which did not fundamentally change the contours of the world, unlike the case with the destruction of the USSR. Moreover, there was a further problem in that the forum did not make the necessary link between the use by U.S. imperialism of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism during its campaign against the Soviet Union and the subsequent rise of such forces in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution. The ability of the U.S. government to capitalize on the events of September 11 was aided by the absence of the degenerated Soviet workers state.

Comradely,
R. Henry

Young Spartacus

Anti-Communist Ban Defeated!

Boston University

The Boston Spartacus Youth Club has waged a successful defense campaign against Boston University's anti-communist attempt to ban the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club (FOSYC), the only Marxist group on campus. The FOSYC had been suspended on September 19 on slanderous charges of "intimidation" and "harassment," among others. On Friday, October 7, the administration reinstated the FOSYC as a student group. Some of the administration's absurd charges against the FOSYC were retailed in an October 7 article in the campus newspaper, the Daily Free Press. *Dean of Students Kenneth Elmore complained to the* Daily Free Press*: "There have been situations where people felt coerced to take their flyers." These charges are so ridiculous they would be laughable, except that the intent is clearly to censor the socialists on campus. We fought the BU administration's blatantly political ban and won. In the course of this campaign we distributed our protest statement against the ban on campus, signed up new members to the FOSYC, gathered nearly 40 signatures on a petition demanding the reinstatement of the FOSYC and sold subscriptions to* Workers Vanguard. *We reprint below the September 25 statement by the Boston SYC.*

* * *

On Monday, September 19, Director of Student Activities Carolyn Norris, on false and unsubstantiated claims, suspended the Boston University Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club (FOSYC). Norris indicated a "pattern of behavior over the past years" including "intimidation of University staff" and "harassing guests," "soliciting," and "non-BU affiliated people" hosting events but does not provide a shred of evidence to substantiate the claims. As for the charge that prompted the suspension, it was "illegally posting flyers in the George Sherman Union." This ban is an act of political censorship! The FOSYC is just what the name implies, a student group whose purpose is to encourage the free exchange of socialist ideas on campus. The defense of the FOSYC is an important and elementary act of self-defense for BU students, faculty and campus workers against attacks on everyone's democratic rights of free speech and political association. ***An injury to one is an injury to all! Breok the anti-communist bon ot Boston University!***

They are starting with the Marxists, but who is next? Will women's groups on campus who are defending the right to abortion be targeted for intimidation? Will those who advocate defending black rights on campus be targeted for offending white racists? Will LGBT groups be charged with intimidation for defending gay rights and promoting the free discussion of sexuality on campus? The banning of the FOSYC flies in the face of the right of free speech and assemhly. This is an attack by the administration, acting *in loco parentis*, to regiment the campus and decide which views can and cannot be discussed.

The administration is also hanning the FOSYC on a pretext that too many non-BU affiliates are present on campus. The "outside agitators" charge is a timeworn epithet of Southern white sheriffs busting Northern civil rights activists in the battle against racist Jim Crow segregation in the South. It was the Free Speech Movement, which originated in 1964 at UC Berkeley, which first succeeded in breaking the ban on "outside agitators" speaking on campus. The suspension of the FOSYC is a political witchhunt, seeking to silence Marxists, political dissidents and others with views the administration does not like.

As in other periods of political reaction, civil liberties are being dumped, this time under the guise of the Democrat- and Republican-waged "war on terror." This is a war waged against black people, immigrants, workers and leftists here at home, while the colonial onslaught against Iraq ensues abroad. For instance FBI counter-terrorism agents nationwide rounded up and harassed activists who were organizing the protests around the two capitalist party national conventions last summer. In April of 2003, at the height of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, anti-war professor Tony Van Der Meer at UMass Boston was assaulted by cops and military recruiters for defending an anti-war student. Last November, Professor Joseph Massad at Columhia University was targeted by a Zionist witchhunt, charged with "academic intimidation" for his defense of the Palestinians. *U.S. troops out of Iraq now! Defend the Palestinians! Down with the "war on terror"!*

We have no illusions that the administrations at universities can be neutral arbiters. Under capitalism, their johs are to maintain the bastions of privilege to train the future layers of technocrats and government officials to administer the capitalist state. It is no accident that the FOSYC was suspended in the most undemocratic way, with Norris making up her mind before hearing any response to the allegations. Attacks by the administration on dissidents are not new at BU. Under the ruthless period of John Silber's administration, the BU Five, tenured professors including Howard Zinn, were threatened with dismissal for honoring a picket line of striking campus clerical workers. Abolish the administration! To redress the race and class privilege of higher education and provide free quality education for all: ***Notionalize BU and all private universities! For open admissions, no tuition and a full living stipend for oll students!***

From the occupation of Iraq to the manmade devastation left in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, which left poor and black people to die, capitalism is exposed as a decaying rotten system that needs to be replaced with a planned collectivized economy. The Spartacus Youth Club's purpose is to win students to the side of the working class, which has the organization, social power and interest to carry out a revolutionary transformation of society. We fight to build a revolutionary party that acts as a tribune of all of the oppressed in the fight for a socialist future. Students have a right to be exposed to many different views on campus, including those of Marxists. Send protest letters to Carolyn Norris (cnorris@bu.edu, cc: bostonsyc@yahoo.com, Dean of Students Kenneth Elmore at dos@bu.edu), sign our petition, invite the SYC to speak at your class or student group meetings, and certainly read the "forbidden" newspaper *Workers Vanguard*. Join us in the fight against the anti-communist ban on campus!■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Success!

August 25 to October 5

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New York	925	999.5	108%
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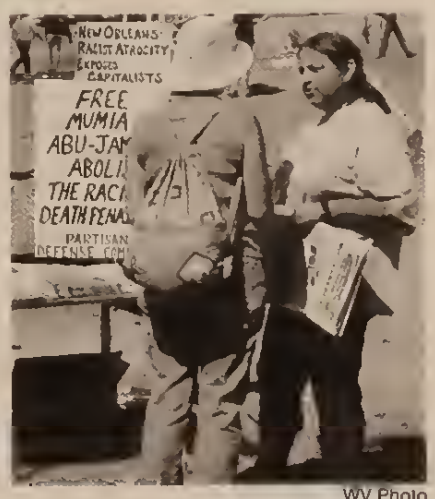

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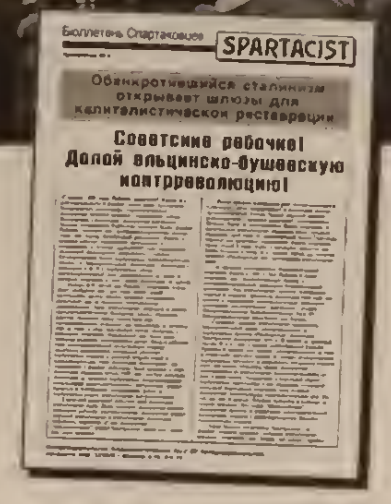

From Berlin to Moscow
The ICL's Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution

For New October Revolutions!

Left: ICL banner at January 1990 Berlin Treptow protest: "Down With NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!" Leaflet for March 1990 elections: "No to Capitalist Reunification!" Right: ICL raised banner on Revolution Day, November 1991 in Moscow, distributed statement: "Soviet Workers—Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

We reprint below a presentation, edited for publication, given by comrade Jane Clancy at a Spartacist League/Britain educational held in London on May 21. This article first appeared in Workers Hammer *No. 191 (Summer 2005), publication of the SL/B, British section of the International Communist League.*

WORKERS HAMMER

1989 was quite a year. The events that erupted then would come to fundamentally change the entire political landscape of the world. I will give you some snapshots of what took place. In February, the last Red Army troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. These troops had been fighting against a reactionary cabal of Islamic fundamentalists, tribal chiefs and landowners committed to the enslavement of women and the elimination of any scintilla of social progress, and who were armed and bankrolled to the tune of billions of dollars by U.S. imperialism. The withdrawal was not because the Soviet troops were losing; this was not "Russia's Vietnam" as it was portrayed at the time. Rather, the troops were withdrawn as part of a Kremlin bid to try to appease the imperialists.

In May, hundreds of thousands of students and workers rallied in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Singing the revolutionary workers anthem, the "Internationale," they had come out in opposition to the corruption of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats and the devastation wrought by their introduction of "market reforms." In June, counterrevolutionary Solidarność—the only "union" that Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan ever supported—swept the elections in Poland. The same month, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping drowned the nascent political revolution in Tiananmen Square in blood. In July, the Soviet Union was shaken by the first ever nationwide miners strike. Provoked by the impact of market reforms on their lives and livelihoods, the miners quickly generated organisational forms of proletarian power: strike committees and workers militias.

In October, coincident with the official celebration of the 40th anniversary of the East German deformed workers state, the DDR, that country was erupting in increasingly massive protests against the Stalinist regime of Erich Honecker. On 4 November, the largest demonstration in the country's history took place as half a million people rallied in East Berlin under banners reading: "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges," "For a German Soviet Republic—Build Soviets!" On 9 November, the Berlin Wall was opened.

The other speakers at today's day-school will provide accounts of the intervention of our international tendency—the International Communist League—into these momentous events. We fought for the defeat of the forces of capitalist counterrevolution and for the defence of the gains for the working class and oppressed of the world that were embodied in the collectivised industry and planned economy of these countries, however warped and distorted by Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist traitors, whose bureaucratic stranglehold over economic, political and cultural life and betrayals of revolutionary struggles internationally in the name of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism undermined and, in the end, paved the road to the destruction of these workers states. We fought for the revolutionary, internationalist programme that animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which led the first and so far only successful workers revolution in history in October 1917. We did not prevail, but we fought!

By 1990, the forces of capitalist counterrevolution were sweeping Eastern Europe. In 1991-1992 these forces would devour the Soviet Union, the homeland of the Russian Revolution. The world we live in today is the product of that world-historic defeat for the workers and oppressed of the world, out of which U.S. imperialism emerged as the world's unrivalled "only superpower." It is common coin now for outfits like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [British followers of the late Tony Cliff] and other so-called leftists to decry the deranged nuclear cowboys in the White House as the "world's biggest terrorists." True enough. But these self-proclaimed socialists, who cheered the forces of counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, made their own small contribution to this outcome. Now where do they turn? To the European imperialist rulers! On the eve of the one-sided slaughter in Iraq, they appealed to the European heads of state to "give peace a chance" and stay the hand of U.S. imperialism. Now they raise the call for a "social Europe" as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. The European rulers want a counterweight all right. They are out to increase their competitive edge, economic and military, against the U.S. To do so, they are taking it out of the hides of the working class and oppressed, savaging what remains of the so-called welfare state. The reforms collectively known as the welfare state were themselves introduced to try to piece off a combative and politically conscious proletariat and to ward off the "spectre of communism" as the Soviet Union's authority was renewed with its defeat of Hitler's Nazis in World War II.

Now you have this "Make Poverty History" campaign appealing to none other than the G8 to come to the aid of the impoverished masses of the so-called Third World. This is revealed as such a fraud by the fact that even Gordon Brown [Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour government] has called on people to join the demonstration in Edinburgh this July coincident with the G8 meeting at Gleneagles. The SWP thinks this is great, as long as Brown puts his money where his mouth is, which is exactly what he intends to do. Brown's tour of Africa earlier this year made clear that "Make Poverty History" is simply a cynical cover for increasing "free trade"—that is, the increased pillage and exploitation of sub-Saharan Africa. Declaring that it is time to stop apologising for the British Empire—not that I've noticed too many people apologising for the crimes of the empire—he saluted it as "open, outward looking and international." I believe he made these remarks in Kenya! One need look no further than the mass graves of the tens of thousands killed by British forces during the Mau Mau rebellion in the 1950s for a taste of Britain's bloody and brutal colonial heritage.

When the Soviet Union existed, the nominally independent former colonies had the breathing space to at least manoeuvre between the Soviets on one side and the imperialists on the other. No more. Now the imperialists think it's open season. Together with the total devastation and fratricidal wars that erupted in the wake of counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, increasing imperialist depredations and military repression from Africa to Central America to Asia have forced many thousands of people to leave their homes in order to seek a better life for themselves and their families (often just to stay alive) in

In the camp of imperialism: ISO welcomed Soviets' Afghanistan pullout, hailed counterrevolution in USSR.

the advanced capitalist countries. They have been met with a backlash of racist and chauvinist reaction fomented by the capitalist rulers—as the recent electoral contest between the Tories and Labour is testament to. The capitalists are happy to use these immigrants to do the dirtiest, the most gruelling and lowest paid jobs. The purpose of their anti-immigrant campaign is to keep the working class divided, pitting one against the other and all against the "foreigner."

To this is added the "war on terror." Here the Islamic fundamentalists who were yesterday's allies in the imperialists' war against "godless communism" are today's enemies. Of course this is no war at all in any military sense. Rather, it is a political construct aimed at strengthening the capitalist state's machinery of repression against any perceived challenge to its rule.

It is surely not the case that the Soviet Union in its Stalinist degeneration was the beacon for world revolution that it was under Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Nonetheless, it was a counterweight to the untrammelled ambitions of the world's imperialists. Economically it not only demonstrated an alternative to capitalist exploitation but the superiority of a planned economy. Militarily it stayed the hand of the imperialist rulers, particularly the U.S., in the nuclear eradication of any perceived enemies. It was the military and industrial powerhouse of the states where capitalism had been eradicated. And now that it no longer exists, the imperialists have their sights aimed at the destruction of the remaining workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea; China, the largest and strongest of these states, is the big prize. All of the imperialist powers are jockeying both through economic and military means to reconquer China for imperialist exploitation.

PBS

Soviet military parade in Moscow. USSR's nuclear parity with U.S. helped stay hand of imperialism.

AP

U.S. military brutalizing captured Iraqis in Falluja, November 2004.

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has opened the door in whole areas of the country, the free-trade zones, to the imperialists and off-shore Chinese bourgeoisie. Their increasingly aggressive introduction of market reforms, or as they call it, "socialism with Chinese characteristics," has eroded the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Organisations like the Socialist Party and Workers Power, who joined in the chorus of Cold War anti-Communism against the Soviet Union, now simply write off China as capitalist. But that verdict has yet to be decided. It is not a question to be observed like a bug under a glass but one of real living social struggles. And there have been a lot of such struggles by the workers and peasants of China, and increasingly so.

We are not passive observers. The lessons of our interventions against the forces of capitalist counterrevolution from East Germany to the Soviet Union arm us for the fight to defend the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution against the forces of capitalism and for political revolution and the institution of the rule of workers and peasants soviets, based on proletarian democracy and revolutionary internationalism. The latter is the key, for the defence of the Chinese deformed workers state is an international one, linked to the fight for new October Revolutions in the imperialist centres.

Today we want to give you a picture of the revolutionary opportunities that existed, before the defeats that followed, and how we fought to seize on them to advance the cause of working people internationally. Looking back at these past fights is preparation for future struggles. This is particularly important today when the idea of the proletarian socialist liberation of humanity is at best considered some kind of idealist utopia. This too reflects the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which unleashed an ideological offensive by the imperialist rulers that "communism is dead" and that the destruction of the Soviet Union simply proved Marxism to be a "failed experiment."

Consciousness has been thrown back to the extent that today there is little identification among workers between their struggles and "socialism," however that was previously understood. For most youth, the idea that there even is a working class, much less the understanding that the proletariat has the social power and historic interest to bury the capitalist system, is considered some kind of antiquated Marxist notion. This is encouraged by endless gobbledegook churned out by the ideologues of the "anti-globalisation" movement who simply seek to give capitalism a more "democratic" and "humane" face-lift. And the putative "socialist" left has followed suit.

The SWP dares not breathe the word "socialism" in its Respect electoral coalition for fear of alienating its allies in the mosques. Even the mention of "secularism" is *verboten*. The Socialist Party, for whom the Labour Party's Clause IV, translated into "nationalising the commanding heights of the economy," was long presented as the epitome of "socialism," can barely even choke that out these days. It's reserved for what they used to call Sunday "speechifying," that is, when you present your "maximum" programme. Then there is Workers Power. In 1979 they saw Khomeini's mullahs as the ticket to a revolutionary mass movement. In the early 1980s, they saw Solidarność as such a vehicle, even while allowing that its aims were counterrevolutionary. Needless to say, their previous mass movements didn't work out too well. Now they look to the European and World Social Forums as the vehicle for building a new "revolutionary" international. This has all the promise of their previous endeavours. These social forums are nothing other than the vehicles for class collaboration and for various out-of-power popular frontists to get back into the business of ruling with and for the capitalist class.

The Impact of the 1917 Russian Revolution

In preparing for this presentation, I went back and re-read a speech by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, given on the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1942, amidst the carnage of World War II and following the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's war machine. He spoke to the impact of the Russian Revolution amidst another period of reaction brought on by World War I:

> "I can remember the dark days of the First World War, 1914-1918. Then as now, all the hopes for humanity's progress seemed to be drowned in the blood of the war. Reaction seemed to be triumphant everywhere. The enemies of the proletariat gloated over the treachery and capitulation of the socialist parties [which had lined up behind their "own" capitalist rulers in the war]; and to many—to the great majority, I venture to say—the theory and the hope of socialism seemed vanished like a utopian dream. And then, as now...fainthearts and deserters mocked at those who continued the stubborn struggle and held on to the revolutionary faith. The whole world labor movement was overcome with depression and despair in 1914-1917.
>
> "But the Russian Revolution of November 7 changed all that overnight. At one blow, the revolution lifted the proletariat of Europe to its feet again. It stirred the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves who had never known political aspiration before, who had never dared to hope before. The Russian Revolution awakened them to the promise of a new life."
>
> —"The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution," *Speeches for Socialism* (1971)

The October Revolution created a workers state based on workers councils (soviets). The Soviet government expropriated both the Russian capitalist and imperialist holdings and repudiated outright Russia's massive debt to foreign bankers. It gave land to the peasants and self-determination to the many oppressed nations of the former tsarist empire. Laws discriminating against ethnic and national minorities, against women and homosexuals were eliminated. The revolutionary government declared that the state had no business interfering in the consensual sexual relations of the population whatever form they took. This statement would have the "no sex please we're British" left in this country—who go into a frenzy over our defence of Michael Jackson against the American state's anti-sex, racist witchhunters—in an uproar.

The Soviet government proclaimed the right of working people to jobs, health, housing and education, and took the first steps to building a socialist society. But as Marx put it, "Right can never stand any higher than the material conditions on which it is based." Today there are all sorts of new "theories" that you can win without taking power, or that the road to liberation lies through the utopia of building "autonomous" zones which somehow will be free of capitalist exploitation. But the fight for the emancipation of humanity is not some kind of mental act by good-willed, right-thinking people. Nor can it be achieved while scarcity remains, which simply perpetuates the fight for survival. As Marx understood, the eradication of the exploitation of man by man must necessarily be based on conditions of material plenty.

There is great material abundance in the world, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries. Our job is to seize that wealth, overwhelmingly created through the labour of the masses of working people, from the hands of capitalist owners who expropriate the fruits of this labour for their own profit. Only the working class has the social power—deriving from its role in production, its numbers and organisation—and the clear objective interest to eradicate the capitalist system. What it lacks is the political consciousness and revolutionary leadership to wage such a struggle. It is that critical element that the Bolshevik Party brought to the workers of Russia.

But the material conditions for the actual development of a socialist society did not exist in backward Russia, nor do they exist within the confines of any one country. From the beginning, the Bolsheviks understood that the fledgling Soviet workers state would not survive unless the revolution was extended internationally to more advanced capitalist countries. They saw the October Revolution as the opening of a Europe-wide workers revolution, and indeed at the end of the war a wave of revolutionary upheavals swept Europe. The social democrats—who had gone over to the side of "their own" imperialist rulers during the war—acted to save the rule of the bourgeoisie from the working class. The newly founded Communist parties, which had been formed in response to the example of the Russian Revolution, were too weak and inexperienced to lead these revolutionary upsurges to victory.

continued on page 6

July 1920: Lenin addresses Petrograd demonstration commemorating heroes of world proletariat during Second Congress of Communist International. Inset: First issue of journal of CI, founded in 1919.

Planeta

ICL...

(continued from page 5)

The capitalist world surrounded and isolated the Soviet Union. From 1918 to 1920 the revolution had to fight for its very survival in a civil war, when the forces of every major imperialist power intervened on the side of the counter-revolutionary White Guards. The already backward economy was almost completely devastated through World War I and the ensuing civil war. The vibrant proletariat which had accomplished the 1917 Revolution had practically ceased to exist as a class, and famine ravished the countryside. But even under these conditions, in 1923 when an extraordinary revolutionary crisis shook Germany, the workers of the Soviet Union rallied to its cause. The German workers looked to the German Communist Party, the KPD, to lead them. But the leadership of the KPD looked to the left wing of the Social Democracy as an "ally," and they let the opportunity for proletarian insurrection pass.

This defeat had an enormous impact in the Soviet Union, leading to a wave of demoralisation among the already ravaged proletariat. Out of these conditions of scarcity and backwardness, and the isolation of the Soviet workers state arose a conservative, nationalist bureaucracy headed by Stalin. At the beginning of 1924 this bureaucracy seized political power out of the hands of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard. Repudiating the very programme of revolutionary proletarian internationalism which had led to the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, and which continued to be defended by Trotsky's Left Opposition, the bureaucracy came up with the anti-Marxist "theory" of "socialism in one country" as the ideological justification for its rule. The bureaucracy consolidated its power by destroying the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party through the blood purges of the infamous Moscow Trials. The Communist International was turned from an instrument for world revolution into the foot soldiers of the Kremlin's efforts to seek "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism in the name of "building socialism in one country."

As we wrote in "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?"—one of the early articles that we translated into Russian for our intervention into the Soviet Union—"After January 1924, ***the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled*** and ***the purposes for which the USSR was ruled*** had all changed" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989). But this was a political not a social counterrevolution. The collectivised property forms created by the October Revolution were not destroyed but remained as gains for the workers of the world. While waging a relentless struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Trotskyists fought unstintingly for the defence of these gains against world imperialism and counterrevolution.

At the same time, the situation was very unstable. The rule and privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy derived from their position on top of the Soviet workers state. But they simultaneously acted as the transmission belt for the relentless and hostile pressures of world imperialism which was committed to the destruction of the workers state. The 1938 Transitional Programme, the founding document of

THE MILITANT
15 August 1942

Leon Trotsky Defender of The USSR

By GEORGE COLLINS

TROTSKY'S WORKS LIVE ON IN HEROIC RED ARMY

Pathfinder

Trotskyist SWP of James Cannon (inset) upheld military defense of Soviet Union during World War II.

Trotsky's Fourth International, defined the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state and laid out two basic historical alternatives confronting it:

> "The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains ***a degenerated workers' state***. Such is the social diagnosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back to capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."

Yet this very unstable and very contradictory situation continued on for over another 50 years. Why was that? The answer lies in the outcome of World War II.

The Aftermath of World War II

During World War II and ever since, the lie has been peddled—as it was again at this year's VE day celebrations—that World War II was the "great democratic war against fascism." In fact, like World War I, it was an interimperialist war, a battle for markets and greater spheres of influence and domination by the imperialist powers. Like the Bolsheviks in World War I, the Trotskyists' policy was one of intransigent defeatism towards all the imperialist bourgeoisies. This meant fighting to transform the imperialist war into a civil war—into proletarian revolutionary struggle against all of the imperialist combatants. At the same time, the Trotskyists fought for the world's working class to come to the defence of the Soviet Union from the blows of the capitalist enemies of whatever camp.

Trotsky had predicted, and with great justification, that World War II would shatter the bureaucracy and would provoke revolutionary upsurges of the proletariat, just as had been the outcome of World War I. Stalin did bring the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster: he beheaded the Red Army and ignored repeated and desperate warnings from heroic Soviet spies like Leopold Trepper in Nazi Germany and Richard Sorge in Japan of the imminent invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's Nazis. Nonetheless it was the Soviet Union that defeated the Nazis, at the cost of well over 20 million dead. As Cannon remarked in his 1942 speech:

> "[The] economic strength of the Soviet regime, and the strength of the revolutionary tradition, are being reflected now in the military field. The whole world has been surprised and astounded by the military prowess of the Red Army. All the military experts counted upon a defeat of the Russian armies in the space of a few weeks or months.... The Trotskyists were not taken by surprise. Trotsky predicted that imperialist attack on the Soviet Union would unleash marvels of proletarian enthusiasm and fighting capacity in the Red Army. He could do that because he, better than others, understood that the great motive power of the victorious revolution had not all been expended. The Red Army that the world hails is an army created by a proletarian revolution. This revolution lives in the memory of the Soviet people. That and the basic conquests, which they still retain and upon which they stand, constitute the basis upon which the Red Army has unfolded such unparalleled capacity for defense and resistance and heroic sacrifice."

Defeating the Nazi forces in the battle of Stalingrad, the Red Army swept through Eastern Europe and straight into Berlin and smashed the Third Reich. The other regimes in Eastern Europe—overwhelmingly collaborators with the Nazis—fled to the nearest American headquarters, leaving behind a power vacuum. In the aftermath of the war, the imperialists turned on their erstwhile Soviet "allies" with the launch of Cold War I, aimed at the "containment" and destruction of the Soviet Union. In the face of this renewed imperialist offensive, the Stalinists moved to establish deformed workers states throughout Eastern Europe and in the Soviet-occupied East Germany as a "buffer zone." The ruling classes, whose power had been smashed, were expropriated. However, with the exception of Yugoslavia, where Tito's partisans prevailed in a peasant guerrilla war, these expropriations took place from without, through cold social transformations from the top down. The workers states were deformed from the outset—the mirror image of the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union—as collectivised property forms predominated under the political rule of nationalist bureaucracies. The Soviet military forces were effectively the state power, and nowhere was this more true than in East Germany, which was the front-line state directly facing the imperialist West.

The expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of deformed workers states represented tremendous gains, which we defended. But as Trotsky wrote of the earlier Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland, the central question was the impact of these social transformations on "the consciousness and organization of the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for defending former conquests and accomplishing new ones." There was no such consciousness and organisation of the proletariat leading to the social transformations in Eastern Europe. While the Soviet victory over Hitler's Nazis was testimony to the continued impact of the memory of the October Revolution, this was increasingly supplanted by the Stalinist bureaucracy with a defencist national patriotism. Coming out of the war there were revolutionary situations in Italy and Greece and massive strikes in France, Belgium and other countries. But these struggles were disarmed, in some cases literally, and overall politically, by the Stalinist parties. These parties wielded the renewed authority which had accrued to them coming out of the Soviet victory to push the class-collaborationist programme of keeping class peace with the so-called "democratic" bourgeoisie. Thus, in terms of the central political criterion of the impact on consciousness, organisation and capacity of the proletariat to defend former conquests and fight for new ones, the role of the Stalinists confirmed what Trotsky had written earlier: "From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, completely retains its reactionary character and remains the chief obstacle on the road to the world revolution."

Cold War II and the Unravelling of "Socialism in One Country"

Economically, the Soviet Union demonstrated the vast superiority of a collectivised planned economy over capitalism. But this was distorted, limited and deformed under the bureaucracy and its dogma of "socialism in one country." In his 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky analysed the vast contradictions of the Soviet degenerated workers state:

> "It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the further you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow.... Under a nationalized economy, ***quality*** demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."

Economic planning can be effective only when the workers identify themselves with the government that issues the plans. And to identify with the government means workers must rule through soviets. When they are alienated from the government, the plan will be subverted from the base: the formal target plans may be met, but by poor quality goods. Raw materials will be used wastefully and state-owned supplies diverted into the black [underground] economy. All of these conditions were present in the Soviet Union over the course of decades. By the late 1970s, the contradictions of "building socialism in one country" would

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come dramatically to the fore.

In the early part of that decade, the Soviet Union had achieved rough military parity with U.S. imperialism, which was hogged down in its long, losing, dirty war in Vietnam. The Soviet economy also got a big boost from the rising world market price of oil. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, the living standards of the population increased dramatically. The states in Eastern Europe were also beneficiaries as the Soviet Union supplied them with oil at a fraction of the world market price.

But all of this began to change in the mid-to-late 1970s. Defeated by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, U.S. imperialism began to rearm itself, building up a huge military arsenal directed against the USSR, which had been the central target of the imperialists since the 1917 Revolution. This began under Democratic Party president Jimmy Carter and his "human rights" campaign for a whole cabal of Soviet dissidents. The aim here was the "moral rearmament" of U.S. imperialism, to overcome the American population's deep distrust of the government and to refurbish the tarnished "democratic" and military credentials of U.S. imperialism.

This renewed Cold War got red hot with the intervention of the Soviet Army into Afghanistan at the end of 1979. As we wrote in our article "The Russian Question Point Blank" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 29, Summer 1980):

> "Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of détente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state. It has stripped away all diplomatic cover for Washington's alliance with Maoist/Stalinist China. And it has confronted the left inescapably with 'the Russian Question': the nature of the state originating in the Bolshevik Revolution and its conflict with world capitalism.
>
> "For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open is the understatement of the year."

We said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the Octoher Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

It should have been a reflexive response for any self-respecting leftist or radical to take the side of the Red Army in a war where they were fighting not only in defence of women from barbaric reaction but the defence of the gains of the October Revolution. But overwhelmingly the generation of leftist radicals who only years earlier were marching in mass protest against the Vietnam War chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" now found themselves on the side of U.S. imperialism against the Red Army. The likes of Tariq Ali, who during the Vietnam War was the epitome of "anti-imperialist" radicalism, reportedly even the model for the Rolling Stones song "Street Fighting Man," wasn't street fighting anymore. He was baying along with the imperialists demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

Here was a big change in political period. It had been somewhat fashionable to be a leftist during the Vietnam War. At the time, most radicals identified with Marxism as the road to liberation, regardless of how they might have understood that. But now the winds were blowing in a distinctly different direction, as Cold War anti-Communism was the order of the day. While the left's support for Khomeini's mullahs in the 1979 "Iranian Revolution" was the precursor to siding with the imperialist-backed forces of Islamic reaction in Afghanistan, they really went whole-hog behind counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Poland. After all, here was a "movement" commanding the allegiance of masses of Polish workers. How had this happened?

Der Spiegel

AP

Soviet intervention opened road to extending gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples. Top right: Afghan women mobilized against U.S.-backed *mujahedin*, 1985. Right: Women, children on Kabul street, 1996, under Islamic reactionary rule.

These were the bitter fruits of Stalinist misrule, which had come to a head under the weight of burgeoning foreign debts. As I said before, in the early 1970s the Soviet Union had heavily subsidised the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe, particularly with cut-price oil as well as other raw materials. But by the mid-1970s, the oil prices were jacked up and the shipments cut down so that the Soviets could sell on the world market. This itself is a savage indictment of "socialism in one country." At the same time, these countries were hit by a world capitalist recession, which collapsed their export markets. To maintain employment and living standards, the East European Stalinist regimes turned to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. Having mortgaged their countries to the Western banks to meet their debt payments, these regimes imposed ever more severe austerity programmes dictated by the IMF. In Poland the economic crisis drove the historically socialist Polish workers into the arms of Solidarność, which was heavily backed and bankrolled by the Vatican and the CIA.

The Gorbachev Regime

At the same time, all the contradictions, deformities and limitations of the "socialism in one country" which Trotsky had so brilliantly analysed in *The Revolution Betrayed* were also coming to a head in the Soviet Union. Under the increasing military pressure of U.S. imperialism, and trying to preserve domestic stability at home through maintaining living standards (not to mention the bureaucrats handsomely enriching themselves), economic growth had fallen by about half under the corrupt Brezhnev regime. Here again they ran up against the limitations imposed by their own bureaucratic rule when it came to the technical and scientific innovation needed for the renewal of Soviet industry. Hostile to workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism, the only means at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy to raise labour productivity was to subject workers and managers to the discipline of market competition. Coming to power in 1985, the new "modernising" regime of Mikhail Gorbachev introduced *perestroika*—"market reforms." To increase productivity, workers' wages were geared to profitability; piece rates were reintroduced, widening income differences between workers, managers and the technical elite; factory was pitted against factory, industry against industry in the struggle for resources and consumers. It fuelled nationalism and the break-up of the USSR, pitting far richer, more industrialised areas against more backward, less industrialised ones.

Underlying this growing inequality was the appetite, especially among a layer of younger bureaucratic functionaries and intellectuals, to enrich themselves at the expense of the working class. A privileged layer, many of them the sons and daughters of the bureaucracy, envied the indulgences of their counterparts in the West. This was reflected in increasingly open expressions of belief in the superiority of Western-style capitalism.

To relieve the overhead of military expenditures in the face of the increasing military build-up of U.S. imperialism, the Gorbachev regime offered a "partnership" to the imperialists. Here Afghanistan was key, and in 1989 the Red Army troops were withdrawn. Days before the last troops left, on 7 February 1989, the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., sent a telegram to the Afghan government offering to "organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend "the right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education." We anticipated drawing into this international effort the ranks of militant fighters in many parts of the globe who would see in such a brigade the opportunity to strike a powerful blow against the imperialist system by which they themselves were oppressed and dispossessed. We also saw that this could have a powerful effect among the Soviet army veterans who saw themselves as performing their internationalist duty in Afghanistan. This would have been an important lever for advancing the programme of revolutionary internationalism and proletarian political revolution within the Soviet Union itself.

Though our offer of a brigade was turned down, the Afghan government did ask if we could undertake a publicity and fund-raising effort for the embattled citizens of Jalalabad, then under siege by the bloodthirsty *mujahedin*. We raised over $44,000, largely from working people and minorities, a number of whom had their origins in the region. But this campaign had greater significance. It showed that with the betrayal of Afghanistan, as well as developments in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China, the absence of a communist party worth its name was acutely felt. And in 1989 we founded ourselves as the International Communist League.

The withdrawal from Afghanistan was the opening act of the counterrevolutionary tide that would engulf Eastern Europe and then the Soviet Union itself. In 1992 this was admitted by Eduard Shevardnadze, then Soviet foreign minister, who said: "The decision to leave Afghanistan was the first and most difficult step. Everything else flowed from that" (*Washington Post*, 16 November 1992). Less than a year later, the Kremlin bureaucrats would pull the plug on the East German deformed workers state, giving the green light for capitalist annexation of the DDR by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. This will be addressed in the remarks of other speakers here today.

I will simply conclude where I began. Our fight to defend the gains that were embodied in these workers states, however warped and deformed by Stalinist misrule, and our fight today in defence of China and the remaining workers states was and is part of our struggle for new October Revolutions. As Trotsky said: "Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." The period we live in now, one conditioned by the destruction of the world's first workers state, is deeply reactionary. But the lessons of past struggles are the ammunition for arming new cadre for the struggles that can and will break out. Out of such struggles will further be steeled the cadre for building a revolutionary, internationalist proletarian vanguard—the crucial instrument for the socialist liberation of humanity.■

Peter Turnley

AP

Left: Chinese workers join students at Tiananmen Square, May 1989. Right: Migrant workers in Beijing barricade construction site demanding unpaid wages, January 2003. Proletarian political revolution is key to defending and extending gains of 1949 Revolution.

Big Lies...

(continued from page 1)

opposition to the reactionary Afghan Taliban and the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein, both former allies of U.S. imperialism. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. Insofar as fighters in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and their Iraqi security forces, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. However, we vehemently oppose the fundamentalism, indiscriminate terror and communal violence as the opposite of everything we Marxists stand for.

Growing opposition in the U.S. population to the Iraq occupation, revulsion over the government's role in the death and destruction of black people and the poor after Hurricane Katrina, anger at the attacks on fundamental democratic rights—the situation speaks to the burning need to build a workers party that would organize *class struggle* against the U.S. capitalist rulers. The fight against imperialist war cannot be separated from the struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such war. Only when the multiracial proletariat seizes power from the blood-drenched, arrogant capitalist rulers can we begin to speak of a world rid of imperialist wars and occupations and offering material security and social justice for all.

War Lies and More Lies

Deceit, manipulation and cynical "spin" are not the bailiwick of a handful of especially venal politicians; they are part of the normal workings of a political system whose purpose is to protect the profits and rule of a tiny class of exploiters from the masses of the population they exploit and oppress. Describing how the bourgeoisie conducts its foreign policy, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted in his 1918 polemic *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*: "In no bourgeois state, not even in the most democratic, is it conducted openly. The people are deceived everywhere, and in democratic France, Switzerland, America and Britain this is done on an incomparably wider scale and in an incomparably subtler manner than in other countries."

Daniel Ellsberg's autobiographical *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers* (2002) provides a fascinating insider's account of the endless lies manufactured by the government to conceal its aims from the populace, especially when it comes to waging war. Ellsberg recalls how, shortly after he took a job under Defense Secretary Robert McNamara during the Vietnam War, he received an urgent telephone call: "A Blue Springs drone has gone down in China. Bob is seeing the press at eight-thirty. We have ten minutes to write six alternative lies for him."

Repulsed by the horrible crimes carried out by the U.S. in Vietnam, Ellsberg in 1971 courageously made public a trove of secret documents, dubbed the Pentagon Papers, documenting over two decades of government lies and cover-ups. From his first day on the job in 1964, Ellsberg witnessed how Democratic president Lyndon Johnson fabricated out of whole cloth a phony "attack" on U.S. naval forces in the Gulf of Tonkin. This provided the pretext for a massive escalation in U.S. bombing and ground forces in Vietnam. Ellsberg recalls how on August 4 Johnson and McNamara

> "informed the American public that the North Vietnamese, for the second time in two days, had attacked U.S. warships on 'routine patrol in international waters'; that this was clearly a 'deliberate' pattern of 'naked aggression'; that the evidence for the second attack, like the first, was 'unequivocal'; that the attack had been 'unprovoked'; and that the United States, by responding in order to deter any repetition, intended no wider war.
>
> "By midnight on the fourth, or within a day or two, I knew that each one of these assurances was false."

The method was classic: Before Hitler attacked Poland in 1939, he had SS troops dressed in Polish uniforms stage a fake attack on the then-German city of Gleiwitz. The Nazi blitzkrieg against Poland was then presented by Hitler as a "counterattack."

Within three days of the Tonkin Gulf "incident," Congress—including virtually every one of the Democrats who would later be prominent fixtures on reformist antiwar platforms—approved a resolution authorizing Johnson to "take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force" in Southeast Asia. Claiming that the fall of the U.S. puppet regime in South Vietnam would have a "domino effect," leading to all Southeast Asia being swallowed up by Communist "totalitarianism," the U.S. imperialists waged a counterrevolutionary war against the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and its allied National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. The imperialists sought to suppress the struggle of the workers and peasants both against colonial domination and for social revolution and even had plans to nuke North Vietnam, which could not be carried out for fear of Soviet nuclear retaliation. The war ended in a defeat for U.S. imperialism that, for a period, demonstrated to many Americans that this country's rulers are neither good nor omnipotent. Furthermore, the Soviet degenerated workers state had been able to achieve rough nuclear parity with the U.S. These factors helped stay the hand of American imperialism from embarking on further military adventures.

We wrote about the government's history of deception in the service of war in the July 2003 *amici curiae* brief issued by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen who was seized as an "enemy combatant" at Chicago's O'Hare airport in May 2002 and who remains in government custody without charges. As the brief stated:

> "American history is replete with examples of outright fabrications and manipulation of truth used to coerce a reluctant populace to go to war and justify other military depredations. Americans marched into this country's first imperialist slaughter, the 1898 Spanish-American War, under the blood-curdling call to 'Remember the *Maine*,' based on the fiction that the battleship *Maine* was blown up by an enemy mine. In truth the explosion was caused by a faulty construction design."

The Hearst press played a forward role in mobilizing public support for that imperialist war. Less than two days after Spanish sailors had helped pull survivors from the sea, the *New York Journal* (17 February 1898) declared that the *Maine* "was split in two by an enemy's secret infernal machine."

U.S. entry into World War II was also prepared through government duplicity. In order to reverse isolationist sentiment, Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt deliberately provoked the Japanese into attacking U.S. military forces, thereby assuring U.S. imperialism's entry into the war. Many historians believe that the administration knew the attack was coming and did nothing about it in order to make it that much easier to declare war. As part of a deluge of racist war propaganda, *Time* magazine described the U.S. response to Pearl Harbor as "Why, the yellow bastards!" The snooty *New York Times* chimed in after one battle to describe the enemy as "a beast which sometimes stands erect."

At the close of the war, President Truman dropped two atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki despite knowledge that the Japanese were already trying to surrender. This was both an act of pure racist spite and an attempt to intimidate the Soviet Union and affect the postwar world order. Throughout the anti-Soviet Cold War, journalists for the *New York Times* and other major newspapers worked hand in glove with the CIA, passing information from pro-imperialist "dissidents" and others inside the Soviet bloc to Langley and Washington.

Truth and the *Times*

As the Pentagon Papers were being published by the *New York Times* in June 1971, Richard Nixon's aide, H. R. Haldeman, told the president: "The implicit infallibility of presidents, which has been an accepted thing in America, is badly hurt by this, because it shows that people do things the president wants to do even though it's wrong" (Daniel Ellsberg, *Secrets*). One year later, Nixon was up to his neck in the Watergate affair, which was triggered when burglars under the president's orders broke into the Democratic Party's National Committee offices. With Democrats and even some Republicans clamoring for his head, Nixon resigned in August 1974 under the threat of impending impeachment.

Why did the same capitalist press that loyally parroted every lie uttered by the Bush White House about Iraq defy the president back then? Where did the Democrats, so supine in the face of Bush's Iraq war, find the backbone to cross swords with Nixon? By the late 1960s the bourgeoisie was deeply split over the Vietnam War. A growing defeatist wing saw the war as a loser for U.S. imperialism and wanted to cut their losses. Nixon was also called to order because he had broken the unwritten rules of the game by using against the capitalist Democratic Party the sort of "dirty tricks" that the FBI had long employed against leftists and black militants.

In 1998, the Republican right spearheaded a drive to impeach Democratic president Clinton for a consensual sexual affair. The Democrats have raised no such calls in regard to Bush despite his record of murderous lies over Iraq. Even John Dean, who served as White House counsel during the Watergate affair, says Bush should be impeached for lying about Saddam Hussein's supposed weapons of mass destruction. The capitalist rulers, Democrats included, generally do not tamper lightly with the imperial presidency. Moreover, there is broad agreement in the ruling class that to pull out of Iraq now would be an unacceptable sign of weakness and vulnerability. And whatever their feelings about particular provisions of the USA Patriot Act, Democrats are fundamentally at one with the Republicans on the "war on terror."

George W. Bush certainly does not feel any more constrained by bourgeois legal and political norms than Nixon did. A case in point is the leaking of the identity of CIA agent Valerie Plame. It is a violation of the bourgeoisie's own rules to out their secret agents. The leak was retaliation by the administration for an op-ed piece by Joseph Wilson, former U.S. ambassador to Gabon and Plame's husband, who blew out of the water Bush's lies about a supposed Iraqi nuclear weapons program. Appearing in the *New York Times* (6 July 2003), the article revealed that in early 2002 Wilson had been sent by the CIA to Niger in an effort to verify Saddam Hussein's attempt to obtain yellow-cake uranium. Upon his return, Wilson informed both the CIA and the State Department that there was no such attempt. Following Wilson's piece, right-wing columnist Robert Novak revealed Plame's identity.

As a result of the investigation into the source of that leak, Judith Miller was imprisoned for contempt of court for refusing to testify about her alleged contact with an administration official, now revealed to be I. Lewis Libby, Vice President Cheney's chief of staff. Miller was and is a most unlikely standard-bearer

PBS

AFP

***Times* flack Miller, embedded with Army "WMD" search unit in Iraq, was mouthpiece for Bush's war lies. Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld with prime Miller "source," Ahmad Chalabi, in 2003.**

USN

Democratic Johnson administration fabricated August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident to escalate Vietnam War. Early the following year, Johnson launched massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam.

The New York Times.

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for the notion of a free and independent press. Soon after the September 11 attacks, Miller began churning out stories about nuclear and chemical weapons sites in Iraq allegedly retailed by shadowy Iraqi defectors.

An 8 September 2002 *New York Times* article by Miller and *Times* military affairs correspondent Michael Gordon promoted the story that aluminum tubes procured by Iraq were intended for production of atomic bombs. What Miller and Gordon presented as undisputed fact was being debated even in U.S. intelligence agencies. In fact, the aluminum was used for rocket components. A 12 November 2002 *Times* article by Miller implied that Iraq was preparing to use nerve gas against U.S. troops. A Miller "exclusive" in the 3 December 2002 *Times* was headlined: "C.I.A. Hunts Iraq Tie to Soviet Smallpox."

When the war began in March 2003, Miller was the *only* reporter embedded with the U.S. military's Mobile Exploitation Team (MET) Alpha, whose mission was to find evidence of WMDs. Miller flaunted her connections to the military brass and Bush administration, and in one incident forced the reversal of an Army commander's order withdrawing the unit from the field. In April, she told the *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* that MET Alpha had found "more than a 'smoking gun'... what they found is a silver bullet," an Iraqi scientist who claimed firsthand knowledge of chemical and biological weapons. Miller further claimed that they had found "building blocks of what you would need to put together a chemical or a biological weapon."

After it was clear to all that this was a pack of lies, the 26 May 2004 *Times* ran a major statement from the editors claiming that "editors at several levels" were not sufficiently skeptical of tales provided by "Iraqi defectors," thus providing fall guys for Gordon and Miller (who is not even mentioned in the *Times*'s "confession"). Miller and her superiors at the *Times* no doubt saw her imprisonment as a way to refurbish their tarnished credentials. But even the deal she cut with federal prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald that got her out of jail is raising some eyebrows. Miller was made to testify only about her discussions with Libby to the grand jury investigating the leaks about Valerie Plame. Miller, however, never even wrote about Plame. As Russ Hoyle, a former senior editor at *Time* and the New York *Daily News*, wrote in a 2 October online article, "Whose Skin Is Judith Miller Really Trying to Save?":

> "The chattering classes so far have completely ignored the possibility that what Miller is so determined to protect may have nothing to do with the Plame case. "It may, however, have plenty to do with I. Lewis 'Scooter' Libby...whom Miller met with on July 8, 2003 and spoke with at least once more that week, along with other unnamed officials, after her return from Iraq and the unsuccessful U.S. search for Saddam's weapons. *And it may have everything to do with protecting the White House officials who leaked classified intelligence—not about Valerie Plame to Robert Novak in the summer of 2003—but to Miller herself about Iraq's allegedly reconstituted nuclear weapons program in September 2002*" (emphasis added).

Imperial War Museum

As Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Leon Trotsky, shown arriving at January 1918 Brest-Litovsk talks with Germany, oversaw publication of tsarist regime's secret treaties.

Democratic Rights and the Working Class

Among the leftists who took up Miller's cause was the Internationalist Group which, while noting her role as "a conduit for official disinformation," headlined its article "Free Judith Miller!" and called her jailing "an ominous attempt to throttle the press" (*Internationalist*, July 2005).

Culver

1898: U.S. troops landing on Cuba's Daiquirí Beach during Spanish-American War. Hearst press spread jingoist lie about destruction of *Maine* as pretext for imperialist war.

Certainly, the Bush administration, obsessed with shaping the President's image as something grander than that of a bungling idiot, has tried fiercely to stamp out critical commentary in the mainstream media. When *Newsweek* reported that military guards at Guantánamo had sought to degrade Muslim prisoners by flushing a Koran down the toilet, government arm-twisting forced a retraction. Soon after, the Pentagon's own report on Guantánamo showed that desecration of the Koran is standard operating procedure, including an incident in which a guard urinated on a prisoner's Koran. Meanwhile, the capitalist media, by kowtowing to their White House masters with apologies for occasionally leaking a bit of truth, help chill free speech and assist the government's assault on civil liberties and the right to dissent.

Marxists are intransigent defenders of democratic rights. However, the solidarity-with-Miller brouhaha turns the question of free speech and the public's right to be informed totally on its head. Judith Miller is no Daniel Ellsberg. This is not a case of the press being harassed for exposing government lies—it is, in fact, the polar opposite. The "confidential source" protected by Miller was not some whistle-blower who needs protection from vindictive government higher-ups, but those selfsame higher-ups, the Bush administration.

As Marxists, we look at all issues, including questions of democratic rights, from a proletarian class standpoint—the standpoint of the interests of the working class in furthering the struggle for socialist revolution. The jailing of journalists has a chilling effect on free speech, but this is not the central issue in Miller's case. Her right to not divulge her sources is decidedly secondary to the need for the fullest possible exposure of the Bush administration's lies, which she duly retailed, that served as the pretext for the colonial war of occupation of Iraq. Such exposure aids in further tearing through the "national unity" hysteria whipped up after the September 11 terrorist attacks. The climate of unity against "terrorism"—unity extending from the Republicans and Democrats to the trade-union bureaucracy and civil liberties organizations—goes a long way to explaining the lack of struggle against Bush's wholesale attacks on democratic rights and the labor movement.

Take the case of Wen Ho Lee, an American nuclear scientist originally from Taiwan who was subjected to a witchhunt and arrested in December 1999 on frame-up charges, castigated in the press as a possible spy for the People's Republic of China. Lee eventually filed a civil suit claiming that Justice Department, FBI and Energy Department officials had leaked information about him and his family to the press when he was under investigation for allegedly spying for China. In August 2004, four reporters were held in contempt of court for refusing to name confidential sources for their articles on the case, which helped create a climate of hysteria around the supposed "Chinese spy." Lee's right to uncover the truth in his case outweighs the right of the journalists to maintain "confidentiality."

Under bourgeois democracy, which is simply one, historically conditioned form of capitalist rule, democratic rights exist, in the first instance, for the benefit of the capitalists. The extension of democratic rights to the rest of the population, and in particular to the oppressed black masses, has required massive social and class struggle and even civil war. As we wrote in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. ("For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!", November 2000):

> "Despite the hypocritical preachings of 'democracy for all,' the only rights to which the bourgeoisie is unalterably committed are those which enforce its property relations—the right to hold private property, to own the basic means of production, to employ wage labor, etc. Those specifically proletarian rights which may exist under bourgeois democracy—like the right to picket, to strike, to organize unions—are wrested from the bourgeoisie and maintained only through the independent action of the proletariat. Even broader democratic rights (free speech and assembly, trial by a jury of one's peers, etc.) are secured under capitalism, especially for working people and the oppressed, through social struggle and are eminently reversible in the absence of such struggle."

The manifold discontents in this society need to be directed against the capitalist class enemy, with the social power of the multiracial proletariat mobilized on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. For such a struggle to go forward to victory, it is necessary to forge a workers party to lead a socialist revolution that breaks the power of the bourgeoisie and establishes workers rule.

One of the first orders of business of a workers government would be to open the files of the former capitalist government and publicize the truth behind its lies and secrets to the world's working people. This was precisely what the Soviet workers state under V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky did shortly after the Bolshevik Party led the working class to power in the October Revolution of 1917. The publication by the Bolsheviks of the secret 1916 Sykes-Picot treaty, in which the British and French imperialists conspired to carve up the Near East following World War I, had an electrifying effect across the region. This contributed to a series of national revolts and popular uprisings triggered by the Bolshevik Revolution in the broad swath then occupied by British forces from Egypt to Iran. In 1919, the Soviet government made public and annulled the secret treaties imposed by the tsarist regime on China and renounced Russian claims in Manchuria. This helped further the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement, out of which came a number of those who would form the Chinese Communist Party.

In his 1938 pamphlet "Their Morals and Ours," Trotsky wrote of Lenin's Bolshevik Party: "Wherever it could, it, of course, deceived the class enemies; on the other hand it told the toilers the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Only thanks to this did it succeed in winning their trust to a degree never before achieved by any other party in the world." Telling the toilers the truth was and is key to advancing revolutionary consciousness in the proletariat, whose historic destiny is to be the gravedigger of the capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and imperialist war. ■

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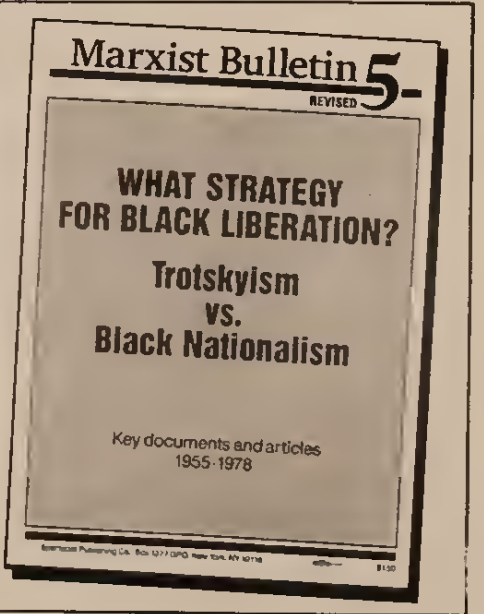


Lash-Up...

(continued from page 12)

supporter is Bill Clinton, who as president supported the 1995 "atonement" rally and now tells the black newspaper *Amsterdam News* (10 May) that the Millions More March "is a very positive idea." This is the man whose response to the Gulf Coast disaster was to rush to the side of George W. Bush, along with Bush Sr.

Whatever their words about "class independence," the work that the Million Worker March Movement is doing today to channel anger at Bush among trade unionists and black people into the Democrats is what the MWMM was set up to do in the first place. In building the October 2004 "Million Worker March" in Washington, D.C., Chris Silvera, secretary-treasurer of New York Teamsters Local 808, called it "a crucial vehicle for voter mobilization. The timing of it, coming two weeks before the election makes the march the cheapest, most effective get-out-the-vote initiative ever undertaken by the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO." We summed up this outfit at the time in our headline, "Million Worker March: Tail of Lesser-Evilism" (*WV* No. 831, 3 September 2004). It is a sign of the demoralization of the labor misleadership that, coming off Kerry's defeat, its "left" components are doing the donkey work for the anti-working-class, reactionary demagogue Farrakhan. But it's not just the left-talking types: Teamsters president James P. Hoffa has also thrown his support behind Farrakhan's march.

Reuters

Georgia unionists rally in support of UPS Teamsters strike, 1997.

Rubbish Recycled

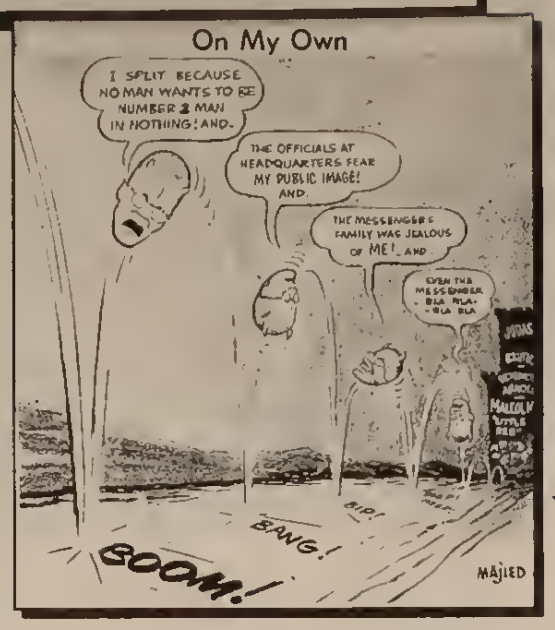
Trying to clean up his act, Farrakhan is trumpeting a call for "unity with our Brown, Red, disenfranchised and oppressed Brothers and Sisters in America, Carihbean, Central and South America, Asia and all over the world." But this march is truly rotten garbage in recycled pails. As Farrakhan did ten years ago, the Millions More Movement today offers the rulers the benefit of the division of the oppressed into antagonistic sectors while promoting religious superstition, which feeds anti-woman, anti-gay bigotry and preaches guilt and appeasement instead of struggle.

4 December 1964 **Muhammad Speaks** 10 April 1964

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.



Farrakhan: the man who wanted Malcolm X dead. Nation of Islam condemned Malcolm X in months before 1965 assassination. Farrakhan (then Louis X) declared him "worthy of death."

One of the ten listed "issues" of the Millions More Movement is "Atonement, Reconciliation and Responsibility" in the "name of our God (The One Creator)."

Farrakhan also, as always, offers bankrupt notions of black capitalism. We agree with Malcolm X when he said, "You show me a capitalist, and I'll show you a bloodsucker." Calling for a "Black Economic Development Fund," the Millions More Movement says it "will produce and distribute its own products and supports 'Buy Black' campaigns," which can only aim to *drive out* competing Asian, Arab and Latino shopkeepers from the ghettos.

In a speech to the September 24 anti-war demonstration in San Francisco, Clarence Thomas ludicrously claimed that the "honorable Louis Farrakhan is evolving to embrace the class struggle"! The pseudo-socialist Workers World Party, chief publicity agent for the MWMM on the left, lauds Farrakhan's new "theme of unity" bringing together "those of us of different ideologies, philosophies, methodologies, denominations, sects and religions, political and fraternal affiliations" (*Workers World*, 29 September).

A "theme of unity" with gays and women? For the Nation of Islam, homosexuality is a "sin." When Farrakhan looks at oppressed black women, he sees a slave in the kitchen who should go to hell for having an abortion. In a 22 August *Final Call* article titled, "Women Mobilize for the Millions More Movement," Farrakhan sneers, "Today you hardly know how to boil an egg and you want to get married. Women have become a top breadwinner.... The woman is in a degenerative state." The social backwardness at the core of the Millions More March was reconfirmed by the vile remarks of Washington, D.C. Baptist Reverend Willie Wilson, national executive director of the march, who ranted in a July 3 sermon that "lesbianism is about to take over our community" and that black families are breaking up because women are making more money than men.

Lamenting Wilson's comments as "unfortunate" was the International Socialist Organization (ISO). But whatever the ISO's misgivings, its newspaper *Socialist Worker* (22 July) calls the march a "desperately needed response to the myriad of attacks that African Americans have endured" and states that "organizers promise that this year's mobilization...will be different—and will welcome women and gays, socialists and others who support its goals." This is a shameless apology for anti-gay, anti-Semitic bigotry. A key organizer of the march is all-purpose bigot Malik Zulu Shabazz, protégé of the now-deceased, equally demagogic Khallid Muhammad. Shabazz gained widespread attention in 1994 when he gave a warm-up speech for Muhammad that blamed "the Jews" for everything from killing Nat Turner, the leader of an 1831 slave rebellion, to controlling the Federal Reserve.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Last month, Million Worker March organizers including Thomas and Silvera joined Shahazz, Wilson and Farrakhan to meet with Hurricane Katrina survivors in Houston. Shortly after Silvera's return, he spoke at the September 15 New York City united-front rally initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of Lynne Stewart, Mumia Abu-Jamal and Assata Shakur and against "war on terror" repression. Saying that "the time for revolution is here and now," Silvera had nothing to say about actual class struggle, instead calling on the audience to go to Washington for Farrakhan's march.

In the discussion period, a TWU Local 100 transit worker responded to Silvera (who had to leave the meeting early). After speaking of the need to mobilize labor to "get rid of this rotten system and set up a system that's actually operated for human need," the unionist addressed the treacherous role of the labor bureaucrats in abandoning any real struggle in the past period, for example by not backing up the embattled AMFA mechanics on strike against Northwest Airlines, and stated:

> "They just can't resist support to Democratic Party lesser-evilism because that's what's 'realistic.' The Million Worker March in 2004 was seen, and Chris said it, as the best vehicle to get out the vote for Kerry—the guy who said he could run the Iraq war better, the guy who'd really prosecute the war on terrorism. Our union has gone and endorsed [NYC Democratic Party mayoral candidate] Fernando Ferrer. This is the guy who said it's not a crime to pump 41 bullets into Amadou Diallo. And what about the rest of them: Abner Louima, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs—the list is

L.A. Cops Beat NOI Official
Hands Off Tony Muhammad!

We print below a September 19 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to the Los Angeles City Attorney.

On August 25, LAPD officers beat and arrested yet another black man in Los Angeles. It would normally go unreported, but this time the victim was Tony Muhammad, western regional director of the Nation of Islam. His battered and swollen face provided ample proof of police brutality. *Los Angeles Sentinel* publisher Danny Bakewell said on Muhammad's behalf: "The attack was unprovoked. He was wrestled to the ground, pepper-sprayed in his face, and once he was on the ground he was kicked brutally and punched in the mouth." Eyewitnesses have given similar accounts.

Muhammad's beating follows a string of recent police shootings and attacks on the black and Latino residents of Los Angeles. In 2002, black teenager Donovan Jackson-Chavis was brutally battered by Inglewood cops. The two main perpetrators went free and then last January were awarded $2.4 million! Shortly thereafter, the L.A. County District Attorney announced that no charges would be brought against the cops who beat Stanley Miller. Three days later, in February, the LAPD shot dead Devin Brown, an unarmed black 13-year-old. In May of this year, L.A. County sheriffs turned black Compton into a free-fire zone as if they were an occupying army. In July, the LAPD SWAT team blew away a 19-month-old Latina baby, Suzie Peña, as they gunned down her father in a hail of bullets in Watts. The official contempt for black life demonstrated in New Orleans has long been enforced here in L.A. by the brutal everyday cop treatment of blacks and Latinos.

Those who protest the police also become targets. Muhammad's vicious beating by the cops occurred at a vigil for Nahun Beaird in Hyde Park, during which mourners protested police harassment of the vigil. The LAPD grotesquely claims that Muhammad joined a "mob assault" on two cops (neither of whom were injured) and Chief Bratton wants him charged with misdemeanor battery on a police officer. This is a blatant attempt to justify the cops' own thuggery. The "mob assault" was by vengeful police who *later* arrested and assaulted Muhammad. The Partisan Defense Committee demands: No charges against Tony Muhammad or the other protesters!

Spartacist Forum

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NEW YORK

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 12)

Pesquera stated in his findings: "The reason why the FBI did not permit doctors onto the scene at his home is because they wanted Filiberto dead. In my opinion Filiberto was shot by an FBI sharpshooter and allowed to bleed to death—this was an assassination by the FBI." And it was directed from Washington. According to the *New York Times* (28 September), a government official said: "Senior F.B.I. officials in Washington had approved decisions made at the scene. Mr. Mueller [FBI director] was out of town...but was kept apprised of the situation as it developed."

The coldblooded execution of the Puerto Rican independence fighter was a chilling display of what the government's "war on terror" is all about. On September 24, a thousand protesters marched to the Federal Courthouse in San Juan chanting, "FBI—fascists, the real terrorists" and "Comrade Filiberto, your death will be avenged." Two days later, nearly a thousand students, led by the Pro-Independence University Federation, occupied the main tower of the University of Puerto Rico and removed the U.S. flag, replacing it with a banner in honor of Ojeda. Pro-independence groups served as an honor guard at Ojeda's wake and funeral. Tens of thousands waited in line to view his body in San Juan, and thousands lined the entire route to his hometown, where he was buried. The Spartacist League participated in a protest on September 26 in New York City, one of several across the U.S. mainland.

Even many Puerto Ricans who oppose independence and advocate that Puerto Rico become a U.S. state consider the execution of Ojeda to be a calculated blow to Puerto Rican national pride. The people of Puerto Rico have deeply contradictory feelings: on the one hand, the massive protests which forced the Navy to stop its bombing exercises at the U.S. base in Vieques in 2003 and the outrage against the FBI murder of Ojeda show that the Puerto Rican people have a strong sense of nationhood; on the other hand, there is a fear that independence would mean sinking to the level of poverty of their Caribbean neighbors, and a large percentage of the Puerto Rican population resides on the mainland.

AP

Helicopter involved in FBI operation that brutally killed Ojeda Ríos.

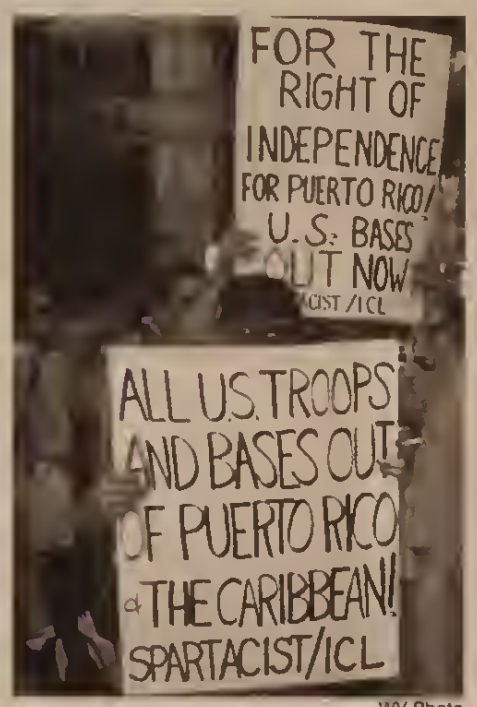
Filiberto Ojeda Ríos was a young musician in Chicago when the Cuban Revolution inspired him and he became a fighter for Puerto Rican independence. In 1961 he traveled to Cuba, and from there he returned to Puerto Rico. In 1967 he founded the Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement. In 1976 he was a founding member of the Puerto Rican Workers Party, and two years later he organized the Ejercito Popular Boricua, known as "Los Macheteros" (The Cane Cutters). Los Macheteros carried out attacks against the imperialist government apparatus, such as a 1981 bombing that destroyed nine military airplanes at the Puerto Rican Air National Guard base, at a time when Puerto Rico was a staging ground for counterrevolutionary operations against Sandinista Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America.

In 1985, FBI dragnets resulted in the arrest of Ojeda and 12 other Macheteros on RICO [Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations] "conspiracy" charges. That roundup was part of an earlier edition of an "anti-terrorist" campaign, as U.S. imperialism sought to regiment the American population amid a war drive against the Soviet Union and U.S.-sponsored proxy wars against supposed Soviet "surrogates" in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Ojeda wounded a police agent in the course of his arrest, but in 1989 a jury in Puerto Rico recognized that he acted in self-defense and acquitted him. In 1990, awaiting transfer back to the U.S. to be tried for a 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot in Connecticut, which had been carried out by the Macheteros to fund the independence struggle, Ojeda cut his electronic bracelet and went underground. In 1992 he was convicted *in absentia* and sentenced to 55 years in prison. While underground, Ojeda remained an ardent *independentista*, conducting interviews with journalists and issuing annual taped statements for El Grito de Lares, including on the day of his killing.

Last April the FBI raised its bounty on Ojeda to $1 million (which it is reportedly now paying out to the finks). In May they put the same bounty on the head of former Black Panther Assata Shakur who, like Ojeda, is targeted for fighting against racist American capitalism. Assata escaped from prison hell in the U.S. in 1979 and has been in exile in Cuba since 1984. Hands off Assata Shakur!

The Spartacist League joins other opponents of U.S. imperialism in outrage over Ojeda's assassination. We intransigently defend the right of self-determination for Puerto Rico, the principal remaining colony of the U.S. We support complete political freedom for advocates of independence to organize, and we demand freedom for all those who remain imprisoned for fighting for Puerto Rican independence. But the nationalist guerrillaism pursued by Ojeda and the Macheteros is no way forward for the Puerto Rican workers. The fight for socialist revolution, the only road to ending exploitation and imperialist domination, necessarily entails a political struggle to break the Puerto Rican working class from false, nationalist unity with the local bourgeoisie.

We seek to unite Puerto Rican workers and the multiracial working class in the U.S. in common struggle against U.S. imperialism, from Central America to the Caribbean and the U.S. We fight to forge Trotskyist parties to lead the workers to power both on the mainland and in Puerto Rico. A victorious workers revolution in the U.S. would immediately free Puerto Rico and all other nations subjugated by U.S. imperialism and establish relations with them on the basis of their freedom to exercise their national self-determination. ***FBI, CIA, U.S. military out of Puerto Rico! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico!*** ■



WV Photo

SL at New York City rally in defense of Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners, July 1999.

huge in New York City alone. You cannot support the Democrats and fight cop terror, and the labor movement has to fight cop terror and take up the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, as was done in 1995 when the death threat came down, with a big labor-centered mobilization in conjunction with international protest.... That's the kind of thing that has to be done, and it won't be done by these labor misleaders."

In lending support to Farrakhan and his reactionary black nationalism, the "progressive labor activists" are directly undermining the very purpose of the unions: to unite workers in struggle against the bosses. On its Web site, the MWMM hails Farrakhan's march as "a very important vehicle for convening a national Black united front to help reunite the fragmented forces of the African American liberation movement and to help facilitate the unity of Black workers." The article by Thomas and Shoup in *Workers World* declares: "We have to speak to and fight for working class control of economic development, including control of investment and community development." The unity the MWMM embraces is not that of the multiracial working class in struggle against racist capitalist rule. Accepting the framework of the capitalist system, the MWMM's black nationalist outlook advocates unity with black entrepreneurs, their spokesmen like Farrakhan and black bourgeois politicians. This perspective can only reinforce the racial divisions fostered by the capitalists to weaken the working class.

What is needed is a new labor leadership, based on a program of class struggle and the political independence of the working class, that would mobilize the unions' power in the fight for black freedom. There must be a political struggle to break labor and blacks from the Democratic Party and to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Acting as the "tribune of the people," such a party would fight in defense of *all* of the oppressed: for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for free abortion on demand, for full democratic rights for gays. Only by replacing the blood-drenched, irrational capitalist system with a workers government can there be genuine social equality. ***Far black liberation thraugh socialist revolution!*** ■

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

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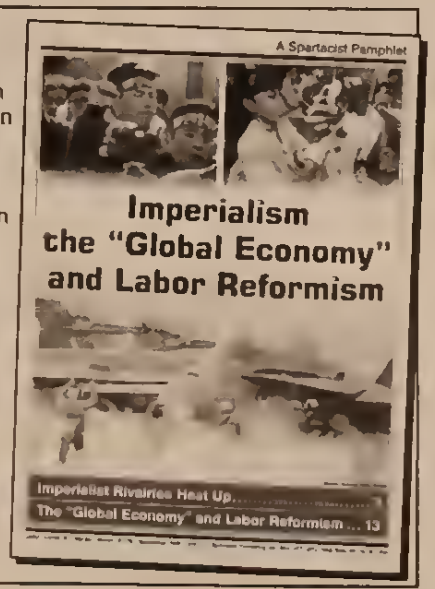


STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

1 Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.

2. Publication no.: 09-8770.

3. Filing date: 27 September 2005.

4. Issue frequency: Bi-weekly, except skipping 3 alternate issues in June, July, August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December.

5. No. of issues published annually: 22.

6. Annual subscription price: $10.00.

7 Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104

8. Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104

9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor. Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Director of Party Publications—Ray Bishop, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104. Editor—Alan Wilde, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104. Managing Editor—Kathleen Harris, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104

10 Owner: Spartacist Publishing Co (Unincorporated Association), 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104

11 Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None

12 For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates: Not applicable

13 Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*

14 Issue date for circulation data below: 16 September 2005

15 Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 12,183; b. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Paid/requested outside-county mail subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 1,896; (2) Paid in-county subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution: 6,803; (4) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 391; c. Total paid and/or requested circulation [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 9,090; d. Free distribution by mail: (1) Outside-county as stated on Form 3541: 199; (2) In-county as stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 85; e. Free distribution outside the mail: 0; f. Total free distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e): 284; g. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15f): 9,374; h. Copies not distributed: 2,809; i. Total (Sum of 15g and 15h): 12,183; j. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 96.97%.

No. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 15,000; b. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Paid/requested outside-county mail subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 1,653; (2) Paid in-county subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution: 10,648; (4) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 377; c. Total paid and/or requested circulation [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 12,678; d. Free distribution by mail: (1) Outside-county as stated on Form 3541: 196; (2) In-county as stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 83; e. Free distribution outside the mail: 0; f. Total free distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e): 279; g. Total distribution (Sum of 15e and 15f): 12,957; h. Copies not distributed: 2,043; i. Total (Sum of 15g and 15h): 15,000; j. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 97.85%

16 This statement of ownership will be printed in the 14 October 2005 issue of this publication

17 Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner: (Signed) Ray Bishop (Director of Party Publications), 27 September 2005. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Millions More March

"Progressive" Union Bureaucrats and Farrakhan: A Cynical Lash-Up

The murderous abandonment of black New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Katrina graphically displayed the capitalist rulers' racist contempt for black people. The catastrophe, resulting from decades of misrule and neglect by both Democrats and Republicans, demonstrated what the statistics have revealed for years: that material conditions for the mass of the black population today are not fundamentally better than they were at the time of the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s. Today the state of public education and health care in the U.S. is about on a par with the Lake Pontchartrain levees. And in the U.S., for black people the abuse and impoverishment is always compounded by the racial oppression that is the cornerstone of the capitalist system.

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, we wrote in "New Orleans: Racist Atrocity" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September):

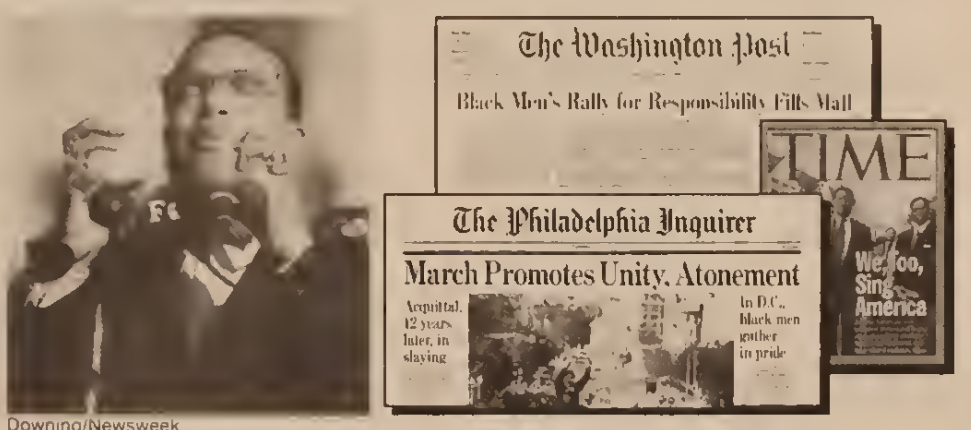
> "The masses of displaced people must be provided with jobs—*union jobs* at union wage scales, with health care, housing, clothing and all other necessities. Instead of being regarded as victims, these working people can be incorporated into a force for their own revitalization.... There is one and only one force in American society that can change the current political balance in favor of working people: a revitalized labor movement."

Even to meet the basic needs of the working people—for jobs for all, for quality, integrated housing and education and medical care for all—requires sharp class struggle against the capitalist profit system. This means a fight for the independence of the working class from the capitalist government and its political parties. The working people need their own party—a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government. Crucial to the struggle to sweep away the American capitalist system is the understanding that the emancipation of black people is integral to the emancipation of the entire working class.

But the current leadership of the labor movement accepts the framework of this racist profit system and harnesses the unions to the capitalist parties, especially the Democrats, crippling working-class power through the lies that putting the "lesser evil" in office and lobbying the government are the vehicles for change. The labor tops' class collaboration means accommodating, or even promulgating, the most backward racism and anti-immigrant bigotry.

Nation of Islam

Top (from left): Teamsters' Chris Silvera, ILWU's Clarence Thomas, Louis Farrakhan, former AFSCME official Brenda Stokely, Workers World's Larry Holmes. "Millions More Movement" commemorates reactionary 1995 march for black "atonement."



Downing/Newsweek

Posing as an alternative to the mainstream pro-capitalist labor tops are some left-talking union officials who organized the Million Worker March Movement (MWMM) last year. An article in *Workers World* (8 August) by Clarence Thomas, International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 executive board member and MWMM spokesman, and United Auto Workers Local 1981 member Larry Shoup talks of the "politically bankrupt Democratic Party" and declares, "Workers must break with this sellout party and form an independent political party by and for the U.S. working class."

Fine words. But what the MWMM is doing is lashing up with the anti-woman, anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan and his "Millions More March"! This rally, called for Washington, D.C., on October 15, will commemorate the pinnacle of Farrakhan's career, the 1995 Million Man March for "atonement." We denounced this reactionary, racially exclusionist mobilization in "Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters" (*WV* No. 631, 20 October 1995):

> "They forgive the oppressors and exploiters for their enormous crimes against black people, working people and poor, while blaming the oppressed for their oppression. *To hell with atonement!* What's needed is integrated class struggle to fight for the liberation of black people and all the oppressed."

A host of Democratic politicians, starting with Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton (both of whom signed on to the initial call) and including the Congressional Black Caucus, has endorsed this year's march, hoping to further the Democrats' electoral fortunes as outrage over New Orleans and the bloody occupation of Iraq fuels popular opposition to the Bush administration. Another prominent

continued on page 10

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!

Protest FBI Killing of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos!

On September 23, dozens of FBI agents, equipped with helicopters, military vehicles, machine guns and sniper rifles, gunned down 72-year-old Puerto Rican independence fighter Filiberto Ojeda Ríos. Aided by the Puerto Rican police, who closed off the roads, the FBI stormed Ojeda's property in the rural town of Hormigueros, firing over 100 rounds. Ojeda responded with ten rounds, and one agent was wounded. Ojeda then negotiated for the safety of his wife, Elma Beatriz Rosado. She later recounted: "After an extended period, they blindfolded my eyes, and it was then, at that moment that I felt in my heart and knew that they were going to execute him.... They murdered him."

After shooting Ojeda, the FBI let him bleed to death. For *at least 12 hours*, as blood seeped under Ojeda's door, the FBI refused to enter the house, and doctors, family members, lawyers, and independence activists who pleaded to enter the house were kept away. Over 24 hours after the attack, the FBI finally announced that they had killed Ojeda.

The FBI's ghastly killing of Ojeda on September 23, a day known as El Grito de Lares to commemorate an 1868 revolt against Spanish colonial rule, sparked angry protests and aroused nationalist sentiment throughout Puerto Rico. As outrage mounted, Puerto Rican governor Acevedo-Vilá ordered that Dr. Hector Pesquera, associated with the Hostos National Independence Movement, be allowed to witness the autopsy.

continued on page 11

AP

Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, shown outside Connecticut courthouse in 1988.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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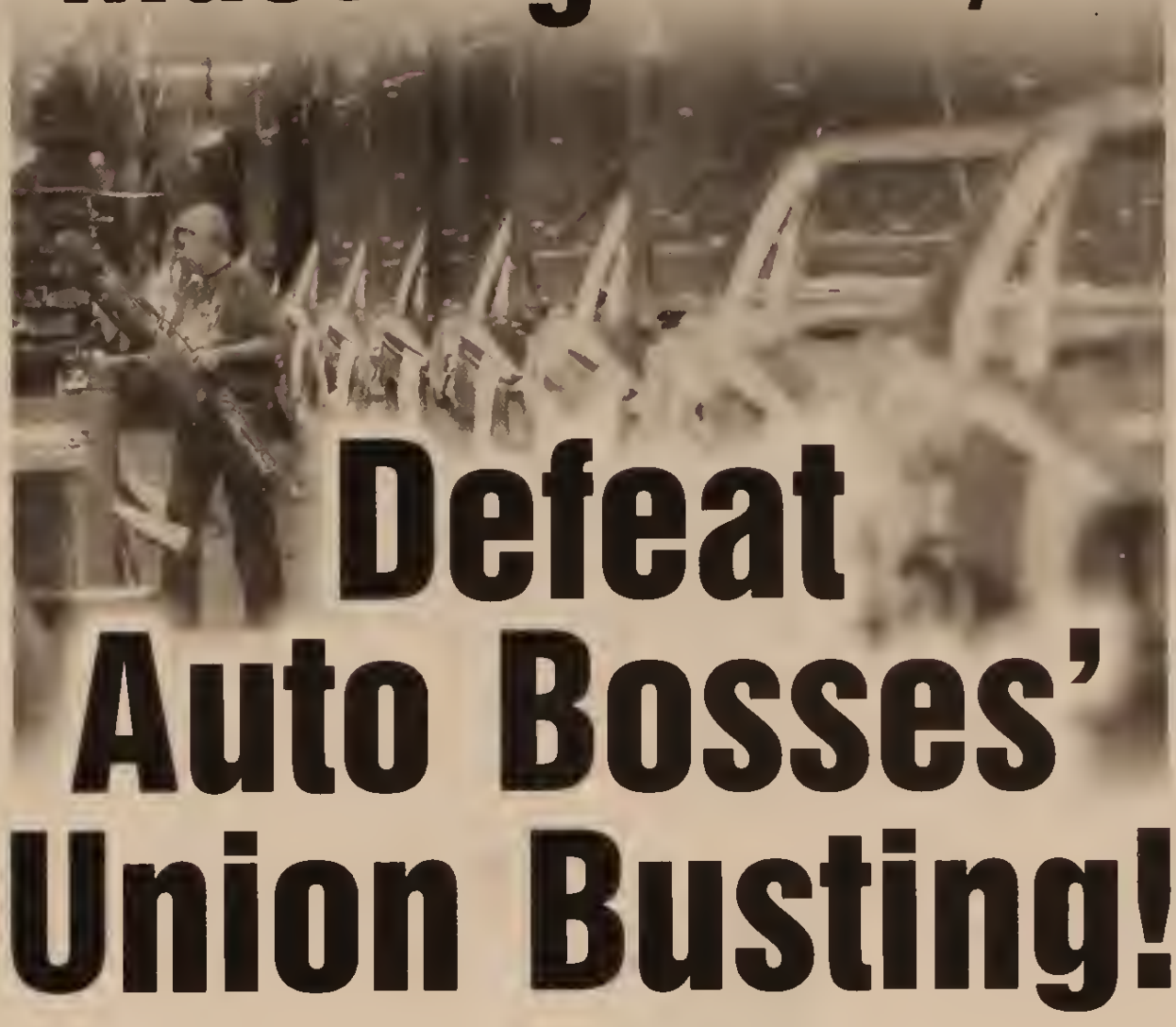
No. 857 | GCU C-701 | 28 October 2005

UAW Must Fight GM/Delphi!



Defeat Auto Bosses' Union Busting!

Delphi, the world's largest auto parts supplier, and General Motors, the world's largest automaker, have launched an unprecedented union-husting assault against the United Auto Workers (UAW). Four years into a purported economic recovery based largely on massive layoffs and deadly speedup, U.S. workers are seeing the largest decline in real wages in decades. On Octoher 8, GM spin-off Delphi, which supplies GM with parts, went the corporate bankruptcy route already taken by most major airlines. Delphi's workers are threatened with destitution, as the company demands that their pay be cut from $27.00 to *$10.00 per hour!*

On the heels of Delphi's bankruptcy announcement, GM hosses demanded massive givebacks from the UAW. The treacherous union tops immediately surrendered to GM's demands, in the name of protecting the mammoth corporation's sacred "competitiveness." Current workers and retirees, who broke their backs for GM with six- and seven-day workweeks, are seeing their health care benefits slashed to the tune of $1 billion annually. It was "the largest single cost-cutting initiative ever announced by the company," and "paves the way for Ford Motor Co. and the Chrysler Group to seek similar cost-savings plans with the UAW" (*Detroit Free Press*, 18 Octoher).

The capitalists deny bankruptcy protection to their victims while wielding the bankruptcy ax to void labor contracts and "reorganize" industry at the cost of hundreds of thousands of jobs. Earlier this month, working people across the country stood in long lines desperate to file for bankruptcy before the new law limiting protection from creditors went into effect. Meanwhile, Northwest Airlines declared bankruptcy two months into a strike by AMFA mechanics, who walked off the job rather than accept a 26 percent pay cut. The refusal of the leaders of the other airline unions to shut down Northwest in solidarity with AMFA isolated the mechanics, whose jobs are being taken hy scahs. And now every Northwest union is under the gun.

The venality of the capitalist rulers in attacking retirees is as brazen as it is breathtaking. Dubbed capitalism's "Mr. Fix-It," Delphi CEO Robert Miller ran workers at Bethlehem Steel through the bankruptcy wringer to slash their benefits and those of retirees and to massively reduce the workforce. Miller hlithely told the *Wall Street Journal* (17 October): "When you worked for one employer till age 65 and then died at age 70, and when health care was unsophisticated and inexpensive, the social contract inherent in defined-benefit programs perhaps made some economic sense." He continued, "People are living longer these days. Of course, that is a good thing. But the question is, how can we afford it?" Miller's answer? Work like slaves, then die.

And the UAW tops' response? Let us dig our members' graves! On October 18, UAW officials asked a federal court in Detroit to approve the deal with General Motors in order to ***prevent individual retirees fram suing the campany far cutting their benefits!*** GM, naturally, voiced its support for this move. American socialist Daniel DeLeon captured the treachery of the U.S. labor officialdom more than a century ago, branding them the "labor lieutenants of capital."

Left unchallenged, the effect of Delphi and GM's assaults on the UAW will be enormous. Layoffs and plant closings are already being threatened, potentially affecting the bulk of the U.S. proletariat. Auto production directly involves coal, steel, rubber, rail and trucking. When Chrysler—now part of the German company Daimler-Chrysler—threatened bankruptcy in 1979, the response hy the sellouts in the UAW's Solidarity House was to accept a seat on Chrysler's hoard of directors. From this lofty height, UAW chief Doug Fraser shoved concession contracts down workers' throats with the threat that they better swallow lest they lose their jobs. So they swallowed *and* lost their jobs. In the last 25 years, GM, Ford and Chrysler have shed some 600,000 jobs in the U.S., and the UAW membership has dropped from 1.5 million to less than 700,000.

But it doesn't have ta happen this way. The rotten GM deal is going to the UAW membership for a vote—vote it down! GM and Delphi workers must fight back, while they have jobs.

In 1998, a walkout at the Flint Metal Center plant, expanding to the Flint East Delphi facility, quickly resulted in the shutdown of 27 of GM's 29 North American assembly facilities due to lack of parts. "I either stand now and strike or there may be no tomorrow," one worker said at the time. The strike backed the auto giant down and ended in a stand-off. GM failed to deliver a crippling blow to the union, much to the chagrin of Wall Street investors. GM then contrived to spin off Delphi, and now they're back for a second try at gutting the UAW. Instead of being picked off one by one, the union must prepare its entire membership for a hard struggle against Delphi, GM and all the auto companies.

AP photos

UAW members in Flint, Michigan walk off the job in June 1998, beginning strike that shut down bulk of GM's North American production.

Black Rights and Union Rights

In this capitalist society where black people constitute a specially oppressed race-color caste, every assault on union workers hits the black population disproportionately hard. Twenty years ago, one out of every four black workers was a union member. Today that ratio has slipped to close to one in seven. Tbis fact is directly linked to the massive deindustrialization of the U.S., particularly the big urban centers in the Midwest. There has also been a migration of jobs to the low-wage, non-union South and other areas in the U.S. and abroad. Yet the percentage of hlack people in unions and in basic industry is still proportionately higher than that of whites. In fact, the auto industry has one of the most racially integrated workforces in the U.S. Thus

continued on page 10

Not One Person, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Military!

Marxism, Militarism and War...6

7 25274 81030 7 43

On Cuba's Collectivized Economy

7 October 2005

Dear Comrades:

The article "Feds: Hands Off ILA!" in *WV* No. 854 (16 September) wrongly states that the International Longshoremen's Association represents dock workers in Montreal. This used to be the case, however several years ago Montreal dock workers, along with those in Quebec City and other smaller ports in Quebec, reorganized as locals of the Syndicat Canadien de la Fonction Publique.

In the same issue, the article "Bush Bans Cuban Medical Aid" states that "since 1991-92," the Cuban regime "has increasingly opened up the country to imperialist economic penetration." This was indeed the case following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and through the 1990s, as the Castro bureaucracy sought to restart a devastated economy through foreign investment from, and joint ventures with, European and Canadian corporations. At the same time, individual dollar holdings were legalized, leading, as the article states, to growing inequalities among the population.

More recently, however, following a modest economic recovery, the regime has moved to *curtail* imperialist holdings, as well as small-scale private businesses on the island. An article by the *Chicago Tribune*'s Havana correspondent (24 June), for example, notes how "Cuban officials have closed scores of foreign businesses that were welcomed here a decade ago to bail out the nation's faltering economy." It adds that "about a half-dozen of the more than 350 foreign firms once based in Cuba's duty-free zones are still operating." From 2002 to 2004, the number of joint ventures decreased from about 400 to about 300, while Cuba's Foreign Investment and Economic Cooperation Ministry projects that another 67 will be closed this year. Meanwhile the government has taken the dollar out of circulation, tightened controls over state enterprises doing business with foreigners, and sought to reduce dependence on imperialist investment through enacting significant new trade deals with Venezuela and China.

All this has not put an end to imperialist economic penetration, which is still significant in the tourism, nickel and telecommunications industries, or to the significant inequalities on the island. But to imply that Trotskyists should oppose all imperialist investment, joint ventures, etc. in Cuba or any other bureaucratically deformed workers state would be very wrong. With the collapse of the USSR, deals with European and Canadian capitalists are often the only means for Cuba—a resource-poor country that has faced a decades-long U.S. economic embargo—to access modern technology and develop new economic sectors. In extremis, opposition to such investment would amount to a program of nationalist economic autarky, guaranteeing that the population remains mired in poverty.

Our opposition to the Castro bureaucracy fundamentally flows from its nationalist ***political program*** of "socialism in one country." The article rightly concludes that a proletarian political revolution based on a perspective of international extension of the revolution is the only ultimate means to defend and expand the gains of the Cuban Revolution. Rather than fight to win the working masses in Latin America and beyond to the fight for socialist revolution, the Cuban bureaucracy has long fostered illusions in "progressive" bourgeois regimes, from Allende in Chile in the early 1970s to Chávez in Venezuela today. Meanwhile the regime's bureaucratic monopoly on political power has undermined the consciousness of the Cuban working class while producing economic distortions and inefficiencies. Our perspective is a centrally planned economy based on workers democracy. That said, it is important to be accurate about developments in the Cuban economy today.

Comradely,
John Masters

No on Anti-Union Prop 75!

California

A sinister anti-union initiative is on the ballot for the November 8 California state election. Cynically titled the "Paycheck Protection Act," Prop. 75 would restrict trade unions' political activities, requiring that public employee unions receive prior written consent from each individual employee each year before they can collect or use dues or fees to contribute to political campaigns and candidates. The Spartacist League says: Vote no on Prop. 75! Government hands off public worker unions!

Just like anti-union "right to work" laws, Prop. 75 is being promoted as protecting workers' rights. In reality, it is part of a union-busting offensive headed by Republican governor Schwarzenegger against teachers, nurses and other unionized public sector workers and more broadly against education and social services (see "Defeat Anti-Worker Assault in California!" *WV* No. 853, 2 September). The initiative also continues a national campaign by the Republicans to cut off their rival capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party from the millions they get each year in union money. Similar laws are already on the books in Washington, Utah, Michigan and other states.

We oppose Prop. 75 because we oppose any and all interventions by the capitalist state—a machinery of repression defending the interests of the tiny class of exploiters against the working people—into the labor movement. The capitalist state has no business telling the unions what they should or should not do with their money. State intervention only serves to subordinate the unions to the bosses' government and to weaken their ability to wage class struggle.

At the same time, our fight for the political independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state means struggling against the trade-union bureaucracy's support to the Democrats, those wolves in sheep's clothing who are no less of a capitalist party than the Republicans. While Schwarzenegger is leading the current drive against California's public unions and social services, it is the Democratic mayors of Los Angeles, San Francisco and other big cities that are the front-line enforcers of budget cuts and layoffs. Prop. 75 and similar measures would be used to fight any attempt by workers to organize their own party, independent of the capitalist class enemy.

Some workers rightly resent surrendering their dues money year after year for contributions to the Democrats while the pro-capitalist union tops do their best to enforce labor "peace" and sabotage strikes when they do occur. But these questions must be fought out *inside* the unions, as part of a political struggle to oust the labor traitors and replace them with a class-struggle leadership committed to building a workers party. Such a party is the necessary instrument to lead the fight for a workers government that expropriates the capitalist class. ■

TROTSKY

Imperialist War and Opportunist "Socialism"

At the onset of World War I, the 4 August 1914 vote by the German Social Democracy for war credits for the German imperialist state signaled the definitive collapse of the Second International. Pointing to the heroic work of German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed that the task of Marxists in agitating against imperialist war was to promote proletarian revolution internationally.

LENIN

Any "peace programme" will deceive the people and be a piece of hypocrisy, unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support, aid, and develop the mass revolutionary struggles breaking out everywhere (ferment among the masses, protests, fraternisation in the trenches, strikes, demonstrations, letters from the front to relatives—for example, in France—urging them not to subscribe to war loans, etc., etc.).

It is the duty of socialists to support, extend and intensify every popular movement to end the war. But it is actually being fulfilled only by those socialists who, like Liebknecht, in their parliamentary speeches, call upon the soldiers to lay down their arms, and preach revolution and transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism....

That mass revolutionary actions during the war, if successfully developed, can lead only to the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism is obvious, and it is harmful to conceal this from the masses. On the contrary, this aim must be indicated clearly, no matter how difficult its attainment may appear now, while we are still at the beginning of the road.

—V.I. Lenin, "Proposals Submitted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference," April 1916

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the Internetional Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadwey, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 25 October

No. 857 **28 October 2005**

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Elizabeth King Robertson

Robertson Family

1951-2005

Our comrade Elizabeth King Robertson died at home on October 12 after a six-year battle with cancer. Over the course of more than 30 years as a professional revolutionist, Lizzy excelled as an organizer, propagandist and editor. A patient mentor and inspiration for younger comrades, Lizzy provided a vital link in the fight to preserve our revolutionary heritage going back to Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. At the time of her death, she was a full member of the Spartacist League Central Committee and of the International Executive Committee of the International Communist League. Her loss is incalculable both to our party internationally and to her family —Jim Robertson, Martha and Martha's children Rachel, Sarah and Kenneth— as well as her father Henry and mother Mary King and the rest of the King family.

Lizzy grew up in a large family in New York City. Following the death of her mother, Barbara, her father Henry King, a successful corporate lawyer, remarried. Mary King raised Lizzy as her own daughter, and for Lizzy she became "mom." Lizzy attended Brearley private school for girls in New York. She always valued the education she received there and many of the friendships made at Brearley endured until the end of her life. As a teenager she was sent to Miss Porter's, an exclusive finishing school for "old money" society girls. Her first-hand experience of anti-Semitism and class snobbery there played a role in her becoming a passionate fighter against racism and inequality.

Lizzy first encountered the Spartacist League in the early 1970s while a student at Boston University. Under the impact of the Vietnam War, Boston campuses were a hotbed of New Left radicalism. Lizzy was active in the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, a group trying to defend working-class families from being pushed out of their homes as the universities expanded. She was recruited to Trotskyism, joining the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the SL's youth group in 1973. For many students, the brush with radical activism was just an episode of youthful rebellion on the road to an eventual comfortable career. But Lizzy's recruitment to the fight for international socialist revolution was for keeps.

Lizzy was accepted into party membership in July 1974. She had by then transferred to Detroit, where the SL was seeking to intervene among the largely black proletariat of the auto factories. She impressed comrades as the youth organizer as well as by her participation in the lively debates that took place as the party began to get more experience in trade-union work. Here she also began the difficult training to become a legal stenographic reporter, a profession in which she was active until her debilitation by cancer.

Around 1976 she transferred to New York in order to be part of the national leadership of the youth organization (renamed the Spartacus Youth League). Lizzy was elected to the SYL National Bureau in July 1976 and was a member of the editorial board of the monthly *Young Spartacus* from October 1976 through September 1978. She served for a year as the SYL National Organizational Secretary. Her experience as youth organizer and leader was crucial to Lizzy's understanding of the importance of a youth organization in the training of party cadre.

In August 1978, she resigned her leading positions in the youth organization in order to take on the job of secretary of the Political Bureau. Not only did Lizzy fulfill the demanding assignment of getting out regular and accurate minutes throughout her years in New York, but she turned the job of PB secretary into a nexus for organizing political discussions. Her close personal association with SL national chairman James Robertson began at this time, and she remained his loving companion and closest party collaborator until her death. After serving on the party Central Committee as a representative of the SYL, Lizzy was co-opted in her own right in 1979 and elected a full CC member at the August 1983 national conference. She also took charge of the subject indexing for the bound volumes of our press, which are the documentary record of our political line and our work. Lizzy transferred to the San Francisco Bay Area at the beginning of the 1990s. She tirelessly guided the local leadership, was secretary of the West Coast CC group and also took continuous responsibility for our local in Los Angeles.

Lizzy's strength was in tackling the intersection of political principle with concrete social reality, coming up with tactics and slogans to express our program. She closely followed the work of Spartacist supporters in the trade unions and her counsel was highly valued by those involved in such work. She was a longtime member of the Bay Area Local executive committee and fought to remain on this body despite her many other responsibilities because she understood so well that making political decisions real means daily choices of "what to betray" in order to focus on the most important things; it means finding the right comrades for the concrete tasks and preparing them politically to carry out those tasks.

Lizzy was unsurpassed as a Leninist political organizer. After a party gathering, she was inevitably involved in figuring out how to shift personnel or assignments to make the political priorities just established actually happen. She had a profound understanding of how our organizational functioning corresponds to our revolutionary purpose. For decades, Lizzy was one of a handful of comrades who took initiative in formulating, refining and codifying our internal norms and practices as the party came across new situations or as problems were seen with the existing rules.

At the ICL's Third International Conference in 1998, she gave a presentation, "On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices." Published in *Spartacist* No. 54 (Spring 1998) along with our revised "Organizational Rules and Guidelines," Lizzy's presentation educated both young comrades and experienced cadres by providing the historical background, beginning with the first Marxist organizations founded by Karl Marx himself, to enable the conference delegates to consider the Rules. In this presentation, she explained: "Living organizational rules are one of perhaps a half-dozen elements that characterize an organization; in that sense, they are political. But they are not determinate. A sound set of organizational rules is not a guard against political departures, although departures from our organizational norms are generally a signal of political problems. In the absence of Bolshevik practices, an organization is necessarily amorphous, that is, Menshevik."

Though she rarely raised her voice, Lizzy was a powerful speaker at party gatherings. Her astute judgment and forthrightness made her a uniquely authoritative voice in the deliberations through which the party selects a leadership. Numerous times she was chosen to chair the nominating commission charged with recommending a slate of candidates to the party conference that elects the leading body (the CC in the SL or the IEC in the ICL). Lizzy was clear-eyed in seeing the weaknesses as well as the strengths of comrades, including her closest friends, and she was renowned for her fairness. This ability is crucial in a Leninist party, which aims to build its leadership as a collective that is stronger than the sum of its individual parts.

Lizzy was also her own harshest critic. Although in great pain, she authored a document on October 7 addressing her role in a political fight in the Los Angeles Local that had been marred by extreme characterizations of comrades and bureaucratic practices. Her purpose was not a *mea culpa* but a statement of conscientious regard for clarity, drawing the political lessons necessary to strengthen the party.

Beginning in early 1979, Lizzy was a mainstay of the editorial board of *Women and Revolution*, the journal of the SL CC Commission for Work Among Women. Lizzy authored or co-authored some of *W&R*'s articles on the most sensitive subjects, defending human sexuality and exposing the barbarous cruelty of the bourgeois state as it destroys the lives of people whose only "crime" is that their sexual proclivities and needs vary from the repressive, religion-based strictures of hypocritical bourgeois moralism. She wrote articles on the AIDS crisis, the crime of female genital mutilation, the fabricated "child abuse" day-care scandals, incest and the furor over so-called "date rape." When publication of *W&R* was suspended after the Spring 1996 issue, Lizzy continued to contribute to the articles published under the *W&R* masthead in the press of the national sections of the ICL, including *Workers Vanguard*, and in *Spartacist*. During the last weeks of her life, Lizzy was heavily involved in the editing of an article for the next issue of *Spartacist* examining the debates and discussions in the Bolshevik Party over women's emancipation after the Russian Revolution.

The final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92 was a historic defeat for the workers of the world, ushering in a difficult period for revolutionists. Our difficulties in coming to grips with the new period have been expressed in political disorientation and corresponding internal difficulties (see "Spartacist League 12th National Conference—A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks," *WV* No. 841, 4 February). Nobody has been immune to these problems, but comrade Lizzy played a forward role in trying to get the party out of this morass. Several times during the past five or six years, our internal bulletins have featured a document by Lizzy, submitted early in the discussion, often less than one page in length, which became a touchstone for subsequent contributions. Often her document would begin from a concrete, seemingly tactical question of a particular projected intervention somewhere, and would proceed logically to illuminate programmatic and principled issues.

After Lizzy's cancer was diagnosed, she undertook surgery, chemotherapy and, finally, radiation. Her father ensured that she obtained high-quality care, which was ultimately unavailing. She continued to do her biweekly sales and other public political activity. In April 2003, she was wounded by a "non-lethal projectile" fired from a cop shotgun during the vicious police attack on antiwar protesters, longshoremen and port truckers at the Port of Oakland.

Her comrades, family and friends will miss Lizzy's presence in our lives for as long as we have consciousness. We will miss her fine mind, her humor, her warmth and compassion. We will always remember her beauty and courage. Even in the midst of our grief, we celebrate her life and find comfort in knowing that she lived as she chose to and never wavered in her belief that fighting for the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed was the right way for her to live. For us, she has been a very strong link in the chain of continuity that goes all the way back to Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and Cannon. We resolve to honor our beloved comrade Lizzy by carrying on her struggle.

Memorial Meetings

Memorial meetings are planned in New York on November 12, for information call (212) 732-7861; in the Bay Area on November 20, call (510) 839-0851.

Fifteen Years of Capitalist Counterrevolution: Cynicism, Unemployment, Clerical Reaction

Right Wing Wins Polish Elections

Reuters

Polish president-elect Lech Kaczynski (right) with opponent Donald Tusk during campaign.

WARSAW, October 24—The recent parliamentary and presidential elections in Poland took place in the immediate aftermath of the obscene celebrations of the 25th anniversary of clerical-nationalist, anti-communist Solidarność, the spearhead of imperialist-backed capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc. The 15 years since the triumph of counterrevolution in Poland in 1989-90 have been marked by the impoverishment of the mass of the working population and the rise of Catholic reaction. Vicious anti-communism and anti-woman bigotry, virulent anti-Semitism and Polish chauvinism—all the old garbage of Marshal Pilsudski's interwar Poland has come back.

While big Polish cities have an urban petty bourgeoisie that profited from capitalist restoration and can afford the expensive Western-style cafés in Warsaw's Old Town, official unemployment figures have remained around 20 percent for several years. German TV reported last year on the conditions of the 15,000 miners who were thrown out of work by the closure of the state-run coal mines in the southern Polish town of Walbrzych. Desperate to survive, many former miners risk their lives—and some die—digging for coal with picks and axes in *biedaszyby* (literally, shafts of the poor) as in pre-World War II capitalist Poland. What they earn from selling their coal is three or four times more than unemployment benefits and ten times more than welfare payments.

Voter turnout was the lowest since the 1989 elections that brought a capitalist government to power: only 40 percent voted in the parliamentary elections, and around 50 percent in the first round of the presidential ballot. The low turnout reflects the deep cynicism with which Poles regard the capitalist politicians who have ruled since 1989, as one capitalist coalition replaces another every four years, often falling apart when it gets voted out.

The Solidarność-derived government that took power in 1989 dismantled Poland's collectivized economy and implemented an economic "shock treatment," which destroyed the bulk of the social welfare Poles had enjoyed under the deformed workers state—from virtually free health care to cheap, subsidized housing to pensions one could live on. In line with Catholic "family values," the right to a safe and free abortion was abolished. The Solidarność government was booted out by an enraged electorate. But the capitalist government that replaced it, led by the ex-Stalinist, social-democratic Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), reversed none of these reactionary measures. In fact, the SLD—a bourgeois workers party, organizationally based on the working class but with a pro-capitalist leadership and program—proved to be a reliable tool for continuing to consolidate capitalist rule. It carried out mass deportations of Roma (Gypsies) in 1996 and welcomed the invitation for Poland to join NATO. Having frustrated the hopes of its predominantly working-class electorate, the SLD got voted out of office in 1997, to be replaced by a government of Electoral Action Solidarność (AWS). Meanwhile, SLD leader Kwasniewski remained as president, presiding over Poland's entry into NATO in 1999.

When the SLD resumed office again in 2001, it continued the anti-working-class measures of AWS. The SLD government supported the blood-drenched U.S. rulers' invasion of Iraq in 2003, committing 3,000 Polish troops to the imperialist occupation force. This move was motivated by the Polish bourgeoisie's worries over the close relations developing between imperialist Germany and Russia. In the name of maintaining Polish "independence," the Polish ruling class has become the lackey of the imperialist U.S. Having again done its duty for Poland's capitalists and again deceived its working-class base, the SLD underwent a number of splits over corruption scandals in 2003-04 and paved the way for another right-wing victory.

Poland will now be ruled by a parliamentary coalition of the Civic Platform (PO) of Donald Tusk and the Law and Justice Party (PiS) of the twin brothers Lech and Jaroslaw Kaczynski. Lech Kaczynski, who won the presidency yesterday in a second round of voting, advocates a "Fourth Republic," a strong presidential state subject to even greater church influence. In propaganda sent to parish priests just before the elections, he boasted of his struggle "in defense of the Catholic faith" and against "expressions of demoralization"—a reference to a gay and lesbian "Parade of Equality" that, as mayor of Warsaw, he banned last June. While slightly more liberal on social issues, his defeated presidential rival Tusk is a strong exponent of "free market" austerity.

Despite their differences, Tusk and the Kaczynski twins will easily get along because what they have in common is being Solidarność counterrevolutionaries of the first hour. While Tusk founded the Gdansk Solidarność Student Committee, the Kaczynskis were second in command to Solidarność leader Lech Walesa on the August 1980 strike committee in the Lenin Shipyard, out of which Solidarność originated. When Walesa became the first president of capitalist Poland in 1990, he chose the "evil twins" to be his vice presidents.

AP

Warsaw, July 2005: 5,000 Polish miners demonstrate outside Parliament in defense of pension rights.

Capitalist Heritage of Solidarność

The government and the entire political spectrum in Poland from left to right celebrated the 25th anniversary of Solidarność—each in its own way. The government organized celebrations in the city of Gdansk, which included a concert by French pop star Jean-Michel Jarre in the former Lenin Shipyard. Former SLD president Kwasniewski, who was a member of the ruling Stalinist party in 1980, paid his respects to Solidarność' fight for the "overthrow of Communism." In July, the Parliament proposed a "Day of Solidarność." Western statesmen joined in honoring Solidarność' counterrevolutionary services in the anti-Soviet Cold War, as the European Parliament also made August 31 a "Day of Freedom and Solidarność" and recognized Solidarność' contribution to the eastward extension of the imperialist European Union.

At the same time, former Solidarność luminaries Andrzej Gwiazda and Anna Walentynowicz boycotted the official celebrations and organized their own festivities. Gwiazda had been Walesa's right-hand man in 1980, and Walentynowicz was the crane operator whose firing sparked the August 1980 strike/occupation in the Lenin Shipyard. They hypocritically protested the sell-off of the shipyard, whose workforce has shrunk from 15,000 in the 1980s to 3,000 today. The September issue of *Poland Monthly* quotes Gwiazda: "What we see in Poland today is the opposite of Solidarity's ideals. Now people realize that they have been fooled. They thought that the name 'Solidarity' and the name 'Walesa' meant something, but now they realize that it all ended in 1989." The rabidly anti-communist Walentynowicz even claimed at the "independent celebrations" that "Walesa had been directed by the communist SB security service from the very beginning" (*Warsaw Voice*, 7 September).

Joining the praise and celebrations for Solidarność are self-proclaimed socialist groups in Poland and all over the world. Zbigniew Kowalewski of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), who was a delegate at the 1981 founding congress of Solidarność, wrote: "The purpose of the noisy ceremonies of the anniversary of the birth of Solidarność is to hide its real nature—a workers' revolution conducted in the name of authentically socialist values" (*International Viewpoint* Online, September 2005). This is typical of the fake left's cover-up of Solidarność counterrevolution and their own support for it.

Born during the strike wave in the summer of 1980, Solidarność initially drew on legitimate worker grievances. Three times earlier—in 1956, 1970 and 1976—workers' upsurges had brought the Polish deformed workers state to the brink of proletarian political revolution. But Solidarność was a *departure* from those earlier pro-socialist struggles. Polish workers felt betrayed by the lies of Stalinist leader Gomulka, who was in power from 1956-70, and his successor Gierek. Gierek ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western bankers and also ruinously drained the economy to subsidize the landowning peasants.

When workers exploded in struggle in 1980 in response to rising prices and shortages of food and other consumer goods, they looked to the powerful Catholic church as the recognized opposition to the discredited Stalinist regime. Though the Gdansk strikers initially sang the "Internationale," this was soon replaced by the old national hymn, "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland." Walesa declared himself at every opportunity to be a true son of the Polish church. Walentynowicz, when asked if she was a socialist, said that she was a believer. Many of the "dissidents" were openly reactionary—virulently nationalist, anti-communist, anti-democratic and anti-Semitic (despite the fact that there were few Jews left in Poland). Former leftist Jacek Kuron, whose Workers Defense Committee (KOR) braintrusted Solidarność, was a social democrat who supported peasant struggles for private property and claimed that "the Catholic movement is fighting to defend freedom of conscience and human dignity." When Solidarność gained power in 1989, Kuron became the first labor minister of a now-capitalist Poland. One of his first acts was to smash a May 1990 rail strike. And Kuron was the darling of the Western left, the "socialist" face of Solidarność reaction.

In commenting on the outcome of the Gdansk shipyard strike, we raised the call in our headline, "Fight Clerical Reaction! For Proletarian Political Revolution!" (*WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980). We wrote of the agreement that ended the strike:

> "Insofar as the settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome. But only a blind man could fail to see the gross influence of the Catholic church and also pro-Western sentiments among the striking workers. If the settlement strengthens the working class organizationally, it also strengthens the forces of reaction. Poland stands today on a razor's edge."

Solidarność consolidated around a program for capitalist counterrevolution at its founding congress in September 1981.

This was demonstrated by its calls for "free trade unions"—a war cry of Cold War anti-Sovietism—and for "free elections," which would have meant capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government (which is what happened in 1989-90). Solidarność was actively supported by a wide range of reactionary forces, from the Vatican under Polish Pope Karol Wojtyla (aka John Paul II) to union-busting U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Conservative British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. Joining them were the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy and anti-communist social democrats like the German SPD, which acted as conduits for CIA funding and provided other material support to Solidarność.

The international Spartacist tendency, precursor to the International Communist League, raised the call "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" (see *WV* No. 289, 25 September 1981). To the anti-socialist program of Solidarność, we counterposed the call for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on a program of defending collectivized property. The demands raised in our articles—for strict separation of church and state, for collectivization of agriculture, for canceling Poland's debt to the imperialist bankers, for military defense of the USSR against imperialism, for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy—constituted the programmatic core of what a Trotskyist internationalist vanguard party would have raised in the struggle to defend the Polish workers state against imperialism and capitalist restoration. We stressed that Polish workers needed to appropriate the proud traditions of the Polish communist movement. We pointed to the example of the internationalist Jewish woman fighter Rosa Luxemburg, who was murdered at the instigation of the German SPD during the failed 1918-19 German Revolution, which she help lead. We also pointed to the Pole Feliks Dzerzhinsky, Luxemburg's comrade in the Polish revolutionary workers movement, who joined the ranks of the Russian Bolsheviks and went on to lead the Cheka—the Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage—after the October Revolution.

Our support for Stalinist general Jaruzelski's suppression of Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power in December 1981 was an application of our unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time we warned that the Stalinists were capable of selling out the Polish deformed workers state—which they eventually did in 1989-90. It was the impact of our Trotskyist program in opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution and our struggle against the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1989-90 that propelled the militants of the Young Left Movement (RML) in Poland toward the ICL. This resulted in the establishment of the Spartacist Group of Poland, a sympathizing section of the ICL, which existed until 2001. In contrast to the Polish "left," who all hailed and supported Solidarność counterrevolution, the SGP exposed and opposed the clericalist, nationalist, capitalist-restorationist program which Walesa, Walentynowicz, Gwiazda, Kuron et al. stood for from the beginning.

WV Photo

Der Spiegel

Above: September 1981 NYC Spartacist demonstration exposes Solidarność as company union for CIA and Vatican. Right: Solidarność head Walesa (left) praying with Gdansk shipyard workers, 1980.

Pseudo-Left Still Tails Solidarność

In the recent elections there was no candidate representing the working class by running independently of and against the bourgeois parties and candidates. Yet groups like Employee Democracy (PD), affiliated with the British Socialist Workers Party of the late Tony Cliff, urged support to presidential candidate Maria Szyszkowska, a bourgeois liberal who opposes the war in Iraq. PD shares the liberal anti-communist views of Szyszkowska, who criticizes Solidarność today but praises the Solidarność of the 1980s. She opposed making August 31 "Solidarność Day," asserting that "this would be a rebuff to those who have lost by the transformations," while stating at the same time: "I do not put in question the striving for freedom of 25 years ago. I admire, e.g., Ms. Walentynowicz, Mr. Gwiazda or the sadly departed Jacek Kuron. They were the pioneers of Solidarność" (www.senat.gov.pl). From a Marxist point of view, any electoral support to this bourgeois candidate was thoroughly unprincipled. Her electoral program did not even purport to speak in the name of the working class, let alone advocate anything socialist. Thus to call on workers to vote for Szyszkowska meant subordinating the working class to a political representative of the bourgeoisie—a form of class collaboration that Marxists oppose on principle.

Szyszkowska failed to get the necessary signatures to run for president. She then got put on the slate of the Polish Labor Party (PPP) in the parliamentary elections, from which she later withdrew. All the groups of the Polish "radical left" promoted a vote for candidates of the PPP, the political arm of the right-wing union Sierpien (August) 80.

Sierpien 80 originated as a split from an outfit called Solidarność 80, led by one Marian Jurczyk. At the 1981 Solidarność founding congress, Jurczyk was one of the most rabid anti-communists, garnering a quarter of the votes as a "radical" right-wing opponent of Walesa. At the time, Jurczyk declared that three-quarters of the Polish Stalinist leadership were really Jews who had changed their names and that "a couple of gallows would come in handy" to deal with these "traitors to Polish society." Sierpien 80 split from Solidarność 80 claiming to be for "pure economic struggle," but it was no less prone to populist nationalism, railing: "It doesn't make sense to oppress a Pole in order to please Italians, Belgians and Spaniards."

The origin of such reactionary trade unions lies in the fact that with the destruction of the Polish deformed workers state, Solidarność had served its purpose as the spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution. Its peasant sector and many intellectuals decamped, and Solidarność (and its offshoots) became more akin to a trade union in social composition. We observed: "The official Solidarność union now poses as a champion of working-class interests while revving up its anti-Communist demagogy and making overtures to openly fascistic forces" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995). Taking into account only the latter, we argued one-sidedly in a 1998 article in *Platforma Spartakusowców*, paper of the SGP: "The function of Solidarność has nothing to do with 'trade unionism' of any kind, 'militant' or otherwise." This formulation wrongly denied the fact that Solidarność is both a trade union and a reactionary clericalist organization. It organizes workers at the point of production, sometimes leading defensive economic struggles; at the same time it functions as a political movement closely allied to the Catholic hierarchy and explicitly right-wing nationalist parties.

Sierpien 80's political arm, the PPP, originated before the March 2001 parliamentary elections as an electoral bloc of the right-wing, anti-Semitic Confederation for an Independent Poland-Fatherland and the Christian-National Union, as well as the fascist NOP. In May 2002, they sent a contingent of Polish miners to Paris to join the fascist Le Pen's National Front in a march against the European Union.

In 2004, the PPP refurbished its image. PPP chairman Daniel Podrzycki (who died in a car accident the day before the recent parliamentary elections) tried to paint the PPP in social-democratic colors. In the recent campaign they put forward such demands as the 35-hour workweek with no lowering of wages, benefits for all unemployed throughout the whole period of unemployment, separation of church and state, equality of women and men, tolerance and respect for all minorities—national, religious and sexual. The PPP also demanded withdrawal of Polish troops from Iraq. This "turn to the left" is meant to provide the PPP with access to the social-democratic salons—and, no douht, money—of the Party of European Socialists in the European Parliament. After Poland joined the EU, the PPP toned down some of its Polish chauvinism. But despite all this newfound "leftism," Sierpien 80 wields anti-communist graphics and rhetoric in its campaign against the SLD.

The PPP organized an electoral bloc with the bourgeois liberals of the Anti-Clericalist Party of Poland, the bourgeois Greens, Solidarność-derived social democrats from the Polish Socialist Party and the ex-Stalinist Communist Party of Poland (KPP). The candidates of these parties ran on the PPP slate, which got less than 0.8 percent of the votes. Judged by its political program and history, the PPP is a bourgeois formation. To call for a working-class vote to these Polish nationalists and clerical reactionaries amounts to betraying the interests of the Polish proletariat.

Among the groups supporting PPP candidates is the Group for the Workers Party (GPR), Polish section of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI) of Peter Taaffe. The GPR supported Grzegorz Kupis, a PPP candidate in the town of Radom, highlighting the fact that he is a tram worker and member of Sierpien 80 and more "radical" than the PPP. (The PPP slate listed him as a candidate of the Polish Ecological Party, the Greens.) The Revolutionary Left Movement (NLR), which describes itself as fraternally allied with both the USec and the thoroughly Labourite and anti-communist British Alliance for Workers Liberty, called for critical support for the whole PPP slate and for Podrzycki in the presidential race. They described the PPP coalition as a "great chance" to gain a hearing among workers, which would supposedly make it easier to "build a strong leftist formation in the future that would express the voice and the interests of the employee class in Poland" (www.marksizm.of.pl). Similarly, the Cliffite PD described the PPP program as "the most interesting, the most leftist electoral program" and anointed Podrzycki an "anti-capitalist" (www.pd.w.pl). Just as in the 1980s, all these groups promote illusions in the "left

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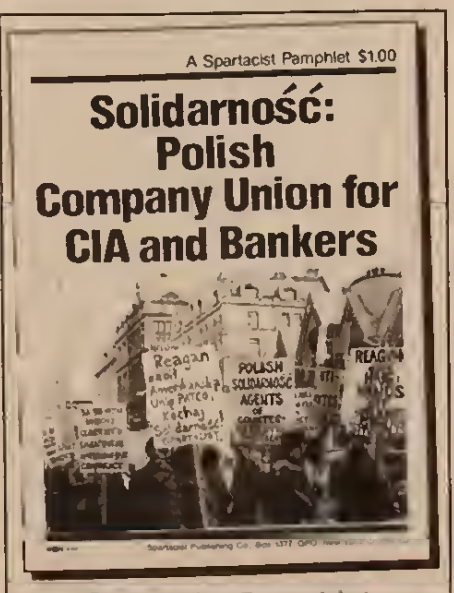

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Young Spartacus

Not One Person, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Military!

Marxism, Militarism and War

AP

Young Spartacus

Left: U.S. troops brutalize Iraqis in Falluja, November 2004. Right: SYC leads protest against ROTC at UC Berkeley, April 16.

U.S. Out of Iraq Now! Down With the Imperialist Occupation!

The following Young Spartacus *article was issued in leaflet form on October 19 and distributed by the SYC at the "On the Frontlines" national "counter-recruitment" conference at UC Berkeley on October 22-23.*

* * *

As the barbaric U.S. neocolonial occupation of Iraq drags on, hundreds of thousands rallied for an end to the occupation in Washington, D.C., L.A. and San Francisco on September 24. Hundreds of students in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., marched in "College Not Combat, Relief Not War" contingents. These contingents represented students around the country who have waged campaigns against military recruiters in high schools and on college campuses, broadly known as the "counter-recruitment" movement. These student protests have been motivated by opposition not only to the occupation of Iraq, but also to the "economic draft," which drives many working-class, disproportionately black and other minority youth to sign up for the military, as well as opposition to the military's anti-gay discrimination.

The U.S. rulers' crusade against Iraq for more than a decade, under both Republican and Democratic administrations, has exacted a huge death toll, primarily of Iraqis: over 1.5 million were killed by malnutrition and disease as a result of UN sanctions alone and several hundred thousand more during both wars and the occupation. While much sympathy in the U.S. is directed currently toward the almost 2,000 American soldiers who have died in Iraq, the starting point for Marxists is that working people must take a side in the war and occupation—***against*** U.S. imperialism. Every blow, setback or defeat for the bloodiest imperialist power on the planet is a blow in the interests of working people around the world. Just as we stood for the defense of Iraq against U.S. attack during the war, today we stand for the ***unconditional, immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops*** and for defense of the peoples of Iraq against U.S. attack and repression. Insofar as Iraqi forces on the ground aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. At the same time, we oppose the murderous communal violence against ethnic, religious and national populations often carried out by the same forces fighting the occupation.

While much of the activity around the "counter-recruitment" movement is directed at preventing individual youth from signing up for the military, the main campus organizers of many of the college protests, the Campus Antiwar Network (CAN), which is dominated politically by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), state: "We believe that it is not enough to convince people on an individual level that the military is a bad idea.... We need to build a movement that will force the military out of our school and our classrooms for good" ("College Not Combat: Get the Military Out of Our Schools," CAN Web site).

The question is: Can you actually accomplish that? While it is a very good thing that student protests may succeed in temporarily kicking the military off campus, the reality is that recruiters and officer training programs like ROTC will keep coming back so long as the imperialist army exists. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, ROTC was kicked off over a hundred campuses, not only as the result of student protest, but especially because there was massive social struggle going on more broadly and because the U.S. imperialists were ***losing*** the war against the revolutionary Vietnamese workers and peasants. But over the years, ROTC was restored to many of these campuses again. As Marxists, our goal is not just to get ROTC and military recruiters off campus for now, but to win students to the struggle to organize the social power of the working class for socialist revolution to get rid of imperialist militarism, and the capitalist system it serves, once and for all.

Revolutionary Anti-Militarism vs. Pacifist Delusion

The Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Spartacist League have initiated, led and participated in many protests to drive military recruiters and ROTC off campuses over the course of four decades. As we stated at an SYC-led protest against ROTC at UC Berkeley last April: "Military recruiters and ROTC are direct appendages of the military machine that exists to defend the American imperialist ruling class" ("SYC Leads Protest Against ROTC," *WV* No. 848, 13 May). We understand that the military exists to carry out imperialist conquest abroad and repression against working people at home. We uphold the call raised by German Marxist Wilhelm Liebknecht: "Not a man nor a penny" for bourgeois militarism.

We vigorously defend all those who have been victimized by campus administrations and the cops for their actions against military recruiters, including most recently, student protesters at Holyoke Community College in Massachusetts who on September 29 were assaulted by police while picketing an Army National Guard recruiting table in the school cafeteria. We also defend those organizations that have been victimized by the campus administration for organizing protests, such as the ISO and Students Against War at San Francisco State University.

As Marxists, we have a program for fighting against the imperialist military that is counterposed to that of the "counter-recruitment" movement, whose organizers range from religious and liberal pacifists to supposedly socialist organizations such as the ISO. The difference comes down to how you answer two fundamental and related questions: How do you successfully fight to end imperialist war? How do you fight to end militarism? We understand that you cannot end war, imperialist militarism or the economic conditions that force working-class and minority youth into the military without getting rid of the capitalist system in which these are rooted.

In contrast, the program of the "counter-recruitment" movement is to try to reform the capitalist system to be less militarist and imperialist. This is summed up in CAN's "College Not Combat" pamphlet:

> "We believe that the money that is going to fight the occupation of Iraq and the $4 billion spent annually on military recruiting should be spent on real educational opportunities and job funding. The best way to win that demand is to build a mass movement to get recruiters off our campuses for good."

This strategy is entirely consistent with the politics of purportedly socialist organizations such as the ISO, Workers World Party (WWP) and Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which have sought to build an "antiwar movement" consisting of "peace-loving" people of all different classes to pressure the imperialist rulers to stop the war on Iraq, end the occupation and put resources into worthy endeavors rather than war. The main goal for such organizations is to reform the capitalist system, a system that ***can't*** be made to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

The ISO, WWP and RCP's program of pressuring the capitalists to make their system more humane serves to demobilize struggles of radical youth, workers and the oppressed. Preaching pacifist reformism, these groups are an obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness among those engaged in struggle. A resolution during World War I by a conference of exiled Russian revolutionary Marxists in Switzerland, including Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin, explained:

> "Pacifism, the preaching of peace in the abstract, is one of the means of duping the working class. Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable....
>
> "The propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demor-

alise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane."

—"The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," February 1915

It is precisely such pacifist *duping* that reformist "socialist" groups engage in by building antiwar and "counter-recruitment" movements based on calls such as "No to war!", "War is not the answer," "Hurricane relief, not war"—the preaching of peace in the abstract with no call for revolutionary action by the working class against the capitalist system. Such campaigns push the lie that imperialist militarism and war can be ended through means other than the overthrow of the imperialist order through proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist struggle.

The Road to Peace Lies Through Class War

As the newspaper of the American Trotskyist youth organization of the 1930s from which we take our name stated:

"For the youth, as for other workers, it is imperative that he learns the class nature of society and of government and of warfare. When he learns these lessons he will have made headway in the fundamental question. *Between classes there can be no peace* till one or the other is vanquished. The workers have to understand that the *road to peace lies through war: class war*, class struggle."

—"Disarmament and Pacifism," *Young Spartacus* No. 3, February 1932

Imperialist war and militarism are the outcome of capitalist, class-divided society, in which a tiny minority of the population owns the banks and industry and amasses profit by exploiting the labor of the working class. The military is an integral component of the capitalist state, which consists also of the cops, the courts, the prisons—forces of repression and violence that defend the rule of the capitalist class against the working and oppressed masses.

The drive toward war is inherent in the capitalist system. In his classic work on the subject, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin laid out that imperialism is not some reformable policy, but the final stage of capitalism in its decay. Contending imperialist powers carve up the world into spheres of economic influence, as the nation-state proves too narrow and confining in terms of markets and the availability of cheap labor and natural resources. Imperialism is fundamentally an economic system backed up by massive military force to "settle" the inevitable economic rivalries between major capitalist states. These rivalries throw humanity into interimperialist world wars of massive devastation, such as World Wars I and II. The drive to control markets and spheres of exploitation also leads to predatory wars by imperialists against colonial and semicolonial countries.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Karl Liebknecht in soldier's uniform during WWI. German bourgeoisie drafted and then jailed Liebknecht in attempt to silence his revolutionary anti-militarist agitation.

Revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg in her 1916 *Junius Pamphlet* described the true nature of imperialist capitalism, as revealed at that time by World War I:

"Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth—thus stands bourgeois society. And so it is. Not as we usually see it, pretty and chaste, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, of order, of philosophy, ethics and culture. It shows itself in its true, naked form—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devastating culture and humanity."

While this barbaric system generates discontent among wide layers of the population, the only power that students have on their own is to register their anger through various forms of protest. However, there is a social force that has the power not just to protest, but to shut down the whole system we live under—the multiracial working class. Its social power derives from the fact that it has its hands directly on the means of production—the mines, factories, means of transport and communications—and can shut down production and capitalist profit by withholding its labor, by striking. One solid longshore strike during the Iraq war would have had a far greater impact on the U.S. government than many millions of peace protesters marching in the street. It is that kind of social power that students and the oppressed masses need to look to and ally with.

The working class not only has the social power but the objective interest to put an end to capitalist rule. The workers' interests can never be reconciled with those of the capitalists who exploit them. The interests of working people and the oppressed can be served only by creating a socialist society where production is for human need, not the profit of a small layer of exploiters. It is only through class war, i.e., the struggle of the working class leading the oppressed against the capitalist order, that the economic and political roots of imperialist war and militarism can be destroyed. The destruction of capitalism will not happen spontaneously, but requires the intervention of a conscious Marxist leadership, a revolutionary workers party that fights for socialist revolution. It is such a party that the Spartacist League, of which the SYCs are the student-youth auxiliary, is dedicated to forging.

Left Servants of Imperialism

If the idea of mobilizing the working class in mass struggle seems far-fetched to most youth in the U.S. today, it is because what they have seen of class war in their lifetimes has mostly consisted of a capitalist assault on workers, with very little working-class struggle in response. It is important to understand from a historical perspective not only that the class contradictions of this system will *inevitably* lead to future mass struggles by working people, but also that the power of the working class has been kept in chains by working-class misleaderships. Class struggle has been demobilized by the false ideology pushed by the trade-union bureaucracy and its left helpers: that the interests of labor and capital *can* be reconciled, that the overturn of this whole rotten, stinking system is impossible and therefore the best we can do is to negotiate "better" terms of capitalist exploitation for working people. As part of the struggle to uproot the whole profit system, a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement would fight for free, quality, integrated education for all, free health care, decent jobs and housing for all and against racial and sexual oppression.

The lie that working people and their exploiters can share a common interest is pushed in practice through the trade-union bureaucracy's open support to the capitalist Democratic Party and the promotion of "antiwar" Democrats and petty capitalist Greens by ostensibly socialist organizations in the antiwar movement. Pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucrats who support the "war on terror" (in reality a war on immigrants, black people and labor) and the war and occupation in Iraq are clearly misleaders of the working class. More insidious are those who stand in opposition to the war but preach a program of capitalist reform, a program that is objectively for the maintenance of the system that breeds war—these are *also* misleaders of the working class.

Panorama/DDR

Verlag Kurt Desch

Revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg. Right: Cartoon depicting Luxemburg, 1914, titled "Militarism Stands Accused."

Such left-talking misleaders are hardly a recent development in the history of the class struggle. Lenin's trenchant polemics against two "servants of imperialism" during World War I, Karl Kautsky and Filippo Turati, fit today's ISO, WWP and RCP to a tee:

"When socialist leaders like Turati and Kautsky try to convince the masses, either by direct statements.... or by *silent evasions* (of which Kautsky is a past master), that the present imperialist war can result in a democratic peace, while the bourgeois governments *remain in power* and without a revolutionary insurrection against the whole network of imperialist world relations, it is our duty to declare that such propaganda is a deception of the people, that it has nothing in common with socialism, that it amounts to the embellishment of an *imperialist* peace....

"Their [Kautsky and Turati] attention is entirely absorbed in reforms, in pacts between sections of the ruling classes; it is to them that they address themselves, it is them they seek to 'persuade,' it is to them they wish to adapt the labour movement."

—"A Turn in World Politics," January 1917

An example of how the ISO and WWP look to the capitalist class enemy, not the working class, is their promotion of cross-class liberal "antiwar" alliances, such as the strategy of working with Democratic and Green Party politicians to get city council resolutions (in New York) and ballot propositions (in San Francisco) passed against military recruiters in schools. Seeking to persuade the powers that be on the campus level, the ISO appeals to those who administer the colleges on behalf of the capitalists to stop violating their professed anti-discrimination policies and ban military recruiters. We call for a "yes" vote on San Francisco Proposition I as a basic statement of opposition to military recruiters in schools. However, it is not through propositions that you can fight to end imperialist militarism—only through working-class struggle. And working-class struggle must be *independent* of the capitalist class enemy, including the Democratic Party of racism and war.

Revolutionary Politics and Military Defense of Iraq

The ISO, WWP and RCP's refusal to call for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. and British imperialism in the lead-up to and during the war is yet another proof of their class-collaborationist orientation. Marxists are not pacifists. In his 1915 work, *Socialism and War*, Lenin summarized the attitude of Marxists to wars between imperialist powers and colonial or semicolonial countries:

"If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club applied this program of revolutionary defensism in the lead-up to and during the Iraq war, uniquely raising the slogans: "Defend Iraq Against U.S./British Imperialist Attack! Down With U.S. Imperialism! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!" We took a side militarily with semicolonial Iraq against the U.S. imperialist invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime. While favoring the defeat of the U.S., we understood that given the enormous military advantage of the United States, the most effective means of opposing the U.S. war drive was international working-class struggle against the capitalists, especially here in the U.S.

Forthright military defense of Iraq was anathema to the ISO, WWP and RCP because their goal was not to mobilize working people on the side of the Iraqi people and for the defeat of the U.S., but to build a "movement" for pressuring the imperialists to end the war. In practice this

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Charles Jenks/Traprock Peace

"College Not Combat, Relief Not War" contingent in Washington, D.C., September 24. Reformist organizers of "counter-recruitment" movement push pipe-dream of "kinder, gentler" capitalism.

Militarism...

(continued from page 7)

meant uniting with liberals and capitalist politicians like Democrats Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, who came out against the Iraq war not because they are opposed to U.S. imperialism but because they don't think the war/occupation is the best way of advancing the interests of U.S. imperialism. That sentiment has grown among a layer of the ruling class who want to extract the U.S. from the quagmire the Iraq occupation has become. In addition to being the voice for a section of the ruling class who thought that an anti-Communist campaign against North Korea made more sense than going after Iraq, these "antiwar" politicians are doing their job for the capitalists of containing black and working-class anger against this system safely within the confines of bourgeois electoralism.

In a seeming about-face, the very organizations that steadfastly refused to call for the defense of Iraq during the war, i.e., *when it counted*, such as the ISO and WWP, are today cheering the "right to resist" the U.S. occupation forces. The ISO has suddenly discovered quotes from Lenin and Trotsky on the need to defend oppressed nations against imperialism. But what is really behind their shift in position is the hope that victories by the Iraqi "resistance" will augment support within the Democratic Party for withdrawal from Iraq. Just as the ISO and WWP practice class collaboration at home, they cheer on Islamic reactionaries and other forces as "anti-imperialists" in the neocolonial world. The ISO writes: "Even if it were true that the resistance was dominated by Baathists and hard-line Islamists, this wouldn't be the central issue. Whatever the religious and political affiliations of the different resistance organizations and groupings, the main goal—the one that unites various forces of the Iraqi resistance—is '*to liberate their country from foreign occupation*'" ("Why We Support the Resistance to Occupation: Iraq's Right to National Self-Determination," *Socialist Worker*, 4 February).

In fact, the Iraqi "resistance" largely consists of disparate and mutually hostile ethnic, religious and communalist forces that aim much of their fire against rival civilian populations. When such forces *do* aim their blows against the occupation forces and their lackeys, we militarily defend them. However, in contrast to the ISO, we have stated: "We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials and warn that in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of one or another of the reactionary clerical forces is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism" ("The Left and the Iraqi Resistance: U.S. Out of Iraq Now!" *WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004).

The class-collaborationist, anti-revolutionary program of groups like the ISO is defined by their visceral hostility toward those countries where capitalism has been overturned. The ISO supported every counterrevolutionary movement that sought to overturn the gains of the Russian Revolution and cheered the destruction of the USSR in 1991-92. Capitalist restoration has been a disaster for the working people of the ex-USSR, resulting in unprecedented devastation of living standards and the destruction of historic social gains for women and ethnic and national minorities. In opposition to the imperialist triumphalism that communism is dead, as well as the widespread view among radical youth that there is nothing about the Soviet Union worth replicating today, we understand that the 1917 October Revolution remains the model for social liberation. That revolution, led by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, established the world's first workers state, a beacon for all those struggling to liberate humanity. Despite later Stalinist degeneration, the USSR demonstrated the power of a planned, collectivized economy, providing free education, health care, inexpensive housing and jobs for all.

The destruction of the Soviet Union represented a world-historic defeat for working people around the world, removing the military and industrial power that stayed the hand of the imperialists and made possible victories like the overturn of capitalism in East Europe and in Cuba, North Korea, China and Vietnam. We followed in the footsteps of Leon Trotsky by fighting for the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism and against the restoration of capitalism, while simultaneously fighting for working-class political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats. Unlike pacifists and the anti-Soviet ISO and RCP, we militarily defend the workers states, despite their Stalinist deformations, against the imperialists, which includes upholding their right to nuclear weapons. The Soviet bureaucracy's nationalist, parasitic rule undermined the gains of the Russian Revolution, especially by renouncing the struggle for international socialist revolution. The anti-Marxist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" meant betrayal of revolutionary opportunities around the world and led ultimately to the final undoing of the Russian Revolution itself.

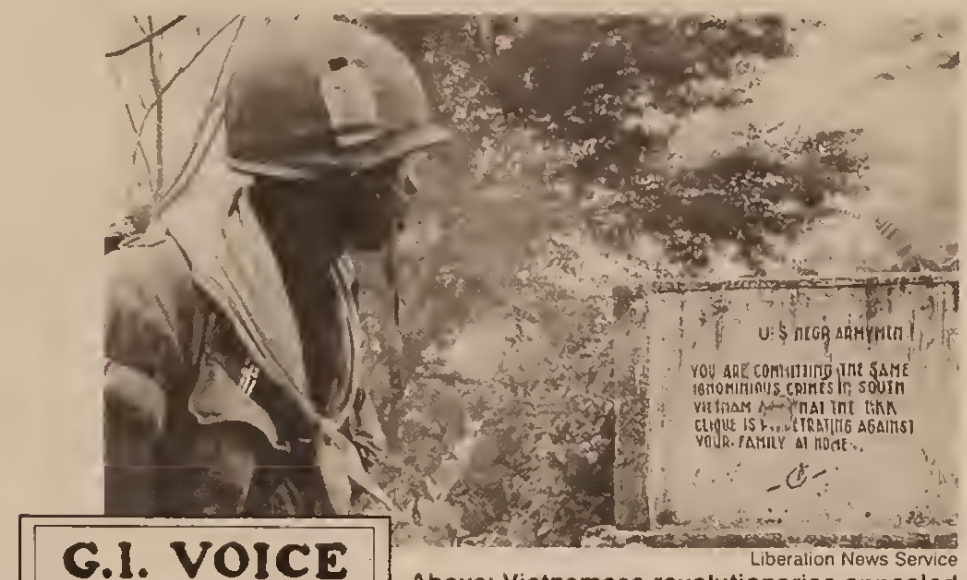
Race, Class and Militarism

Reflecting the growing opposition among the U.S. populace as a whole to the occupation of Iraq was the outpouring this summer of support and sympathy for Cindy Sheehan, the mother of an American soldier killed in Iraq, who is for ending the occupation. Sheehan captured headlines for weeks with her encampment outside President Bush's Texas ranch. Sheehan's poignant protest exposed the capitalist rulers' contempt for the overwhelmingly working-class and minority ranks of the military and their families, who are expected to unquestioningly obey "God and country" and provide the cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialist war machine.

Notwithstanding the working-class background of most U.S. troops, the imperialist armed forces are the instrument of American conquest and enforcers of the capitalist system of exploitation. Against those who in the wake of Hurricane Katrina have called to bring the troops home to help in the Gulf Coast, we say that the imperialist army is no friend of working people at home, either. There is a long and deadly history of the use of troops within the U.S. to suppress strikes, repress student antiwar protesters and crush upheavals of black people against entrenched racial oppression. And while National Guard troops sent to New Orleans have played a role in search and rescue actions that saved lives, they were sent mainly *not* to help the population but to impose reactionary "law and order." Democratic Louisiana governor Kathleen Blanco said as much when 300 members of the Arkansas National Guard were sent to New Orleans: "These troops know how to shoot and kill...and I expect they will." They were sent to hunt down "looters," desperate black people trying to find food and water, and imposed strict curfews, essentially martial law, forcing out those who didn't want to leave and preventing journalists from even photographing the dead.

AP

Camilo Mejia escorted from court-martial, 21 May 2004. Mejia, sentenced to one year in prison for refusal to serve in Iraq, has continued to speak out against the occupation.



Liberation News Service

G.I. VOICE

G.I.s and Black Power

Above: Vietnamese revolutionaries appealed to black GIs during war: "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home." Left: July 1969 issue of antiwar newspaper published by Spartacist supporters in army.

At the same time that Marxists are emphatic opponents of bourgeois militarism, we recognize the internal class contradictions of the military. As Karl Liebknecht stated in his classic 1907 work, *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*:

> "Thus we are confronted by modern militarism which wants neither more nor less than the squaring of the circle, which arms the people against the people itself, which dares to force the workers...to become oppressors and enemies, murderers of their own comrades and friends, of their parents, brothers and sisters and children, and which compels them to blight their own past and future. Modern militarism wants to be democratic and despotic, enlightened and machine-like, nationalist and antagonistic to the nation at the same time."

In addition to the class divide between the working-class ranks and the bourgeois officer corps present in all capitalist armies, the U.S. military reflects the deep-rooted racial oppression of black people in this country. The disproportionate number of black and minority youth in today's volunteer army—driven to join in large part because they have no jobs and no future, or because it is the only way to afford college or learn a skill—represents an Achilles heel for U.S. imperialism. The American military reflects the racism, anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry of capitalist society in a concentrated way.

Because we uphold Liebknecht's opposition to a single person or penny for the bourgeois army, we oppose volunteering for the army. We likewise oppose the reinstatement of the draft. The last time the U.S imperialists seriously considered reinstating the draft, during the height of their Cold War II drive against the Soviet Union in 1980, we agitated against the draft and in defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. At the same time, we have no illusions that the U.S. imperialists won't reinstate the draft when they need to, and they *will* eventually need to.

"Individual Resistance": A Losing Strategy

The "counter-recruitment" movement has drawn inspiration from soldiers, such as Camilo Mejia and Kevin Benderman, who have refused orders to serve in the Iraq war and occupation and sought to expose the horrors of imperialist war. They and several other soldiers have been court-martialed for their refusal to serve. We say: Free Kevin Benderman and hands off the other "resisters"! "Antiwar" reformists have placed great emphasis on these acts of individual resistance, promoting the idea that if more people were prevented from signing up for the military and more soldiers refused to serve it could throw a monkey wrench in the works of the war machine. This strategy is false because it seeks to paralyze a core component of the capitalist state through pacifist resistance.

It is precisely because the military *is* integral to the capitalist state that it has very repressive means for dealing with those who refuse to serve. Insubordinate soldiers can face discipline in military tribunals with punishments that include execution. As we wrote in "On Draft Resistance: You Will Go!": "It would be approximately as easy to directly overthrow the government as to deprive that government of its armed forces" (*Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968). In other words, to talk about paralyzing the military as a repressive force means the prelude to revolution. Such a situation is possible only in the context of massive working-class and social struggle against the capitalist order. Marxists seek to organize for collective victory through proletarian struggle, not defeat through martyrdom in individual, moralistic acts of "resistance." The key task today is to imbue the discontented, exploited and oppressed working masses with the consciousness that they can and must organize to struggle on the basis of their common class interests against the warmongering capitalist rulers.

The logic of the strategy of individual resistance parallels the promotion of draft "resistance" during the Vietnam War. This is expressed by the youth group of the WWP, which supports the "No Draft, No Way" movement that advocates "refusal to be inducted into the military under any circumstances" (www.NoDraftNoWay.org). The duty of

Marxism, War and the Fight For Socialist Revolution

Two-part article from
Workers Vanguard Nos. 795 and 796,
17 and 31 January 2003

$1
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revolutionaries who are drafted is to go with the mass of working-class youth into the military. During the Vietnam War, as youth were chanting "Hell no, we won't go!" we said, "You will go!" Our *Spartacist* article "You Will Go!" addressed antiwar activists:

> "If you refuse induction, you will either go to prison, or you will flee the country. In both cases your body will be ***exactly where the rulers of the U.S. want it:*** removed from struggle and removed from contact with the youth who fight the wars....
>
> "For prominent working-class leaders to dodge the draft earns them the disrespect of the workers and is a direct aid to the ruling class, as it removes them from any contact with the workers they claim to represent."

Our article went on to explain: "The main argument for draft resistance is that it will hurt the U.S. war effort. ***But this is not going to happen.*** A few hundred middle-class, anti-war students might be diverted from military service, but the tens of thousands of black and white working-class...youth who are to be drafted will not respond to the anti-draft campaign." It was with the perspective of influencing the working-class and oppressed ranks of the military with a socialist program that Spartacist supporters in the Army published several issues of an antiwar newspaper distributed to GIs during the Vietnam War called *G.I. Voice*.

For a Class-Struggle Perspective

In fact, many of those who advocated draft resistance during the Vietnam War were students benefiting from the "College Not Combat" measure of the time: student deferments. We called for the abolition of the student deferment because it expressed class privilege, meaning that wealthy and petty-bourgeois youth who

K. A. Kuznetsov

Leader of Bolshevik Revolution, V. I. Lenin, addresses Soviet Red Army in 1919.

had the privilege of being in college didn't get drafted, while poor and working-class youth did. More generally, the bourgeoisie uses its wealth and privilege to keep its sons out of combat. A prime example is George W. Bush, who avoided combat in Vietnam by taking advantage of family connections to get a safe sinecure in the Air National Guard.

Polemicizing against anarchists, Karl Liebknecht succinctly captured the difference between liberal and revolutionary anti-militarism in his *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*. Noting that "It [anarchism] lays great stress upon individual refusal to do military service, individual refusal to resort to arms and upon individual protests," Liebknecht argued:

> "Anarchism works here, first of all, with ethical enthusiasm, with the stimuli of morality, with arguments of humanity, of justice; in short, with all sorts of impulses on the will which ignore the class war character of anti-militarism, and attempt to stamp it as an abstract efflux of a categorical imperative of universal application....
>
> "Social-Democratic [Marxist] anti-militarist propaganda, on the contrary, propagates the class-struggle and therefore it appeals on principle exclusively to those classes which, necessarily, are the foes of militarism in the class struggle.... It enlightens people to win them over, but it enlightens them not concerning categorical imperatives, humanitarian points of view, ethical postulates of freedom and justice, but concerning the class struggle, the interests of the proletariat therein."

Military society is a reflection of civil society, and major shifts in the consciousness of the poor and working-class ranks of the military parallel such shifts in civil society. For example, many of the soldiers who carried out acts of rebellion against officers during the Vietnam War were black. This had much to do with the mass social struggle against racial oppression that was taking place back home. War often brings the class contradictions of society acutely to the fore—this was especially the case in the massive, seemingly senseless all-sided slaughter of World War I and in wars where the imperialists were losing to forces fighting for social revolution, such as Vietnam. This is why, as Leon Trotsky noted, "war is the mother of revolution" (*Military Writings*, Volume 1: 1918). War brings the contradiction between the interests of the capitalist rulers and those of working people starkly to light in a way that is often obscured in times of "peace." It is only in a revolutionary situation that the bourgeois army will split along class lines. The role of revolutionaries in such a situation is to provide the program and leadership to struggling soldiers and working people for a successful overturn of capitalism.

Bolshevik Revolution: Model for Today

The need for a revolutionary Marxist party to lead the fight for working-class power was demonstrated in both the positive and negative during WWI. This war brought to a head a historic split in the Marxist movement throughout Europe. The war was essentially fought to redivide world markets among the belligerent imperialist powers of Europe, and was completely unprecedented in the level of death and destruction—some 15 million people were killed. Nearly every socialist party that faced the challenge of World War I failed miserably. The most spectacular failure was the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) whose parliamentary deputies voted, on 4 August 1914, for war credits, i.e., in support of the war on the side of their "own" bourgeoisie. Within the Marxist movement throughout Europe there were some leaders who similarly capitulated to the intense pressures of patriotism and declared that socialists could stand for the "defense of the fatherland." Breaking with the social-chauvinist SPD leaders in Germany, Karl Liebknecht voted against war credits in December 1914 and used his parliamentary post to agitate against the war and the social-chauvinists. The German bourgeoisie tried to silence him by drafting him into the military where he continued his agitation in his soldier's uniform, and was imprisoned a second time for his agitation against militarism and war.

Tens of thousands of leaflets authored by Liebknecht and his comrades of the Spartakusbund were published with the ringing internationalist slogan: "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" Unlike a predatory war by an imperialist power against a colonial country, in a war between imperialist powers such as WWI the working class has no side. Liebknecht's slogan paralleled Lenin's demand that the working class turn the interimperialist war into a civil war against their "own" capitalist rulers. This cut across not only the social-chauvinism of leading European Social Democrats, but also against the social-pacifists whose only demands were for "peace," i.e., for a return to capitalist stability.

In Russia, Lenin had fought since 1903 to build a hard revolutionary party with a clear program, and so, unlike the majority of the SPD, the Bolsheviks did not cave in to the bourgeois pressures around WWI. The social-chauvinists and social-pacifists in Russia were constituted in the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties. Lenin insisted on the necessity for revolutionaries to split with the opportunists within the Marxist movement over the question of the war. Lenin described opportunism as having the same content as social-chauvinism: "collaboration of classes instead of class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments for revolution" (*Socialism and War*).

Boni and Liveright

Revolutionary sailors come to defense of workers' soviets in Russia, 1917.

In this same pamphlet he continued, "Today *unity* with the opportunists *actually* means subordinating the working class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means *splitting* the revolutionary proletariat of all countries." It was this revolutionary intransigence that enabled Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party to lead the October Revolution in Russia, pulling Russia out of WWI. In 1917 rebellious soldiers took their stand with the revolutionary proletariat against Russian tsarism, capitalism and the war, signaling the collapse of the state and unraveling of capitalist rule in Russia. The Bolsheviks led these struggles toward the seizure of state power by the working class.

It was the lack of such a leadership in Germany that led to the defeat of the revolutionary wave between 1918 and 1923. The heroic leaders, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, having eventually split first with the SPD and then the Kautskyite centrists to form the German Communist Party, were shortly thereafter murdered by counterrevolutionary forces dispatched by SPD leaders in 1919. When a revolutionary crisis erupted in 1923, the German Communist Party had a vacillating leadership and was programmatically weak (see "A Trotskyist Critique of Germany 1923 and the Comintern," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 56, Spring 2001).

It is precisely the fight to expose the opportunists in the workers movement, and split the working class away from the false program these reformists offer, that is required to unshackle the power of labor today. Mobilizing that power is the critical factor in every struggle against imperialism, exploitation and the myriad forms of oppression engendered by the capitalist system. Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher powerfully summed this up in a 1966 speech addressed to New Left antiwar radicals during the Vietnam War:

> "Unless you have found a way to the young age groups of the American working class and shaken this sleeping giant of yours, this sleeping giant of the American working class...out of the sleep into which he has been drugged, unless you have done this, you will be lost.
>
> "Your only salvation is in carrying back the idea of socialism to the working class and coming back with the working class to storm—to storm, yes, to storm—the bastions of capitalism."
>
> —"On Socialist Man,"
> *Marxism in Our Time*, 1971 ■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

The State and Revolution
Tuesday, November 1, 5 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Rm. T-160
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

The Leninist Struggle Against Imperialism
Tuesday, November 8, 7 p.m.
University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Room 104, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

The State and Revolution
Saturday, November 12, 2 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

The State and Revolution
Wednesday, November 16, 7 p.m.
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 703
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

BOSTON

The Russian Revolution of 1917: How the Working Class Took Power
Thursday, November 17, 7 p.m.
Boston University
George Sherman Union, Room 322
775 Commonwealth Avenue
(BU Central stop on Green Line B)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

TORONTO

Independence for Quebec! Marxism and the National Question
Wednesday, November 2, 6:30 p.m.
U of T, Sydney Smith, Room 2115
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

The Struggle for Working Class Leadership Today: Break with the Pro-Imperialist NDP!
Thursday, November 3, 5 p.m.
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tlll@look.ca

Paramilitaries Attack Picketers

Victory to SF Hospital Strikers!

In the early morning of October 13, a squad of paramilitary mercenaries charged into nearly 200 striking health care workers picketing to stop scabs at the California Pacific Medical Center (CPMC) in San Francisco. The thugs of the Steele Foundation security firm shoved and punched the strikers, members of SEIU-United Healthcare Workers West (SEIU-UHW), trying to drive them into auto traffic. Lorenna Hernandez, a dietary aide, was thrown to the ground and kicked in the stomach, requiring hospitalization. The workers held the line against this vicious attack, which followed weeks of thuggery and harassment by the mercenary goons against the mostly female and minority picketers.

Now in its seventh week, the bitter strike pits 800 vocational nurses, dietary workers, custodians and clerks against the union-busting Sutter Corp., the largest health care provider in Northern California and one of the most profitable in the country. The workers are fighting for a greater say in staffing levels and for the hospital to contribute to the union's training and education fund.

Sutter Corp. is notorious for understaffing, hounding patients who can't pay and turning away the uninsured. The Steele Foundation, whose hired thugs are known to picketers as the "Men In Black," is a sinister international operation composed of former intelligence officers, FBI agents and Special Forces veterans, including many who have carried out bloody terror for U.S. imperialism during its occupation of Iraq. Security guards are not part of the working class and should not be in the unions, including SEIU. Sutter has also enlisted a professional scabbing outfit that preys on the desperate poor, including evacuees from New Orleans, to scab on the strike.

On September 2, SEIU-UHW president Sal Rosselli issued a ten-day notice that workers at eight Sutter hospitals, all working without a contract, would go on strike. But from the beginning the SEIU leadership has limited the strike to CPMC. Rosselli told *Workers Vanguard* at a strike rally: "What that horrible incident of violence did was really focus some elected leaders like Mayor Gavin Newsom and [Congresswoman] Nancy Pelosi to really start prioritizing using their influence to get this resolved." What's needed to beat back Sutter Corp. and its vicious scab-herders is mass militant picket lines to ***stop the scabs*** and ***shut down all the Sutter hospitals***, not looking to phony "friend of labor" capitalist politicians like Democrats Newsom and Pelosi.

Gladstone/SF Chronicle

San Francisco: SEIU-UHW health care workers picket California Pacific Medical Center, September 13.

One out, all out! The California Nurses Association and other unions with contracts with Sutter that had pledged to go out in solidarity with SEIU-UHW are scabbing. SEIU president Andy Stern, leader of the Change to Win Coalition that split from the AFL-CIO in July, is giving $250,000 a week to the striking workers. That is good, but Stern has done nothing to organize labor action in defense of the brutalized strikers. Change to Win member unions like the Teamsters, San Francisco UNITE HERE hotel workers, working without a contract for over a year, and SEIU-organized S.F. school workers, who recently authorized a strike, are among the labor forces that should be mobilized to build mass picket lines to shut down CPMC and the entire Sutter medical empire. Keep San Francisco a union town! *Victory to the SEIU-UHW strikers!* ■

GM/Delphi...

(continued from page 1)

black workers have tremendous potential social power and can play a vanguard role in defending the interests of the entire proletariat through united class struggle.

The question of the unity of the employed and unemployed in this country is the race question. Predatory union-busters have recruited desperate Hurricane Katrina survivors for deployment as scabs against striking hospital workers in San Francisco and against union musicians fighting wage- and benefit-gouging scrooges readying New York City's Radio City Music Hall for its Christmas extravaganza. Unionized black workers represent a socially powerful link to the ghettoized poor deemed a "surplus population" by the racist rulers.

Key to turning back the assault on the UAW is organizing the auto assembly and parts plants that have proliferated in the South and other non-union areas. The crucial need for the labor movement to take up the fight for black rights comes sharply into focus in any drive to organize the "open shop" South, where the racist legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation has always served to suppress labor struggle. Black and white workers must also champion the rights of immigrants, a growing component of the proletariat, and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The rights of black people and union rights march forward together or are thrown back separately. But it's not as simple as "black and white, unite and fight." A perspective to turn around the decades of defeat for labor and blacks in this country requires breaking the labor movement from its political subservience to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital. It is urgently necessary for a new labor leadership to be forged in sharp class struggle. Such struggle must take political independence from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties as its starting point. ***Break with the Democrats! Build a multiracial, class-struggle workers party!***

For International Labor Solidarity!

In his *Wall Street Journal* interview, Robert "let 'em die" Miller said that as far as he was concerned, the job of UAW head Ron Gettelfinger is "to help half a million of workers get used to the idea that globalization has taken away the ability to have someone who mows the lawn or sweeps the floor get $65 an hour." Miller drips ruling-class contempt, acting like the working class is dust under his feet. Auto workers built the gleaming machines that drive the "American Dream." They built the Motor City that the capitalists have done their best to run into the ground. They created the fabulous wealth appropriated as profits by parasites like Miller and his class.

"Globalization" lingo is designed to mask the historic workings of imperialist capitalism: the carving out of new markets; the extraction of more profit through exploitation of labor abroad while simultaneously driving down wages and shutting factories at home; defense of "national interests" through trade wars and shooting wars. The U.S. auto industry has operations throughout the world. Earlier this year, bosses at GM's Opel plants in Germany told workers to take wage and benefit cuts along with more forced overtime under the pretext of keeping the company competitive. Instead of the labor tops' poisonous "America first" protectionism and support to American imperialist military adventures, U.S. workers need to forge ***international class-struggle solidarity***.

The screaming about rising health care and wage costs is corporate propaganda in the service of union-busting. Meanwhile, Delphi, GM et al. rake it in with their subsidiaries and international operations. The unions should fight for free, quality health care for all! For jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Against the anarchy of capitalist production, we fight for workers revolutions to establish an international planned socialist economy.

Fight or Starve!

GM/Delphi's attack on the UAW is a potential watershed for all workers. A fight against these vicious exploiters, by workers in the very heart of the industrial economy, would resonate among working people desperate to achieve or hold on to health care and pensions. U.S. imperialism's brutal occupation of Iraq has generated widespread revulsion. The Bush gang's cronyism, lethal incompetence and open racist hatred for the poor, largely black population of New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Katrina shocked millions. The capitalist profit system was revealed to be utterly incapable of providing even the minimal necessities of life. Throwing youth into prisons while smashing public education, enforcing the racist death penalty and destroying welfare and social programs has been the capitalists' standard operating policy for decades, under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

The U.S. ruling class has looted the wealth of this country and sabotaged its vital infrastructure by refusing to invest in and modernize basic industry like steel and auto, mortgaging the future of this society for short-term gains. That's fundamentally why GM keeps building gas-guzzling, unsafe models like the notorious tip-over SUVs, and why it's quality Japanese and German autos that consumers increasingly want to buy. Highways, levees, schools, hospitals, mass transit—it's all been run into the ground. The capitalist system deserves to perish.

But for this to happen requires forging a revolutionary workers party that will rip power out of the hands of the exploiters and create a society organized to meet human needs, not private profit. Our model is the 1917 Russian Revolution, led by Leon Trotsky's and V.I. Lenin's Bolshevik Party. The only way to guarantee good living conditions, jobs for all and an end to capitalist exploitation and racist oppression is by expropriating the capitalist class through socialist revolution. As Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program, founding document of the Fourth International:

> "If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery." ■

Polish Elections...

(continued from page 5)

wing" of Solidarność reaction.

The Internet publication *Platforma Proletariacka* (*PP*), which first appeared in September 2002 and claimed that it "continues the work which was carried out by the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski," advocated a vote to Szyszkowska's presidential bid, but withdrew its electoral support when her candidacy on the PPP ticket was announced. When sympathizers and supporters of the ICL in Poland denounced this unprincipled support to a bourgeois candidate in a 4 September statement as "a desperate desire to exist on a 'political scene' saturated with the reactionary climate of post-counterrevolutionary Poland," *PP* responded in a 6 October statement: "While the perception of Maria Szyszkowska as a liberal bourgeois candidate is quite correct, the conclusion [of not supporting Szyszkowska] is contorted and unfounded!" In other words, *PP* passed off as principled supporting a liberal ***bourgeois*** democrat who is outspoken in her admiration for the anti-communist founders of Solidarność. This constituted a repudiation of the ICL's principled stand for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie and its representatives. In a 13 October statement, *PP* recognized that it had committed a "deadly error" and added, "In this way we—unwittingly—stood in the ranks of the 'Solidarność' left."

In counterposition to the Polish fake left, the SGP consistently refused to vote not only for candidates under the banner of Solidarność, but also for the SLD, which never ran on the basis of class independence. In *Platforma Spartakusowców*, the SGP called for building a Leninist-Trotskyist party—a "tribune of the people" mobilizing workers and minorities in defense of the right to free abortion on demand, to defend immigrants against racist deportations and to mobilize to stop fascist, anti-Semitic provocations. The SGP opposed Poland's entry into the European Union—an imperialist bloc directed against the working class and all the oppressed.

Our perspective is to build in Poland and other countries revolutionary workers parties, which will provide leadership in the struggle for socialist revolutions in capitalist countries and for proletarian political revolutions in the deformed workers states China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. Our record of fighting against Solidarność counterrevolution and defending the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states constitutes the programmatic basis for a revolutionary organization in Poland! ■

Corsica...

(continued from page 12)

French capitalist state under Lionel Jospin from 1997 to 2002. The LTF newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*, warned against the wheeling and dealing of the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), which, having given electoral support to the 1997 popular front, now seeks to take advantage of the distrust and distaste of many workers for the PS and PCF by giving a "left" face to a new class-collaborationist electoral coalition.

While the SNCM seamen's militant strike in defense of their jobs met broad support among workers in France, the bourgeoisie immediately sought to portray the struggle as having been hijacked by a few Corsican nationalists. Anti-Corsican chauvinism, smearing Corsicans as a bunch of tribal/clan-based Mafiosi and terrorists, is rampant, including among the CGT bureaucracy. The right of national independence for Corsica was blatantly absent from all the platform speeches at the October 3 Marseille rally. Thus the rare joint contingent of CGT union federation and STC workers from SNCM at the October 4 demonstration in Bastia was particularly important and welcome, cutting across both French chauvinism and Corsican nationalism.

On October 11, the CGT bureaucrats got the dockers to cease their strike. Two days later, on the 24th day of the ferry workers strike, CGT union leaders caved in to the threat of bankruptcy and held a secret ballot. As the daily *Le Monde* (14 October) reported, "The question was posed exactly according to the terms set by the government: 'yes to resuming work, thus saying no to bankruptcy' or 'no to resuming work, thus saying yes to bankruptcy'." Faced with the blackmail "offer" presented by their treacherous leaders, workers voted overwhelmingly to end the strike. The government is now free to proceed with its latest proposal, which would privatize the bulk of the SNCM ferry company.

* * *

The attack on September 28 by the national marine and military police [*gendarmerie*] with war helicopters against an SNCM ship occupied by strikers of the Union of Corsican Workers is an act of common state terrorism that threatens the whole workers movement. With the approach of the mass strikes and demonstrations of October 4, the government has sent a message to the entire working class that if it dares to defend itself against the increasing attacks from the capitalists, it will face cop violence and even the army. The longshoremen of Marseille have now been on strike for four days in solidarity with the SNCM workers and have totally shut down the port. The whole working class should join in solidarity against the attack and demand freedom now for the imprisoned trade unionists and that all charges against them be dropped. STC members are facing up to 20 years in jail. ***Down with the privatization of SNCM and the other public companies!***

The announcement on September 26 that the SNCM had been given away as a "gift," pure and simple, to a friend of de Villepin, with a hundred million euros added on top, set off the explosion. The official line is to predict 400 layoffs, but the workers talk of 1,000 layoffs out of 2,400 jobs, and, in fact, the company is threatened with being dismantled. The CGT sailors, who have been on strike since last week, proclaim their "solidarity with their imprisoned brothers," but already their leadership is ready to betray them. On the day of the state's attack, CGT leader Jean-Paul Israel very plainly, in front of the TV cameras, refused to defend the STC workers. The CGT leadership was cynical enough to talk about an "opening" on the part of the government on the very day of the assault! And the same evening, Bernard Thibault, the national leader of the CGT, went to meet de Villepin to assure him that he is ready to accept the privatization of the SNCM provided it will be "partial," as well as to discuss how to prevent a social explosion.

Reuters

Marseille, October 4: Ferry strikers and dockers head demonstration as part of million-strong one-day nationwide strike.

LCR and PCF Wheel and Deal for New "Popular Front"

The LCR and PCF have opposed the cop attack against the STC sailors. But at bottom they intend to channel the workers' anger over this issue toward constituting a new "united political power," in other words, constituting a new popular front with capitalist groupings (see *Le Bolchévik*, September 2005). Their politics as a whole are oriented toward this end. Thus, at the [PCF] *l'Humanité* Fête this year [LCR leader] Besancenot and [PCF national secretary and former government minister] Buffet got together with Zuccarelli, the "left Radical" mayor of Bastia, who's such a French chauvinist that he supported the cop attack against the STC sailors. This shows that the kind of government the LCR and PCF aspire to build, including capitalist forces such as Zuccarelli's PRG [Radical Left Party], would be a brutally anti-working-class and anti-Corsican bourgeois government, like that of Chirac-Villepin.

And it would be just like that of Jospin-Buffet—the government that began the complete privatization of Air France and France Telecom. It was the Jospin-Buffet government that launched the manhunt against Yvan Colonna after the murder of *préfet* [central state representative in Corsica] Erignac in 1998, though the government had not a shred of evidence (and still has no evidence) that he was implicated. And it was the Jospin-Buffet government that then named Bernard Bonnet as *préfet* in Corsica, promoting Bonnet for his role repressing those defending the Catalan language when he was *préfet* in the Eastern Pyrénées. Bonnet sent out the military police at night to set fire to beach restaurants in order to terrorize Corsican nationalists. (There was a scandal only because Bonnet got caught and thus discredited the French bourgeois state.)

The alternative is not a new bloc of class collaboration between the Zuccarellis, the [PS leaders] Hollande/Fabius and Buffets, even with a Besancenot on its left, but a fight for the class independence of the proletariat against the capitalists and for the perspective of workers revolution. We fight to build a multiethnic, proletarian vanguard party to lead such a revolution to victory.

For the Right of Self-Determination for the Corsican People!

In order to defuse the crisis, the government and the union bureaucrats count on using anti-Corsican chauvinism, which the French bourgeoisie and the reformists have always sought to use to divide French and Corsican workers, targeting Corsican workers as "terrorists" and so on. To thwart these maneuvers it is necessary to fight to mobilize the proletariat here in France against the national oppression of the Corsican people. That is the only way to fight for the class unity of Corsican and French workers against the capitalists. Corsica has been maintained in a state of underdevelopment by French imperialism. It has a massive unemployment rate, much higher than the French average. The SNCM privatization scheme would have an even more devastating impact on Corsica's workers than on those in Marseille and on the continent. *No layoffs! For the right of the Corsican people to decide their own fate, including the right to separate from the "Hexagon"* [France] *if they choose! Complete equality for all languages, with no privilege whatsoever for French!* We demand *freedom for all imprisoned Corsican nationalists*, including Yvan Colonna, who is now in his third year in jail.

The whole island has now been placed under a state of siege, reinforced by hundreds of extra cops. ***Down with police terror in Corsica!*** As one SNCM worker said, "We're not terrorists, we're fathers defending our jobs" (*Grand Marseille 20 Minutes*, 29 September). One can see concretely, with the act of piracy by the military police commando unit against the STC sailors and against the public service sector, how the government's "anti-terrorist" campaign threatens the working class itself. Most often in France it's youth of Maghrebin [North African] origin who are targeted by the racist "anti-terror" campaign. This is intended to divide the working class between "French" workers and those of immigrant origin, who suffer even more intense job instability. In Corsica, the unemployment rate for youth, particularly of Moroccan origin, is even higher than for others. Not only the French cops but also some Corsican nationalists have carried out acts of racist terror against these youth. ***Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families, in France and in Corsica! Down with*** [state anti-immigrant campaign] ***Vigipirate!***

Last year, the SNCM sailors respected the picket lines of the STC, despite the diatribes of the CGT leadership against "Corsicizing jobs" [preferential hiring of Corsicans] as demanded by the STC. (And [the fake-Trotskyist group] Lutte Ouvrière totally supported the CGT bureaucrats on this one—see the 24 September 2004 *Lutte Ouvrière*.) In order to maintain and improve ferry service, what is in fact needed is massive hiring—of workers resident in France and in Corsica. Today hiring (or rather laying off) is controlled by the racist and chauvinist management. The unions should have a monopoly on hiring as it used to be in the Marseille harbor. This poses the need for one industrial union, regrouping all the SNCM workers, French and Corsican. The same union should also organize the workers of [low cost] Corsica Ferries, to bring wages and working conditions up to the highest level.

Racist discrimination in hiring that targets youth from the northern [immigrant/working class] districts of Marseille and those from immigrant families in Corsica must be opposed. Today workers have a leadership consisting of French chauvinist social democrats or Corsican nationalists. We fight for a ***revolutionary and internationalist*** leadership in the trade unions, fighting all forms of racist or nationalist division among workers, and for the complete independence of the trade unions vis-à-vis the state.

Drop the charges against the STC and CGT trade unionists! Victory to the SNCM and Marseille dock workers strike! For the right of self-determination for the Corsican people! ■

Toledo...

(continued from page 12)

County Prosecutor, Lucas County Courthouse, Adams and Erie Streets, Toledo, OH 43624.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee vigorously protests the mass arrests of anti-Nazi protesters in Toledo, Ohio on Saturday, October 15.

The race terrorists of the National Socialist Movement had announced a march in Toledo at noon on October 15. This fascist rally, built under the disgusting pretext of fighting "black crime," was nothing but a recruitment drive for lynch mob race terror against Toledo's black residents, making up nearly a quarter of the city's population.

Understanding the deadly threat posed by these Hitler-loving storm troopers, several hundred mainly black residents came out in an elementary act of self-defense and succeeded in stopping the Nazi march. These anti-fascist protesters also denounced the role of the black Democratic Mayor Jack Ford who had mobilized his cops *en masse* to protect the fascists.

In retaliation for this victory in stopping the Nazi march, Ford's cops attacked the demonstrators, shooting "flash bang" devices and tear gas at the demonstrators. Over 110 people (including at least 17 juveniles) have been arrested on bogus charges of aggravated rioting, assault, vandalism, and curfew violations. Echoing the Nazis' racist filth, Ford smeared the protesters as "gang members," and imposed a "state of emergency" on the city.

In stopping the Nazis, these protesters performed a great service for all black people, immigrants, trade unionists, leftists, Jews, gays, and all potential victims of fascist race terror. We demand: *Drop all charges against the Toledo anti-Nazi demonstrators!* ■

LE BOLCHEVIK 4

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Hands Off Anti-Fascist Protesters!

Nazis Run Out of Toledo

OCTOBER 22—Some 600 people spiked a race-hate provocation by the fascist National Socialist Movement in Toledo, Ohio on October 15. Despite cop protection, the neo-Nazi filth were prevented hy the overwhelmingly black demonstrators from marching through North Toledo. Having tried to protect the fascists, police then went on a rampage against the protesters. During the protest and subsequent curfew, 114 people were arrested, including 34 minors as young as 12 years old. Some are still heing held. The lahor movement, the left, fighters against racism must demand: Drop all charges! Free the anti-fascist protesters now!

The same day that anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant demagogue Louis Farrakhan commemorated his reactionary 1995 march for black people's "atonement" in Washington, D.C. with another rally appeasing the racist capitalist rulers, the people of North Toledo took it in their hands to strike a blow for black people, Jews, immigrants—all those in the fascists' gun sights. Black Democratic mayor Jack Ford and a gaggle of preachers had exhorted residents to stay away and ignore the threat of race-terrorists marching down their streets. But as one resident told the *New York Times* (17 Octoher), "You can't allow people to come challenge a whole city and not think they weren't going to strike back."

Detroit/The Blade

October 15: Black North Toledo residents made up bulk of protest that drove Nazis off the streets.

City authorities blamed "gangs" in condemning the outpouring of protest and rage—that's the same kind of racist garbage the ruling class spewed in depicting hlack people in New Orleans as "looters" for trying to get food and water after Hurricane Katrina. Mayor Ford slanderously charged the International Socialist Organization and the One People's Project group with handing out eggs to anti-racist protesters to throw at the fascists, claiming "That's exactly what they do—they come into town and get people riled up" (CNN.com, 15 October).

Toledo has a powerful, integrated, unionized working class. The Daimler-Chrysler Jeep plant, with thousands of UAW workers, is right next to the North Toledo neighhorhood. Unions in the area must use their muscle to defend those victimized for protesting the fascist menace. Any threatened Klan or Nazi provocation must be answered hy a mass mobilization centered on the power of the labor movement, marching at the head of all the fascists' intended victims. But to wield that power requires fighting against the policies of the existing labor leadership, whose embrace of the capitalist profit system is antithetical to waging class struggle in defense of workers' livelihoods and the rights of black people and all the oppressed.

We reprint below an Octoher 17 letter hy the Partisan Defense Committee to the Toledo and Lucas County prosecutors protesting the arrests of the anti-fascist protesters. Letters can he sent to: David Toska, Toledo Prosecutor, Toledo Municipal Court, 555 N. Erie St., Toledo, OH 43624; and Judy Bates, Lucas

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Dockers, Seamen Shut Down Marseille

Corsica and Class Struggle in France

On September 28, a French military police commando unit backed up hy five helicopters attacked and seized a ferry off the coast of Corsica that was occupied by striking sailors of the Union of Corsican Workers (STC). The ferry workers, the hulk of whom are organized by the CGT trade-union federation and others by the STC (dominated by Corsican nationalists), had struck over the French government's threat to privatize the state-owned SNCM Corsica-Mediterranean ferry line. The strike, which began on September 20, was joined by solidarity actions of Marseille dockers that shut down France's biggest port. There were two days of pitched hattles with cops on the Marseille docks and in Corsica's Bastia harbor. After the government's blatant attack against the striking workers, harhor workers also hlockaded ports in Corsica protesting the arrest of four STC sailors who face charges similar to those for aircraft hijacking.

These actions are part of a wave of workers' protests that have challenged the policies of the right-wing government under Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin. On October 4, a million workers went out on strike and demonstrated across the country for higher wages and against pending anti-union measures. In Marseille, up to 100,000 people protested, with some 1,000 SNCM workers and longshoremen heading up the march, and transit workers also struck against privatization threats.

The leaflet translated below was issued by the Ligue Trotskyste, French section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), on September 30. It was distributed at the October 4 demonstrations in Paris, Rouen and Marseille and at a Marseille rally the day before. There were those who welcomed us for speaking the truth and those who hated us for the same reason. As the leaflet explains, the reformist workers parties and organizations in France are striving to channel working-class anger into a new popular-front government, like the one including the Socialist Party (PS) and the Communist Party (PCF) that ran the

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AFP

Reuters

Left: Police in helicopters storm ferry seized by seamen protesting SNCM privatization, September 28. Right: Striking ferry workers in Marseille harbor, October 1.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 858 | GCU C-701 | 11 November 2005

War Crimes and Misdemeanors

Corbis AP

Imperialist war criminals and liars: Dick Cheney with George W. Bush; I. Lewis Libby, Cheney's former chief of staff.

The Libby Imbroglio

The occupation of Iraq is not going well for U.S. imperialism. For that matter neither is the occupation of Afghanistan. More than 2,000 Americans have forfeited their lives in Iraq, while over 100,000 Iraqis have been killed as a result of the war and occupation. Most Americans are now aware that the expressed reason for the occupation—the "democratization" of Iraq—is as much a hallucination as were the "weapons of mass destruction" that served as a pretext for the war.

The indictment of I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby for perjury and obstruction of justice over his role in outing CIA agent Valerie Plame has been seized on by both the bourgeois press and the Democrats as a way to hide their complicity in the savage destruction that has been visited on the social fabric of Iraq and the peoples who inhabit it. The *New York Times* would have us believe that it was swindled by its reporter Judith Miller, who fed its readers the Bush administration's war lies about Iraq. The Democrats, so the story goes, were at the mercy of the gargantuan lies concocted, in the main, by Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and the evil one, Karl Rove.

This is self-serving hogwash, as we detailed in "Judith Miller and Bush Disinformation—Big Lies and Imperialist War" (*WV* No. 856, 14 October). To date the main imperialist executioner of the Iraqi peoples was Bill Clinton, backed by a United Nations embargo. The starvation blockade, mainly during his eight years in office, killed a million and a half Iraqis. The hundreds of UN monitors of Saddam Hussein's military capabilities, who operated as spies for the U.S., were fully aware, and assuredly communicated to their masters, that Iraq was incapable of any coherent military action against the U.S. Thus, to sell the war to the public, an outrageous and fantastic myth was constructed linking Saddam Hussein to Al Qaeda and endowing the Iraqi military with nuclear capability. The bourgeois press was aware of the reality, as were the Democrats, who nevertheless voted overwhelmingly for the war.

The "discovery" that Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld et al. lied ranks with the discovery of snow in Antarctica. In fact, lies are the oil the imperialists use to facilitate their savageries. We noted in "Big Lies and Imperialist War" that the 1964 "Gulf of Tonkin incident" was a fabrication designed to sell the escalation of U.S involvement in the Vietnam War. Last week it was reported that the government had suppressed a 2001 National Security Agency finding which demonstrated that the "incident" was a lie.

The Democrats' current protestations about Bush's lies are simply due to the fact that things haven't worked out in Iraq. Commenting on the investigations into the Bush administration, Frank Rich wrote in the *New York Times* (30 October), "We're a long way from putting together the full history of a self-described 'war presidency' that bungled the war in Iraq and, in doing so, may be losing the war against radical Islamic terrorism as well." This is the standard Democratic Party criticism of the Bush White House: that it cannot be trusted to defend U.S. interests around the world and to prosecute the "war on terror"—a war armed with measures that frontally attack not only immigrants but the democratic rights of blacks and all working people.

As a capitalist party, the Democrats are dedicated to the fundamental interests of U.S. imperialism, which launched the Iraq invasion to assert its unchallenged domination over this oil-rich region and the globe. The reformist and liberal left that dominates the antiwar coalitions hangs on to the coattails of the liberal imperialist opposition, searching for more rational ways of maintaining this profoundly irrational system. As Marxists, our standpoint is the need to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in struggle ***against*** the imperialist rulers, both Democratic and Republican. The Spartacist League took a side for the military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S. and allied imperialists, at the same time standing in irreconcilable political opposition to the reactionary Taliban and the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein. Today we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. As we wrote in "Big Lies and Imperialist War":

> "Growing opposition in the U.S. population to the Iraq occupation, revulsion over the government's role in the death and destruction of black people and the poor after Hurricane Katrina, anger at the attacks on fundamental democratic rights—the situation speaks to the burning need to build a workers party that would organize *class struggle* against the U.S. capitalist rulers. The fight against imperialist war cannot be separated from the struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such war. Only when the multiracial proletariat seizes power from the blood-drenched, arrogant capitalist rulers can we begin to speak of a world rid of imperialist wars and occupations and offering material security and social justice for all."

Break with the Democrats— For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Bosses' Class War Against U.S. Workers

Even as Bush was faced with tens of thousands of protesters during his trip to Argentina, the U.S. press corps kept hounding him about the Plame investigation. Growing sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are running out of patience with the challenged president, as clearly expressed in the *New York Times* (8 November) editorial, "President Bush's Walkabout":

> "After President Bush's disastrous visit to Latin America, it's unnerving to realize that his presidency still has more than three years to run. An administration with no agenda and no competence would be hard enough to live with on the domestic front. But the rest of the world simply can't afford an American government this bad for that long....
>
> "The central problem is not Karl Rove or

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AP photos

Left: U.S. troops brutalize Iraqi civilians in Falluja, November 2004. Right: Hurricane Katrina survivors in New Orleans abandoned by racist capitalist rulers.

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"Intelligent Design" Reactionaries

11 October 2005

To the editor:

It was gratifying to see the reference to the Seattle-based Discovery Institute as a leading force behind the obscurantist dogma of Intelligent Design in your excellent article, "The Evolution Wars: Religious Reaction and Racist Oppression—Hail Charles Darwin!"(*WV* No. 854, 16 September). This think tank of ultra-rightist Christian billionaires first came to my attention when I was researching the anti-woman U.S./UN crusade against "sex trafficking" for *Spartacist*. Bush's director for the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons is John R. Miller, who was Chairman of the Board of the Discovery Institute through 2003. When I learned that, I knew that there was nothing good about the U.S.'s international campaign against "modern-day slavery," claiming that women immigrants were being massively coerced into prostitution by sinister border coyotes. As we said in "Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman, Anti-Sex: U.S./UN Crusade Against 'Sex Trafficking'" (*Spartacist* No. 58, Spring 2004), "'redeeming the enslaved' means unleashing the cops and courts in a multiple attack on immigrants, women and sex."

"Hail Charles Darwin" rightly focuses on the racism of the creationists, whose dogma includes such nonsense as the separate creation of the human races (which are in fact expressions of social relations, not biological differences). But proponents of Genesis as science, of course, include women in their very long list of the genetically unworthy. It is fitting that Miller went from the Discovery Institute to running Bush's anti-trafficking crusade, which has as a broader goal beefing up the credentials of the "family values" anti-sex witchhunt. Women's abortion rights and people's right to a sex life free of government snooping—these are in the cross hairs of this ongoing government campaign.

Politically thoughtful research is a requirement for a communist newspaper. Miller's presence as the head of the U.S. Trafficking Office was a tipoff that this was a highly politicized operation aiming to recast sin and sex in "human rights" terms. According to this coalition of cops, the evangelical right and right-wing bourgeois feminists, all prostitution is "sex slavery." The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women defines prostitution as "gang rape" and argues that it should be illegal. We Marxists oppose all laws against "crimes without victims" like prostitution, gambling, drug use and drinking as gross government interference in private life.

I would take any words coming from John R. Miller and his political associates with a boulder-size grain of salt. Therefore, I think the reference to workers "enslaved" in Brazil in a caption in *Workers Vanguard* No. 818 ("Lula's Popular Front Turns Screws on Workers," 23 January 2004) is mistaken. The source for this was Kevin Bales, a major supporter of the UN anti-trafficking program. Instead, the article could have spoken of "slave-like" conditions for these workers. We believe in the political precision of words, and slavery is illegal in Brazil. The political task is not abolition of the slave system, but the fight for unionization of these hideously exploited workers. Thus the difference between the terms, seemingly semantic, has real programmatic implications.

Comradely,
Amy Rath

The 1917 October Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, the workers of Russia seized power on 7 November 1917 (25 October in the old Russian calendar), proclaiming the death sentence of the old capitalist order. Addressing the Petrograd Soviet (workers council) on the day of victory amid the continuing carnage of the interimperialist World War I, Lenin emphasized the international perspective of the socialist revolution. Fighting to forge parties on the Bolshevik model, the International Communist League is committed to the struggle for new October Revolutions throughout the world.

Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.

What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organisations.

From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism.

One of our urgent tasks is to put an immediate end to the war. It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought.

We shall be helped in this by the world working-class movement, which is already beginning to develop in Italy, Britain and Germany.

The proposal we make to international democracy for a just and immediate peace will everywhere awaken an ardent response among the international proletarian masses. All the secret treaties must be immediately published in order to strengthen the confidence of the proletariat.

Within Russia a huge section of the peasantry have said that they have played long enough with the capitalists, and will now march with the workers. A single decree putting an end to landed proprietorship will win us the confidence of the peasants. The peasants will understand that the salvation of the peasantry lies only in an alliance with the workers. We shall institute genuine workers' control over production.

We have now learned to make a concerted effort. The revolution that has just been accomplished is evidence of this. We possess the strength of mass organisation, which will overcome everything and lead the proletariat to the world revolution.

We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia.

Long live the world socialist revolution! (*Stormy applause.*)

—V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Tasks of the Soviet Power," 7 November 1917

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 8 November.

No. 858 **11 November 2005**

From New Orleans Reader

1 November 2005

Dear *WV*,

I am a New Orleans evacuee recently returned, and a *WV* supporter. I greatly appreciated the first *WV* article on Katrina, the "man-made disaster," and await resumption of mail or Internet to read more. Here is what I am seeing since my return.

The feds, state and local authorities, having first attempted negligent homicide against the 20 percent of the city population with no car to evacuate in, are now seeking to prevent their return. The racist codewords of the day are "permanently reduced population" and "changed demographic." You can read it in the bourgeois press and hear it on the street. The powers that be want a smaller, more affluent and whiter town post-Katrina.

The black poor and working class are being told "don't come back," by means of closing the public hospitals, public schools, public housing, libraries, parks and keeping them closed. The old jobs are wiped out, and the new jobs are going to out-of-staters. The blackest parts of town are denied utilities or are outright closed off at gun point.

Right now the part of town being repopulated is the strip of land along the Mississippi River, the 20 percent of town that has electricity and commerce. It includes Audubon Park, Tulane, Uptown, the Garden District, Central Business District and the French Quarter. These mostly well-to-do areas were protected from flooding by the old earthen levees dating to the 1700s.

The other 80 percent of the city flooded when the concrete walls of the modern-made canals broke due to faulty design and engineering. This included my neighborhood Gentilly, Mid-City, Lakeview and the overwhelmingly black New Orleans East and Lower 9th Ward. These areas are still without power and are largely uninhabited. Homeowners have begun to go into all but the 9th Ward during daylight hours to haul their belongings to the curb, knock out all the walls, and begin rebuilding their flooded homes.

The Lower 9th Ward is closed off by the National Guard. It is, or was, virtually all poor and black, mostly working poor,such as city employees, dock workers, hotel workers. Fats Domino was rescued from the floodwaters there and lost everything in his home.

9th Ward residents were the last to be allowed back in to "Look and Leave." The first ones in made the horrific discovery of the decomposed remains of 21 elderly loved ones, missed in the house-to-house sweep. After that, access was suspended, and now only 20-minute bus tours of the area are permitted.

The City peremptorily and prematurely condemned Charity Hospital, a huge and solid structure built in the 1930s, not out of safety concerns but to eliminate healthcare to the poor and discourage their return. In the process, two medical schools and a Level One Trauma Center are gone. State legislators seek to move Charity out of N.O. Meanwhile Charity and LSU have set up a valiant little Tent City outside the shuttered University Hospital, serving 100 patients a day.

The local and state School Boards have closed the N.O. public schools for the school year, effectively preventing the return of all the families attached to those children. Only union-busting "charter schools" that cater to the well-off are being permitted to open. The state School Board President said they certainly do not plan to re-open the "failing schools," which were all the rest. By contrast, the harder-hit St. Bernard Parish public schools are opening in November.

All the public housing projects, flooded or not, are closed. HANO, the Housing

continued on page 11

Merwin/NY Times

Hurricane Katrina evacuees in angry meeting with officials in Houston. Survivors have waited months for government aid.

Twentieth Annual PDC Holiday Appeal

Free the Class-War Prisoners!

This year's Holiday Appeals mark the 20th year of the Partisan Defense Committee's program of sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression. This program revived a tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary (1925-28). The PDC sends stipends to 17 class-war prisoners.

Mumia Ahu-Jamal: America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." On December 9, Mumia enters his 25th year of incarceration for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Over four years ago, Mumia's attorneys suhmitted to the courts the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. But to the racists in black robes of both the Pennsylvania and U.S. federal judiciaries, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

This year the Pennsylvania courts dismissed Mumia's third appeal for post-conviction relief. With the U.S. Supreme Court devoted to the racist death penalty, and with his final federal appeals in motion, Mumia remains on death row locked down in a cell the size of a hathroom. It was hecause he spoke for the oppressed, such as those left to die in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, that Mumia faces the ultimate in capitalist repression: the racist death penalty. Workers, immigrants, minorities and all opponents of racist oppression must strengthen their efforts to free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Leonard Peltier is an internationally revered class-war prisoner in America. His incarceration for nearly three decades because of his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier's frame-up trial for the deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone at the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation 30 years ago shows what capitalist "justice" is all ahout. As in the case of Mumia and the other class-war prisoners, Peltier's case demonstrates there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Although the lead government attorney has admitted, "We can't prove who shot those agents," and the courts have repeatedly acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 61-year-old fighter for Native Americans is still locked away. This year federal authorities transferred Peltier from Leavenworth to the Terre Haute penitentiary, where he was thrown into solitary and denied medicine. He was cruelly transferred again, finally ending up in USP Lewisburg in Pennsylvania. Free Leonard Peltier now!

Eli Reichman

Leonard Peltier

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have him thrown into prison under federal laws. He is not eligible for parole. Hart is currently confined in Ray Brook, New York, near the Canadian border, hundreds of miles from family and supporters. He has been subjected to numerous provocations by abusive prison guards, thrown into solitary and had his personal property illegally confiscated.

Eight MOVE members, **Chuck Africa, Michael Africa, Dehbie Africa, Janet Africa, Janine Africa, Delhert Africa, Eddie Africa** and **Phil Africa**, are in their 28th year of prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops. They were falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops' own crossfire. In 1985 they watched in horror from their Pennsylvania prison cells as eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops, many of them "veterans" of the 1978 assault.

Jaan Laaman, Thomas Manning and **Richard Williams** are the remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison. They were convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in Ohio and Virginia in 1984 and 1985, they were targets of massive manhunts throughout the East Coast and Midwest. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds and interrogated. The government piled sentence upon sentence, intending to keep them imprisoned until the day they die.

The politics of the Ohio 7 were once shared by thousands of radicals during the heyday of the Vietnam antiwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary of "Third World" liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the "respectable" left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. As the PDC has said from the time the Ohio 7 were first persecuted by the capitalist state, these courageous fighters should not have served even a day in prison.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the FBI COINTELPRO operation launched against the Communist Party and then deployed to "neutralize" radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed in cold hlood. Poindexter and Mondo were railroaded to prison for a 1970 explosion which killed a cop; convicted on perjured testimony; sentenced to life and have now served more than 30 years in jail. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen their sentences so they can be considered for parole.

Nat Weinstein n2pp.info

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (left) and Ed Poindexter.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with his comrade and mentor, George Jackson, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Pinell has heen incarcerated for more than 40 years, repeatedly denied parole despite hundreds of letters of support, many job offers and no disciplinary write-ups or rule infractions for over a quarter of a century. Now in his 60s, Pinell continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeals will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. This is not charity but an elementary act of solidarity with those imprisoned for their opposition to racist capitalism and imperialist depredations. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252. ■

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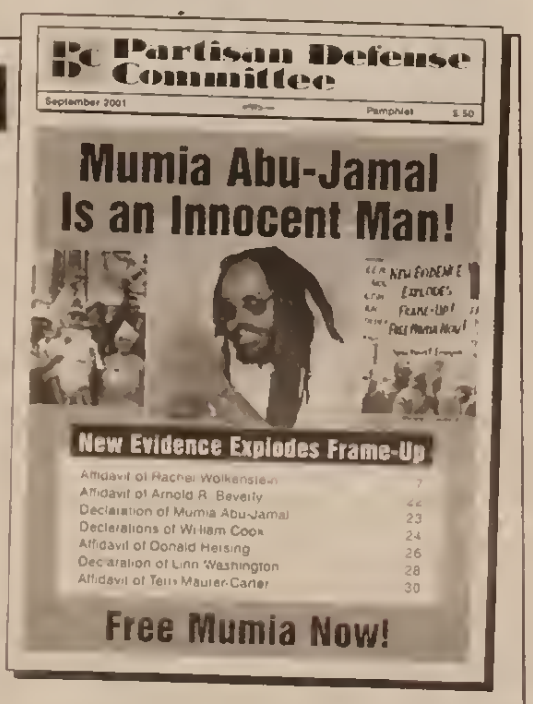

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This is not charity—it's a duty and an act of solidarity with those in prison. Their fight is our fight!

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

WV Subscription Drive: A Successful Campaign

WV Photo

Spartacist literature table at September 24 San Francisco antiwar demonstration.

The success of the 2005 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive is a tribute to the hard work of the comrades and sympathizers of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs. The six-week sub drive from late August through early October netted more than 1,500 subscriptions to *WV*, 76 subscriptions to *Espartaco*, the newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, Mexican section of the International Communist League, and 102 subscriptions to the press of other ICL sections. Altogether, these sales represent 3,335.5 points, where each full *WV* sub is two points, an introductory sub is 0.5 points, and a sub to other ICL publications is one point. This final tally is 120 percent of the cumulative quota of 2,790 points, with every local organization surpassing its quota.

The annual sub drive is a major national campaign to widen the readership of our biweekly Marxist press. Thousands of hours were spent preparing and carrying out the work. Comrades traveled widely to take part in protests and meet striking workers, man campus literature tables and organize "Meet the Marxists" events. Subscription renewals, representing an extension of the political relationship with our readers, also were sought. In conjunction with the sub drive, comrades helped build a series of united-front rallies, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, against government repression, highlighting the cases of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur (see *WV* No. 855, 30 September).

WV is a vehicle for introducing youth and workers, along with black people, immigrants and other oppressed layers, to a revolutionary Marxist program. The role of the communist press was delineated in the 1921 Organizational Guidelines adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International, which codified the experience of the Bolshevik Party that led the working class to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Emphasizing the importance of subscriptions, the Guidelines observed: "Use must be made of every situation in which there is increased motion among the workers and where political or social life is further inflamed by any sort of political and economic events." During the sub drive, *WV*, in its content and distribution, served our intervention into expressions of social discontent and class struggle—above all the reaction to the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and the growing opposition to the occupation of Iraq as seen at demonstrations across the country on September 24. As well, comrades made trips to intersect strikes by the Northwest Airlines AMFA mechanics and cleaners and Boeing IAM workers.

Our new readers will find that *WV* is hard-hitting and polemical. We strive for clarity and forthrightness when presenting our revolutionary views, in opposition to the liberal-reformist program of other groups claiming to be socialist. One recent subscriber wrote to us: "Most (such as the Peoples Weekly World, and the Workers World) simply talk about issues, and how these problems are products of capitalism. In the Workers Vanguard, you guys directly relate the situation to the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky."

That's right. The opportunist politics of the reformist left shift with the prevailing winds of liberal bourgeois public opinion, steering opponents of imperialist war, racism and exploitation to the doorstep of the Democratic Party. In contrast, we are guided by the program and principles of our revolutionary forebears as we fight to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution. We are proud of our political history, making available back issues of our journal of record through sales of bound volumes of *WV* and other publications.

An incident that spoke to the value we attach to our revolutionary continuity took place on one of two "Northern Tour" trips in the Pacific Northwest. Our comrades found a statue of Lenin in Fremont, Washington, defaced by an anarchist symbol and anti-communist expletive written in spray paint. So they purchased paint remover and scrubbed clean the statue of the leader of the world's first successful proletarian revolution, prompting a worker from a nearby restaurant to come outside and thank us for a job well done.

We carry forward the banner of the October Revolution, not least by defending tooth and nail those gains already won by the international proletariat. Our program for the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states is unconditional military defense against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist misleaders. Our literature in relation to China, including our latest Chinese-language pamphlet, drew interest from Chinese students.

New Orleans: Racist Atrocity

When a wave of revulsion swept the country at the government's response to the disaster in New Orleans, we shifted gears and expanded our trips to the South. While

WV Photo

Fremont, Washington: Comrade on Northern Tour cleaning statue of Lenin defaced by anarchist and right-wing graffiti.

we certainly ran into outrage at the racist contempt for black life shown by Republicans and Democrats alike, this anger did not take the form of organized mass protest on the streets. Those angered by what happened in New Orleans tended to see no other way to help the victims than as individuals, such as donating money and their time, because no collective protest was organized. The pro-capitalist union misleaders did nothing to mobilize labor's power to fight for what was needed, like jobs at good union wages and massive public works projects. This situation underscores the crying need for a new, class-struggle union leadership, committed to mobilizing labor's power independent of the capitalist state and politicians.

Our articles and placards on New Orleans attracted people to our literature tables on campuses and at workplaces and neighborhoods across the country. Our characterization of New Orleans as a racist atrocity was polarizing and showed how deepgoing the racial divide is in this society. White liberal students from coast to coast commonly disagreed with us and denied that the crimes against the people of New Orleans had anything to do with race. In contrast, the mostly black students at schools like Chicago State University and North Carolina Central University gave a very different reception to the paper. Much the same was true among working people. On the Boeing picket lines, black workers were keenly aware of the racism, but some white workers thought the problems were due to "bureaucracy" or "just Bush." In Norfolk, we sold over 120 papers to the predominantly black ILA longshore union. Our New Orleans material stopped them in their tracks, and our "Feds: Hands Off ILA!" article (*WV* No. 854, 16 September) denouncing the Justice Department's attack on the union clinched sales.

New Orleans generated interest in what a socialized planned economy would look like and often was a jumping-off point for us to describe our program more fully, especially the centrality to the American socialist revolution of the fight for black rights. The Gulf Coast disaster graphically demonstrated that black people remain an oppressed race-color caste segregated at the bottom of this society. However, blacks also remain a strategic component of the industrial proletariat and are unionized at a higher rate than white workers. We fight for revolutionary integrationism, premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society.

Notably our comparison of the lack of preparation and criminal response by the U.S. government to the hurricanes with the success of the Cuban deformed workers state in repeatedly safely evacuating masses of people was especially appreciated by immigrant and black students. Additionally, our article on the 1955 lynching of Emmett Till and the fight for black liberation—also the subject of a well-attended sub drive forum in Chicago—attracted readers early in the campaign.

Bush and Iraq

Last year's sub drive took place in the lead-up to the presidential elections, when many youth were swept up by "Anybody but Bush" fervor. The reformist left seized on anger over the Iraq war and occupation to promote standard-fare Democratic Party "lesser evilism." What we intersected this year was colored by Bush's re-election. Northern Tour comrades noted that looking to the U.S. rulers to protect "human rights" or even to "save the trees" has lost a lot of luster in the Bush years.

But the Democratic Party is no friend of the oppressed, exploited and downtrodden of the world! The struggle to eradicate the poverty and wars produced by the profit-driven capitalist system must begin with understanding the need for the complete and unconditional independence of the proletariat from all agencies of the capitalist class, including its Democratic and Republican parties. For a generation of youth force-fed the "death of communism" myth, we motivated subscriptions by explaining how Marxism remains the only program that can effectively fight to end capitalist exploitation and oppression through socialist revolutions worldwide.

We also came across forces reinvigorated by the victory of the fundamentalist Bush regime. Texas State University-San

continued on page 11

Philly Transit Strike Beats Back Bosses' Assault

NOVEMBER 8—A solid one-week strike by over 5,000 transit workers brought Philadelphia subways, buses and trolleys to a halt and beat back a union-busting assault by the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) against workers' pensions and access to affordable health care. Importantly, both Philly transit unions—Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 and United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 1594—walked out together. And yesterday, they walked back into work together. While the contract proposals, which workers will be voting on, contain some compromises, the strikers successfully fended off the most onerous demands of the SEPTA bosses.

This strike by predominantly black transit workers should help steel the resolve of other workers under attack, not least New York City transit workers in TWU Local 100 whose contract expires on December 15. Hours after the announcement of a Philly settlement, officials of Pittsburgh's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 85, which has been without a contract since July, authorized a strike vote that will go to the membership on November 20.

According to press reports, the tentative contracts have won 3 percent annual wage increases over the next four years, as well as pension increases. The unions also secured some stipulations against arbitrary company discipline. SEPTA had demanded that workers pay 5 percent of health insurance premiums, which, at current rates, could reach over $600 per year. While holding off this demand, the union did concede that workers pay 1 percent of their base wages into their health plan.

WV Photo

October 31: TWU Local 234 members on picket line in strike against SEPTA.

And although union negotiators held the line against SEPTA's demand to eliminate retirees' prescription drug plan, they agreed that workers hired after the new contract goes into effect would lose this benefit when they become eligible for Medicare.

In the face of SEPTA's attacks and a vicious anti-union propaganda barrage by the city's bourgeois press, transit workers stood solid and united. With the strike costing the region's businesses as much as $1.5 million a day, Democratic Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell intervened to get a deal worked out. It was the determination of the transit workers on the picket line, demonstrating their social power, that beat back SEPTA.

From Northwest and United Airlines to the Delphi auto parts manufacturer, the capitalist exploiters in this country are on a union-busting tear. In the face of this assault, the trade-union tops' strategy has been to sacrifice hard class struggle in favor of impotent appeals to "friends of labor" politicians in the two capitalist parties, especially the Democrats. To answer the capitalists' attacks on working people, what's needed is a fight by the labor movement for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit and free health care for all, for labor/minority mobilizations against racist attacks. To carry out this struggle, the unions must fight for the rights of black people and all the oppressed. In Philadelphia, this immediately raises the need for the unions to champion freedom for MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up and sent to death row in 1982 for the murder of a Philadelphia cop that he did not commit.

The "city of brotherly love" is one of the most racially polarized cities in this country, where notoriously racist and corrupt cops enforce the brutal oppression of black people, Hispanics and the poor. As a measure of the racial polarization, most white workers we spoke to on the picket lines did not defend Mumia, while black workers overwhelmingly understood that, as one put it, "He got railroaded." One striker recalled his own experience of being arrested for armed robbery simply because he happened to be walking near a crime scene. However, many of these strikers expressed illusions in the cops as another sector of labor. Grotesquely, during the 1995 transit strike, the union tops appealed to the sinister Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) for "support," hailing the cops as "brothers" even as the F.O.P. was on a rabid, nationwide effort to whip up support for Mumia's execution.

The cops, along with the courts, prisons and the military, form the core of the capitalist state, which exists to defend the capitalist order of exploitation and racial oppression. The same racist police force that helped frame up Mumia would also be the ones called out against striking workers to enforce anti-union injunctions or impose scabherding by the bosses. The capitalists' frame-up system targets militant strikers and fighters for black rights alike with one aim: to terrorize workers and minorities into submission.

The labor movement needs a new, class-struggle leadership that breaks from the policy of reliance on capitalist politicians and the bourgeois state. To mobilize labor's social power in its own interests and on behalf of the oppressed requires the forging of a multiracial workers party committed to ending capitalist rule through socialist revolution.■

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and far sociolism.

WV Photo

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as "crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge: $3/year unemployed; $10/year employed. For more information:

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Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

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Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
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Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604

Ireland: The Fight for Abortion Rights

The Church, the State and Women's Oppression

We reprint below an article first published in Spartacist Ireland *No. 8 (Autumn/Winter 2005), publication of the Spartacist Group Ireland, Irish section of the International Communist League. The article is based on an SGI forum held in Dublin in April 2005.*

SPARTACIST IRELAND

I want to start off by talking about a recent excellent book by Ray Kavanagh, *Mamie Cadden: Backstreet Abortionist* (Mercier Press, 2005), which tells the story of Nurse Mamie Cadden, who provided abortions in Dublin from the late 1920s to the 1950s. The story of her work and her persecution tells us a lot about the nature of the clericalist capitalist state in Ireland. It also shows how the clericalist state was consolidated and how the Catholic church attained a dominant role in society: not immediately at independence but through a process extending over decades.

As in Nurse Cadden's time, the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act still criminalises abortion on the island of Ireland, buttressed in the South by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution which followed the [anti-abortion] 1983 referendum. In Britain, the 1967 Abortion Act legalised abortion—a huge advance for women's rights. Today over 6,000 women each year having an abortion in Britain give an address in the Republic of Ireland and a further 1,000-plus give an address in Northern Ireland. There were huge demonstrations here in 1992 over abortion rights and the struggles of that period were responsible for bringing about significant changes for women and gays. However, abortion is still totally illegal.

Mamie Cadden was born in the U.S. to immigrants from [County] Mayo in 1891 but returned to Mayo with her family at the age of four. Mamie moved to Dublin in 1925 and qualified as a midwife, a highly skilled and, at that time, highly respected profession. In 1929, just a couple of years after qualifying as a midwife, Mamie established her own maternity nursing home. At the time, Dublin had up to 50 such private nursing homes. These homes were a challenge to the Catholic church which, with the cooperation of the capitalist state, was attempting to establish a monopoly in the field of medical care, especially in relation to women, reproduction and sexuality. Ray Kavanagh notes that "the nursing-homes would have had a far more liberal and woman-centred ethos than the religious hospitals." It was this struggle of the church to establish absolute control over women's sexuality which was to shape the rest of Nurse Cadden's life.

The 1920s were a relatively prosperous and hopeful time in Ireland after independence and the Civil War [1922-23] and before the economic depression of the 1930s. The latter coincided with the deeply conservative premiership of Éamon de Valera and its nationalist protectionist economic policies. Lack of jobs led to mass emigration, mainly to Britain. Married women were barred from many workplaces, in 1935 contraception was banned and in 1937 women's role in the home was enshrined in the Constitution. Kavanagh describes Nurse Cadden's attitude towards these anti-woman attacks: "All the men thought that women should be scrubbing and cooking in the kitchen, having a baby each year until they died of thrombosis or high blood pressure.... Well, that was not for Mamie Cadden, she would fight them all, as she had all her life."

Nurse Cadden's nursing homes (firstly in Ranelagh and from 1931 in Rathmines), like others of the day, provided various services for pregnant women, including adoptions (which were unregulated at the time and viewed with suspicion by the church) and care of women who had suffered complications from backstreet (or self-administered) abortions. Illegal abortions may also have been performed in the nursing home, but were not the main focus of the business. These activities brought much attention from the gardaí [national police], but Mamie's first serious run-in with the law occurred in the summer of 1938, when she was charged with child abandonment over the case of a baby found abandoned in Meath shortly after Mamie had been seen in the area. In fact, with contraception and abortion both being outlawed and there not even being any regulated adoption service, cases of child abandonment and infanticide were frequent.

As part of the investigation, the garden of the nursing home was dug up and the remains of a foetus were discovered. This became the source of one of the enduring urban myths about Nurse Cadden: that there were the bodies of more than a dozen dead babies buried in her garden. In fact this was the only set of remains ever found there. Margaret Berkery had been admitted to the nursing home in February 1938 suffering from severe bleeding after she tried to terminate her pregnancy by drinking liquid ergot [a potentially poisonous fungus]. The stillbirth was buried in the garden. Kavanagh describes how "Mamie was totally unrepentant: 'You cannot say that was a child,' she said when confronted by the gardaí with the find, 'it was a foetus'."

The trial on the child abandonment charges (and two additional charges of having demanded money under false pretences for arranging adoptions) dragged on for months. When Mamie was found guilty in May 1939, she was sentenced to one year's hard labour. Moreover, she was struck off the registry of midwives and was left financially ruined by her legal fees. When she was released from prison in 1940, she was in desperate straits but was determined to rebuild her life. She began providing various medical procedures, including cures for constipation and dandruff, but especially illegal abortions. There were a lot of illegal abortions being carried out in Dublin at this time, even more because of the travel restrictions introduced during World War II which limited the ability of women to travel to England.

At the same time, with its new Constitution in force, the Irish bourgeoisie really had the wind in its sails and carried out a concerted crackdown on abortion services. Kavanagh explains that:

> "The early 1940s was to see the greatest onslaught against abortion in Ireland since the foundation of the state, events hardly unconnected with the start of the episcopate of John Charles McQuaid which had commenced in 1940. He was a deeply conservative prelate especially in matters relating to women's fertility and sexuality. Abortion was to be expunged from the face of Catholic Ireland."

National Archives

Courageous nurse Mamie Cadden in 1938 at time of first jailing.

Many backstreet abortionists were prosecuted in this campaign. Cadden was a particularly significant figure and target for the new rulers of Ireland because, as Kavanagh notes:

> "She was startlingly different too from [the abortionist] Dr James Ashe. Whereas he was on the top of the social scale with Dublin's upper echelons in his client list, Mary Anne Cadden was truly the abortionist to the new independent Ireland—to de Valera's Ireland. Since her time running the nursing-home in Rathmines her patients had included the wives of farmers, gardaí and shopkeepers—in fact the emerging Irish middle- and lower-middle class."

Nurse Cadden was arrested in 1944 and charged with "intent to procure the miscarriage" of Ellen Thompson. She was again found guilty and in April 1945 sentenced to ***five years*** imprisonment.

After completing her second prison sentence in 1950, Nurse Cadden again set up a medical practice providing abortions and other services. Now, following the anti-abortion crackdown of the 1940s, she was Ireland's only well-known abortionist. Approaching 60, her health was failing and she operated in only a single-room flat where she could see no more than a few clients a week. Over the next several years, two of her clients died of an air embolism during an abortion. Legal abortion in a hospital or clinic is a quite safe and routine medical procedure, but the chance of complications (including

no credit

no credit

Above: For decades, women and girls were forced to work in brutal conditions in Magdalene laundries. Left: Dublin cops escort "fallen women" in religious procession in 1950s. Catholic church and Irish state often forced women into seclusion.

deadly embolisms) is much higher in a backstreet abortion, even when the abortionist is, like Nurse Cadden, a trained and conscientious medical professional. After the second of these tragic incidents, the death of Helen O'Reilly in 1956, Nurse Cadden was arrested. Indicative of the changed political climate, she was charged with the murder of O'Reilly rather than merely providing an abortion. As the arresting officer, Superintendent George Lawlor, said: "This is a breaking of minds, and I'm going to break Cadden."

The case was based on circumstantial evidence and contradictory testimonies, but the state was determined to find Cadden guilty. She was faced with the full force of the state, the church and the sinister and reactionary Knights of Columbanus. Noting that "every day during the trial two priests attended and sat in the public gallery facing the jury." Kavanagh captures what likelihood Cadden had of a fair trial:

> "The enormous power of the priests in the Ireland of the time can only be imagined now in a more secular age but back then only the very brave or the very foolhardy would go against the priests. Such great and once powerful men as Noel Browne, the Minister of Health or Charles Stewart Parnell, the leader of the Irish Party, were to realise this to their cost.... It would have taken a very brave Catholic indeed in 1956 to sit in front of two priests for ten days and not come up with a verdict that would have satisfied them."

Nurse Cadden was duly found guilty and the judge gleefully sentenced her to death. When the sentence was pronounced and the judge intoned: "and may the Lord have mercy upon your soul," she snapped back: "Well, I am not a Catholic. Take that now." She was a very brave woman.

As a small diversion: Noël Browne was mentioned in that quote from Kavanagh. In the late 1940s, as Minister for Health, Noël Browne attempted to introduce a limited free health programme for children and pregnant women, the Mother and Child Scheme. This provoked outrage from the bishops and the Catholic medical establishment. As Browne describes in his autobiography, *Against the Tide*, Archbishop McQuaid "considered the health scheme an encroachment by the state on the church's role, which he considered to be, among much else, 'to determine and to control the social attitudes of the family in the Republic, especially in the delicate matters of maternity and sexuality'." The church crushed the scheme and Browne was hounded out of the government. Labour Party leader and member of the Knights of Columbanus William Norton sided with the church against Noël Browne and the Mother and Child Scheme.

Cadden's death sentence was commuted, but she was ruled insane and lived out her remaining days in the Central Criminal Lunatic Asylum in Dundrum. It's not clear why she was ruled insane, but it is revealing that the East Coast Area Health Board still refuses to release her file for the reason that "the release of these records would not respect the rights to privacy of third parties." Cadden was in a position to know the intimate details of the hypocrisy of the clericalist state:

Irish Independent

Alliance for Choice

Right: 1992 mass protest in Dublin supporting teenager's right to travel to Britain for an abortion, known as the X Case. Below: Recent protest by Alliance for Choice outside the Dáil (parliament).

she had information on priests, bishops, gardaí and no doubt politicians too. But as a "criminal lunatic" her accusations could be dismissed. Like all inmates of the Dundrum asylum she was buried in a common grave when she died in 1959.

Kavanagh eloquently sums up Cadden's life and work, "Perhaps she was the most hated woman of twentieth-century Ireland by those who deplored her profession and her ethics. But what of the thousand plus women who came to her in desperation when all else had failed them? How many mothers' lives did she save? Which of those women has ever condemned her? How many are living today because of her intervention?" Indeed, Mamie Cadden provided a valuable service to thousands of women. While her motivations remain obscure (aside from earning a living—her services were not free), we Marxists honour her as a real fighter against the church and the consolidation of the clericalist state.

Class Society and the Oppression of Women

In the 19th century, Karl Marx's collaborator Friedrich Engels explained that women's oppression is rooted in the class system. The class system today, capitalism, is based on the private ownership of productive property by the capitalists and their exploitation of the working class. It is important for the capitalists that their private property be passed on to their "correct" heirs and therefore that women be kept sexually monogamous. This, and the need to raise the new generation of wage slaves, is the basis of the family system which really serves as a building block of the capitalist system. The family is a conservatising institution which oppresses women and children and those who don't fit into it, for example gays. Religion is a key prop of capitalism; it attempts to give a justification for the monogamous family and the misery inherent in capitalism.

So the questions of exploitation, women's oppression and religion are inextricably linked under capitalism. Rather than promoting any dead-end strategy of reforming this or that aspect of the capitalist system, we need to build a new society based not on private property, but on socialised property in order to remove the material basis of the oppression of women. With the working class in power we will be able to socialise the necessary duties now carried out by women in the family, e.g., childcare, cooking, cleaning. Furthermore, consensual sexual relations will be a purely private matter, and religion will necessarily wither without its state props and the misery which it exists to justify.

The 1917 Russian Revolution demonstrated that such a society is possible by putting into practice for the first time what Marx and Engels had fought for—the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rights granted to women in the early Soviet workers state show the advances possible for all of humanity with the overturn of capitalism and the institution of a planned, collectivised economy and a regime of workers democracy. Following the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks abolished all laws against abortion and homosexuality; they made marriage and divorce simple civil acts and they abolished the concept of illegitimacy. They opened private hospitals to the masses, and (to the extent they were able given the extreme material backwardness of the country) began to build public kitchens and laundries and to create residential nurseries.

It is clear that a lot has changed in Ireland since the time of Nurse Cadden. But if we look at exactly what has changed and what has stayed the same, we see that what Engels described as the fundamentals of capitalist society, including the oppression of women, are still present today. One key difference since Cadden's time is the increased numbers of women in work. Women also have access to contraception, which was illegal at the time. Homosexuality was decriminalised in 1993; divorce was legalised in 1997.

And the 1967 British Abortion Act did have a huge impact on the quality of life here: although only legal in Britain, legal abortion came within reach of a large number of Irish women. But it has always remained out of reach for poor women and is out of reach for many immigrants. Without a temporary travel permit, a pregnant asylum-seeker or immigrant on a restricted visa travelling abroad for an abortion risks not being allowed to re-enter Ireland, or having to seek a backstreet abortion here. In 2004 there were two reports of backstreet abortions having been carried out on immigrant women. We call for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants*** including the right to travel.

Attitudes to marriage and children have changed vastly. One report found that 3.2 percent of children born in 1973 were born outside marriage. But 30 years later, in 2003, this had risen to 31.4 percent. There is not the same pressure on unmarried mothers to give their children up for adoption. And it is less socially stigmatised to choose to remain childless. On the other hand, many of the old prejudices persist, especially in rural areas. Commenting on a recent study which found that the rate of women concealing their pregnancy was much higher in the West of Ireland than in Dublin, a spokeswoman for the Crisis Pregnancy Agency said: "It shows that there is still a considerable stigma amongst younger women around pregnancy." A report last year from the Crisis Pregnancy Agency showed fairly wide support for some level of legal abortion in Ireland. In fact only 8 percent disagreed with abortion in every circumstance, i.e., agreed with the law as it now stands.

The authority of the church has been reduced in society, in no small part due to the revelations of the endemic brutality towards children in the schools and other institutions. However, the church's power has not been broken. The church still runs the vast majority of National Schools for the state and controls most of the hospitals. The fact that the church runs the schools means that sex education ranges from non-existent to woeful. And the "Catholic ethos" of most hospitals means that even if abortion were legalised, there would be few if any places where the procedure would be carried out. ***For separation of church and state! For free quality health care for all!***

While there are more women at work, childcare is so expensive that it is very difficult for a woman to have children and return to work unless she has a very well-paid job or family members who can look after the children while the mother is at work. And in work, women are paid a good deal less than men. Having to pay for childcare helps keep many working-class women in poverty. There are no marriage rights for gays, who face the constant threat of violence. ***For free 24-hour childcare! Full democratic rights for gays!***

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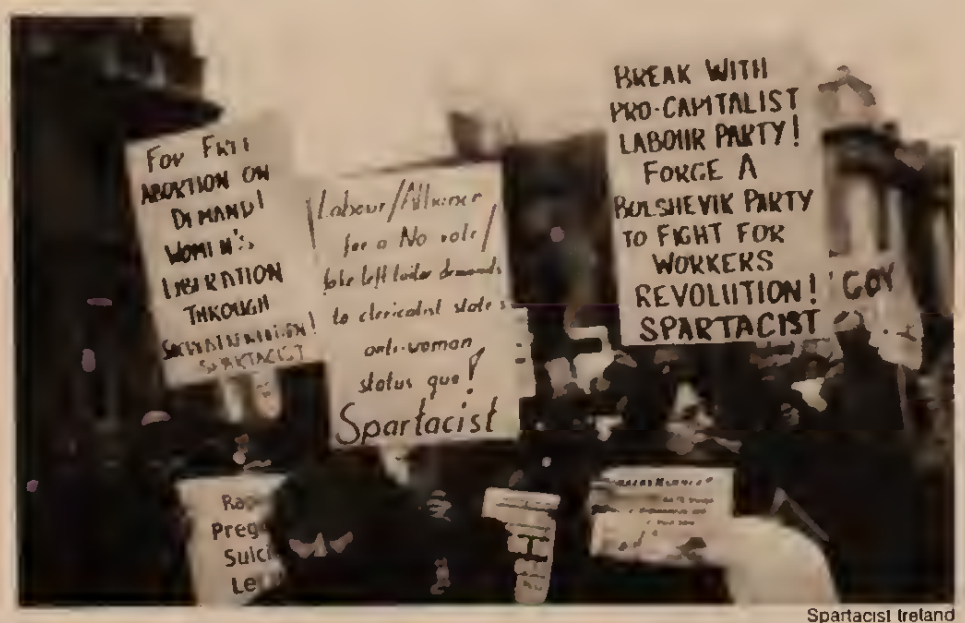

Spartacist Ireland

Spartacists at February 2002 abortion rights protest in Ireland.

Spartacist Ireland

Publication of the Spartacist Group Ireland

Airmail: 4 issues for €10 (US $10)

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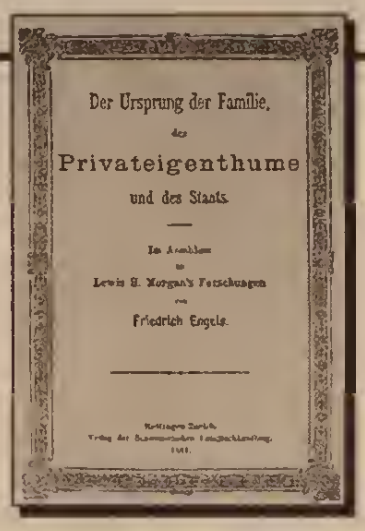
Ireland...

(continued from page 7)

As mentioned earlier, abortion was legalised in Britain in 1967—a key gain for women. Since 1967 there have been numerous attempts to restrict and attack this legislation, including most recently a campaign to restrict abortions to 20 weeks. Any restrictions on late-term abortions will disproportionately affect young women and Irish women, who tend to have later abortions because of the difficulty in getting money together and arranging travel. We and our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain oppose all restrictions on abortion rights and fight for free abortion on demand.

While many of the attacks on the 1967 Abortion Act in Britain have, so far, been seen off [rejected], they show an important feature of capitalism: gains for women and the oppressed can be won under capitalism but the bourgeoisie constantly attempts to reverse them. Every struggle for democratic rights, if it is to lead to the liberation of the working class and oppressed, must be infused with an understanding of the need to bring down the entire system of capitalist class rule. Our task is to build the revolutionary workers party that is so urgently needed to lead the working class to power through socialist revolution.

W. E. Debenham



Friedrich Engels' 1884 *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* pointed to basis of women's oppression in development of family system and private property.

Class Struggle and Women's Rights

The period when abortion was legalised in Britain was a different historical period from today, marked by social struggles inspired by the civil rights movement in the U.S. and also aimed against the U.S.'s long, losing Vietnam War. In the midst of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, a generation was inspired by the heroic battles of the North Vietnamese and guerrilla leaders like Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba, who successfully challenged the U.S. empire. These events affected Ireland too; for example, the civil rights movement in America was the direct inspiration for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

These social struggles were the basis for winning a wide range of social gains. In Southern Ireland, the "special position" of the church was removed from the Constitution following a 1972 referendum. Women got increased access to both the pill and the coil. The Catholic church was alarmed at these marks of progress and liberalism and the Knights of Columbanus started organising a backlash, leading to the anti-abortion referendum held in 1983 which brought about the Eighth Amendment [which makes abortion unconstitutional].

The Spartacist group in Ireland was forged during the struggle for abortion rights in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1989 the [Dublin] Trinity Student Union published a phone number from which abortion information could be obtained. The anti-abortion bigots of SPUC [Society for the Protection of Unborn Children] targeted and hounded anyone they deemed to be responsible, even going so far as to try to get the Student Union leaders jailed. The students were defended by Senior Counsel, Labour Senator Mary Robinson. We intervened in these struggles to fight for free abortion on demand and sought to show how the fight for women's liberation must be linked to the overthrow of capitalism.

In November 1990 Mary Robinson stood for President and was supported not just by the "government in opposition"—Labour and Fine Gael—but by one of the government parties itself, the PDs [Progressive Democrats]. Despite being involved in the defence of the Trinity students, Robinson declared during her election campaign that she had "done more practical work than any other Irish politician to stop Irish women going for abortions" and admitted that she herself was against abortion. *Socialist Worker* [Irish Cliffite newspaper] and the Militant (now the Socialist Party [in Ireland]) told workers and fighters for women's rights that they should vote for Robinson despite the fact that she was supported by some bourgeois parties and was against abortion. They were sowing illusions that somehow having a liberal facade was going to change the character of the clericalist Irish state.

In 1992 the courts moved to bar a 14-year-old from travelling to Britain for an abortion in what became known as the X Case. Huge protests on the streets assured that the young woman was allowed to travel to Britain for an abortion. It was significant that the state was forced to make the concession that abortion could be permitted on the grounds of risk of suicide. It's also important to note this was achieved through social struggle. There were expectations at the time that there would be some advancement of abortion rights, but more than a decade later women still can not get legal abortions in Southern Ireland. Ever since the X Case, anti-abortion bigots have sought to overturn even this modest advance and Youth Defence is still on the streets most Saturdays with their macabre placards. Youth Defence is an anti-abortion group harbouring a fascist core who have physically attacked workers demonstrations and fighters for abortion rights. They should be swept off the streets by workers and fighters against women's oppression.

Tribune of the People

The most prominent leader of the "pro-choice" movement today is Trinity College academic, barrister and Labour Party politician Ivana Bacik. She was a leader of Trinity Student Union at the time of the SPUC campaign against abortion information in 1989-90 and sees herself as following in the footsteps of Mary Robinson. Bacik wrote a book last year entitled *Kicking and Screaming: Dragging Ireland into the 21st Century* (O'Brien Press, 2004), which describes the various legal reforms which have transformed Ireland into what she calls "a much more progressive and diverse society, a symbol of economic success for all small states in Europe." The high point of her conclusion on reproductive rights is that:

> "Pending the removal of Article 40.3.3 [added by the Eighth Amendment] by referendum, limited legislation should be introduced providing for the conditions under which a pregnancy may be terminated, that is, where its continuance poses a threat to the life of a pregnant woman—the long overdue legislation under the X case test. This measure would at least address the needs of women in the most desperate circumstances. In the longer term, more fundamental, broader change is necessary to ensure the real needs of women in Ireland are met."

Bacik sets as her baseline that it shouldn't be legal for women to be left to die while blithely postponing women's "real needs" to "the longer term."

In Bacik's whole book on the legal ins and outs of the Irish Constitution, you won't find one straightforward call for abortion rights—a clear capitulation to the Labour Party. Moreover, treating abortion as just a legal issue denies that women's oppression is intrinsic to Irish capitalist society. Even if through some mighty struggle we won the right to free abortion on demand, who would perform the operations? Until hospitals are liberated from the church, doctors will be threatened with being struck off [which effectively bars them from practicing] (as they constantly are today) even if abortion were legal. Since Nurse Cadden's time to today, the church, the state and the Medical Council have colluded to restrict women's control over their own fertility and sexuality.

In 2004, Bacik was a Labour Party candidate for the EU [European Union] parliament, but Labour, tied as they are to the bourgeoisie and Catholic church, are opposed to waging a campaign for abortion rights. When Labour's delegate conference in 2001 voted by a single vote for the "right to choose," this was overturned by the national executive. Today, Labour says it is in favour of legislation permitting abortion in only very limited circumstances: risk of suicide, "significant injury" to the woman, or if the foetus has no chance of being born alive. Labour is a bourgeois workers party, which has a working-class base but a thoroughly pro-capitalist leadership. Along with the trade-union bureaucracy, Labour is the main agency within the working class pushing class collaboration, i.e., tying the working class to their exploiters. This can be seen through their perennial policy of entering governmental blocs with one or another capitalist party, their pushing of subsequent "social partnership" deals as well as their refusal to fight for abortion rights and indeed rights for Travellers [indigenous nomadic people] or any section of the oppressed.

What is needed is to build a party like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party in Russia that will provide the political leadership for the working class to take power in its own name. This means a party which stands as a tribune of all the oppressed and fights to mobilise the working class to champion the rights of women, Travellers and immigrants. The bourgeoisie tries to divide and rule, but the fact is that the oppression of all these groups is rooted in the capitalist system. The working class can liberate all humanity, if it is led by a party that fights for all the oppressed. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!■

WV Photo

Spartacist League joined 2,000 others in defense of Washington, D.C. abortion clinics against Operation Rescue bigots, January 1992.

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War Crimes...

(continued from page 1)

Treasury Secretary John Snow or even Donald Rumsfeld, the defense secretary. It is President Bush himself."

Compounding Bush's current problems are former House majority leader Tom DeLay's indictment for financial shenanigans and investigations into Senate majority leader Bill Frist, who is suspected of similar transgressions. The Republicans are concerned that, given the occupation's unpopularity, their hold on the Senate and House may be in danger in next year's Congressional elections.

Republicans as well as Democrats are calling for greater restrictions on the FBI's ability to procure and indefinitely retain business and personal records in "terrorism" investigations without a judge's approval. The Republicans rebelled against Bush as the Senate voted unanimously for a measure outlawing the torture of prisoners. This has not stopped Cheney from doggedly pursuing an official waiver for the CIA on the use of torture. With the European Union now investigating reports of secret CIA prisons in Poland and Romania—part of a worldwide prison complex for some of the thousands of "terror" suspects "disappeared" by U.S. imperialism in the last four years—the U.S. rulers have ever more reason to worry that their pretensions to pursuing democracy abroad are being shredded.

Fearing that the weakness of the Bush regime might soften its resolve to stack the Supreme Court with anti-abortion, anti-civil-rights zealots, the religious right rose up to quash the candidacy of Harriet Miers, prompting Bush to select a candidate from the Catholic right, Samuel Alito, whose record of racist, socially reactionary and pro-big-business court decisions is unambiguous. This comes after the installation of the arch-reactionary John Roberts as Chief Justice. The conservative core of the party, answering to its wealthy constituents, is taking an ax to Medicaid and Medicare while holding dear the tax cuts for the rich. Those Republicans who are dependent on more plebeian elements for their re-election are seeking to persuade the oil companies, which are presently gouging the population and recording enormous profits, to provide a little free natural gas, perhaps during the holidays, for the "poor people."

While the abandonment of New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina starkly exposed the raw reality of race and class in capitalist America, the administration's abysmal efforts in the wake of Rita and Wilma illustrated that there's not much that anyone can expect from government in today's America—not organized evacuation from disaster nor access to necessities like water and gasoline. One can, however, expect that Halliburton will be in charge of any given recovery effort. Even in brother Jeb's Florida, thousands of the victims of previous hurricanes live on giant, featureless parking lots in sardine can-like mobile homes waiting for the next storm to peel back the tin roofs.

Laura Williams

Spartacist-initiated contingent at March 2003 antiwar rally in New York City.

All this while ordinary working people are being hammered by draconian cuts in health benefits and the disappearance of pensions. While bankruptcy procedures have been sharply curtailed for those who have next to nothing, the same procedures are used by the bosses to slash paychecks and benefit packages of their unionized workers. If the Delphi auto parts manufacturer succeeds in its attempt to use the bankruptcy courts to cut union wages by 63 percent, this would further encourage employers to transform the current assault on workers into a wage- and benefit-slashing Armageddon.

U.S. workers are prone to see themselves not as members of the working class, with interests that are counterposed to the capitalists, but as part of a "middle class" that lies somewhere between abject poverty and unimaginable wealth. Not so America's rulers, who know there is a working class from whose exploitation they derive their profits, and who seek to increase profits through speed-up, layoffs and wage cuts.

There are a number of historical sources for the political backwardness of the U.S. working class, that is, for its inability to recognize its class identity in opposition to the capitalist class. The primary and day-to-day barrier to the forging of a working-class party is the special oppression of black people as a race-color caste. If the good industrial job has been slaughtered, it is to no small degree black workers who are thrown into unemployment and the grinding poverty of the ghetto. If education and health care are going down the drain for most everyone, it's been this way in the ghettos for decades. What Karl Marx said almost 150 years ago is every bit as true today: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

For Working-Class Independence!

Normally, the stark incompetence of the White House and pervasive social discontents would suggest that the party in power would do well to pack the china and look for deals on moving vans while the opposition, in this case the Democrats, might begin investigating the D.C. housing market. A recent Pew Research Center survey, however, revealed that Democratic leaders in Congress had a dismal 32 percent approval rating while Bush's rating has dropped below 40 percent. Both the excessively venerable Walter Cronkite and *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert have recently suggested in the *Times* that the Democrats should at least appear to articulate differences with the Republicans.

For decades, it was the norm that the Democratic Party, as the capitalist party that sought the votes of working people, at least pretended to address their concerns, promising a less savage and heartless social contract. This was the legacy of the 1930s New Deal under Franklin D. Roosevelt, which proposed a set of palliative reforms in an attempt to deflect an upsurge of class struggle. Instead of leading to the formation of a workers party, the titanic labor battles of the time were channeled by the Stalinist Communist Party and other union misleaders into support for Roosevelt's Democratic Party. Since that time, it has been primarily through the instrument of the Democratic Party that the trade-union officialdom has chained the workers to the capitalists and their state.

During Bill Clinton's two terms as president, he continued the work of his Republican predecessors in taking an ax to many of the social programs set up under the New Deal. Following years of rollback of the gains of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, it was left to this consummate hustler to convince black people that he felt their pain as he pushed the death penalty and signed the death warrant for welfare. And it was during his regime that the criminal speculation and Ponzi scheme "investments" by the dot-com industries attracted the monies available to the giant pension institutions with the result that, when the bubble burst, the pensions of many working people became so many worthless scraps of paper.

The Democratic Party has the same class interests as the Republicans. The Democrats may still wrap their program differently to appeal to their voters, for example over social issues such as abortion rights. Whereas the Republicans are open in their contempt for labor and blacks, the Democrats continue to posture as "friends of labor," the better to position themselves to contain outbreaks of class struggle. But given the low level of class and social struggle, there is simply no current motivation for the Democrats to offer up the New Deal rhetoric that some of their liberal ideologues demand. Furthermore, ruling-class politicians, Democrats included, will not lightly tamper with the imperial presidency. Nevertheless, bourgeois opposition to the Bush administration may well deepen if, for example, the Iraq occupation gets further bogged down or the domestic economy worsens.

Any labor movement worth its salt would use the travails of the White House to mount a fightback against the massive assault on working people. Why, for example, given the attacks on health benefits and the declining number of those covered by any such insurance, are the unions not fighting for some form of national health insurance? This directly raises the question of labor's leadership. Marxists understand that the existing leadership of the trade unions is the representative of the capitalist order within the working class. Residing in the most powerful imperialist country on the planet, this labor bureaucracy not only concedes the "right" of the capitalist rulers to a profit but supports their aspiration to dominate their imperialist competitors. This is just as true of Andy Stern's Change to Win Coalition as it is of John Sweeney's AFL-CIO officialdom. Both seek "partnership" with the American capitalists. The labor tops' class collaboration is exemplified by their "America First" protectionism, pitting the U.S. proletariat against its class brothers and sisters overseas, and their role as lieutenants of U.S. imperialism in subverting struggles of working people in the semicolonial world.

A primary symptom of the abject condition of the working class is the steep decline in union membership, to the point that currently less than 10 percent of the workforce in the private sector is organized. The responsibility for that decline lies squarely with the generations of the labor bureaucracy in the period following World War II.

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Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

Women's Oppression, the Family, and Capitalism: A Marxist Perspective on How to Fight for Women's Liberation
Friday, November 18, 5 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Rm. T-153
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Tuesday, November 29, 7 p.m.
University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Room 104, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Women's Oppression and the Family
Saturday, December 3, 2 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

The State and Revolution
Wednesday, November 16, 7 p.m.
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 703
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

BOSTON

The Russian Revolution of 1917: How the Working Class Took Power
Thursday, November 17, 7 p.m.
Boston University
George Sherman Union, Room 322
775 Commonwealth Avenue
(BU Central stop on Green Line B)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

TORONTO

The Struggle for Working Class Leadership Today: Break with the Pro-Imperialist NDP! Build a Revolutionary Party!
Wednesday, November 16, 6:30 p.m.
U of T, Sydney Smith, Room 2128
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Thursday, November 24, 5 p.m.
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 212
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

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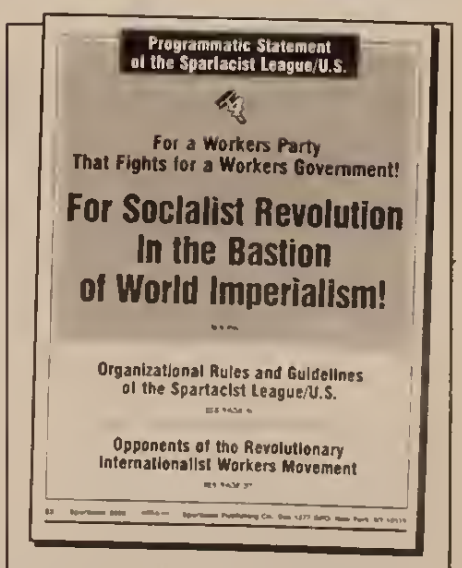

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War Crimes...

(continued from page 9)

from the anti-Communist union tops of the McCarthy era to the current lot, many of whose only experience with struggle has been to pass the bar exam.

The burning need for class struggle is inextricably linked to fighting for the political independence of the proletariat from the capitalists' political parties and government agencies. What is required is a new, class-struggle leadership of labor. The crucial task is to break labor from the Democrats and to forge a revolutionary working-class party that shares no interest with the bosses but rather seeks the overthrow of their system and the establishment of workers rule.

For a Socialist Planned Economy!

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state, in 1991-92 removed the one serious obstacle to U.S. military dominance and encouraged the capitalist rulers everywhere to drive down workers' living standards and slash social benefits. No reform won by U.S. workers in the class battles of the 1930s has been spared from the increasing attacks of the profit-gorged bosses, who perceive themselves as destined to rule a worldwide American empire. The USSR stood as a living example that the overturn of capitalist rule and the building of a collectivized, planned economy, even in the rather miserable circumstances of backward Russia, could provide all with a job, a place to live, basic health care and a decent education, something that no capitalist society has achieved. This was the product of a successful workers revolution—the October Revolution of 1917 led by the Bolshevik Party.

Despite the subsequent degeneration of the workers state under the political rule of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the International Communist League defended the Soviet Union against all attempts at capitalist counterrevolution, whether of imperialist or domestic origin. We fought for a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, which daily undermined the gains of the October Revolution, and replace it with the rule of workers soviets (councils). That is our program for the remaining deformed workers states—China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

The current situation in the U.S. steel industry is a clear example of how the capitalist profit system differs from a planned economy under workers rule. In 1980, some 400,000 workers were employed in U.S. steel plants and produced about one ton of steel per worker every nine hours. Today, only 120,000 workers are similarly employed and produce a ton of steel every two hours. Under capitalism, which is geared toward maximizing the profits of the tiny class of exploiters, this increased productivity has fueled unemployment, the contraction of wages and benefits and the savaging of the pensions of union retirees. Under a socialist planned economy, this transformation would be a good thing, shortening the workday while increasing the potential social product available to society as a whole. There is no reform that can bridge these counterposed social systems.

The fight to forge the American revolutionary proletarian party requires the expusure and denunciation of those who lead the workers unto the path of reform of the murderous and anarchic imperialist order. This includes the likes of the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party, whose efforts center on pleading with the Democrats to beat imperialism's sabers into the plowshares of jobs and social benefits. Most recently, they raised this appeal in league with the anti-Semitic, anti-woman, pro-black-capitalism demagogue Louis Farrakhan, supporting (critically or not) his reactionary "Millions More March" in Washington, D.C. last month. Attracting support from Bill Clinton and an array of black Democrats—as well as a handful of "progressive" union officials—that march was called to commemorate Farrakhan's 1995 rally for "atonement," which blamed black people for their own oppression.

The groundwork for the current attacks on the well-being of all was prepared with a frontal assault on black people. The deindustrialization of the Northeast and Midwest has been especially devastating in this regard, since unionized industrial jobs were central to the fragile economic base of the segregated black communities. Budget cuts slashed social welfare programs, capped by Clinton's 1996 "reform" all but eliminating welfare, and hit particularly hard at black workers in public services. In short, anything that could be characterized as addressing the needs of the black population became a target. The loss of jobs was accompanied by skyrocketing incarceration of young black (and Latino) men, largely under the banner of the "war on drugs." The intensification of state repression included a speedup on death row, campaigns for draconian mandatory sentencing and the construction of myriads of prisons.

Black oppression, with its profound and pervasive ideological effects, is fundamental to the American capitalist order. Obscuring the class divide, racism and white supremacy have served to bind white workers to their capitalist masters with the illusion of a commonality of interest based on skin color. A proletarian revolutionary party simply cannot be forged in the U.S. without linking the fight for black freedom to the fight against all exploitation and oppression. It is necessary to recruit those who recognize the depravity of U.S. imperialism to become fighters for the forging of a multiracial working-class party—a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International, which is the indispensable instrument for the victory of socialist revolution.■

France...

(continued from page 12)

who is still widely hated by undocumented immigrants and by ghetto youth, whom he liked to refer to as *sauvageons* (little savages). He introduced new laws enabling charges to be brought against anyone found helping undocumented workers. The barking back of the PS and PCF to Jospin and Chevènement's "neighborhood police" days is a deadly omen for immigrants and youth. It was Jospin's cops who killed Habib Ould Mohamed in Toulouse in 1998, provoking a riot for three full days in the Le Mirail neighborhood, which was quelled by a massive mobilization of the riot police, exactly as Sarkozy/de Villepin are doing now. Again, in April 2000, a neighborhood patrol killed Ryad Hamlaoui near Lille, provoking another wave of unrest.

The PCF issued a special statement (*l'Humanité*, 4 November) on Clichy demanding: "Place the police at the service of the whole nation, which means democratization, training, neighborhood residency and adequate funds." LO's editorial on Clichy mentions immigration or racism only once, in order to warn that Sarkozy's antics will "encourage more repressive attitudes among the police and racism among many of its elements." As if putting a different top cop in charge and throwing a few "bad apples" off the force would create "good" French cops. All these reformists are trying to rehabilitate the police in the eyes of oppressed youth, thus promoting deadly illusions in the bourgeois Republic. The police cannot be reformed to serve the population. Promoting the lie that they can be reformed is what distinguishes reformists from revolutionaries. Like the other armed bodies of men that constitute the core of the state (prison guards, the army), their function is to protect private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists. The capitalist state has a legal monopoly on weapons in order to maintain the capitalist system: the police are the guard dogs of the bourgeoisie, not "workers in uniform." *Police, prison guards, out of the unions!*

AP

Reuters

Left: High school students expelled from school for wearing headscarves in 2003. Right: Paris cops evict impoverished African immigrants from living quarters in rundown building in September. French proletariat must fight anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim reaction.

PCF, LCR: Architects of a New "Popular Front"

In its statement, the PCF speaks accusingly of Sarkozy: "The government has shown that it is incapable of guaranteeing public order." The PS and PCF are using the current riots in order to refurbish their much-tarnished credentials and present themselves as those who are more capable of maintaining order in the largely minority neighborhoods, and thus can be relied upon by the bourgeoisie to run the bourgeois state more smoothly.

At bottom, the issue for the PCF is to push forward a new coalition, including with bourgeois parties like the Greens, Chevènementistes and Left Radicals, to win the 2007 elections. And the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) as well as LO (albeit more indirectly) are helping them out. The "left," including the PCF and the pseudo-Trotskyists from the LCR and LO, are sharing a platform on November 8 in Paris with two little Chevènementiste bourgeois parties, MARS and MRC, supposedly against the privatization of the EDF electricity monopoly. Thus, the LCR and LO promote illusions that you can fight the capitalist onslaught by uniting with capitalist parties!

Down With the Racist Campaign "Against Terrorism"!

In early October at Charles de Gaulle Airport, baggage handlers went on strike for permanent hiring of casual workers and for higher wages (following the privatization of Air France under the previous government of Jospin/Buffet). The strike was broken by the government, using Vigipirate and a supposed terrorist threat posed by luggage not being sorted. This shows very concretely what we have been saying for years: Vigipirate targets all immigrants and minorities, as well as the working class as a whole. It may be wielded again in coming weeks if a major strike gets underway at the French railway.

LO has from Day One refused to oppose Vigipirate and this goes hand in hand with its leading role in pushing the racist campaign to expel young women wearing the headscarf from school. In France, Islam is a religion of the oppressed and of the ghettos. The headscarf represents a reactionary social program that confines women to the home in a position of servitude. The expulsion of Muslim girls from school can only reinforce their isolation and oppression and fuel racism against all immigrants. We oppose these racist campaigns and defend the girls who wear headscarves against the bourgeois state. Instead of that, LO welcomed Chirac's law banning the headscarf, a racist law that is part and parcel of the daily harassment against Muslims, and LO spokesman Arlette Laguiller even linked arms at a 6 March 2004 march of women from immigrant neighborhoods with Nicole Guedj (then-Secretary of State for prison construction from Chirac's UMP party)!

LO does mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants, just as many bourgeois liberals do who believe the French Republic should be able to integrate those immigrants who often have been in France for years and have raised families in this country. However, racism against ghetto youth runs deep and goes to the core of French capitalism, serving to profoundly divide the working class. LO consciously evades the issue, talking only of "poor neighborhoods," avoiding the key question of racial oppression. What is needed is to forge the revolutionary unity of the working class, starting with workers mobilizations against racist police terror. We fight to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party, committed to leading the proletariat of this country in socialist revolution.■

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Subscription Drive...

(continued from page 4)

Marcos was crawling with some 35 evangelical Christian groups, and religious reactionaries descended on the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill when we were there. Creationist cretins who were out in force in Texas were incensed by our defense of science and evolution. One of our most popular sub drive articles nationwide was "Hail Charles Darwin!" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September). In Oregon, we were warmly received by some for our defense of the right of gays to marry, as an initiative against it was on the state ballot.

Comrades reported that opposition to the occupation of Iraq has clearly increased over the past year, including among workers. For example, not one of the Boeing strikers with whom we spoke defended the occupation, including some who had supported the original invasion. We sold over 50 points at the demonstrations against the occupation in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on September 24. We intervened at the protests to promote the understanding that the fight against imperialist war cannot be separated from the fight to get rid of the capitalist system that breeds such wars.

Our revolutionary, proletarian, internationalist perspective is starkly counterposed to that of the wretched "socialist" builders of the September 24 protests, such as the Workers World Party and International Socialist Organization, who sow the illusion that imperialism is merely a policy of the ruling class and not a system that must be overthrown. Thus the reformists sought to funnel disgust with the Iraq occupation and Gulf Coast disaster into calls on the capitalists to change their fundamental priorities, demanding "healthcare not warfare" and "money for hurricane relief and not for war." Such liberal pressure politics serve to chain the working class to its exploiters, promoting support for capitalist politicians like Jesse Jackson and other Democrats who addressed the D.C. rally.

In the lead-up to and during the 2003 war, the reformists refused to take a side with Iraq, whereas we were for the military defense of Iraq and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism while giving no political support whatsoever to the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein. Today we demand: "All U.S. troops out of Iraq now!" An in-depth explanation of the vast gulf separating reformist and revolutionary opposition to imperialist war is available in "Marxism, Militarism and War" (*Young Spartacus* pages, *WV* No. 857, 28 October).

WV Photo

August 20: Northwest AMFA picket line at New York's JFK Airport. We sold numerous introductory subscriptions to striking Boeing and Northwest workers.

From Labor Strikes to Social Issues

Intervening through *WV* into the ongoing Northwest Airlines strike and the Boeing strike—important battles for all labor—and at various Labor Day rallies helped concretize for our readers our class-struggle perspective. The Chicago Local made multiple trips to Detroit and Minneapolis to spend time on the picket lines at the two main Northwest hubs; the Bay Area and Los Angeles locals joined Boeing IAM picket lines in Seattle.

In North Carolina and elsewhere in the South, some subscribers wanted to talk about how to organize the most vulnerable layers of the working class in the region. Any serious campaign to organize unions in the "open shop" South will run up against racist reaction, exemplifying that labor rights and black rights will go forward together or fall back separately. Leninists look to combat any and every manifestation of oppression and bigotry. In San Marcos, we joined students in calling to defend three youth arrested in a vicious cop attack on a black student fund-raiser for hurricane relief. Our placards reading "Down With the Racist *La Migra* Roundups!" and "For Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" were popular in Arizona, where the viciously anti-immigrant Minutemen run amok and the border is increasingly militarized.

As in recent years past, many students were drawn to our defense of the Palestinian people. In many places, our positions on social issues, especially abortion, were of particular interest. In Los Angeles, we sold a number of subs to women attracted to our table by our sign calling for free abortion on demand. At the same time, some comrades reported that support for abortion rights seems to be eroding under the impact of the right wing's propaganda barrage.

Other Highlights

Congratulations to comrade Vanessa of the Bay Area, who with 179 points sold the most subscriptions!

Some of the most successful regional trips this year were once again headed up by the Bay Area Local, including the Colorado trip (265 points), the Northern Tours (178.5 points) and the Texas trip (74.5 points). In addition to participating in those trips, the Los Angeles Local also went to Arizona (43.5 points) and San Diego and to Las Vegas for the Transport Workers Union international convention. In L.A. itself, the Spartacus Youth Club did very well at UCLA (72.5 points). The Chicago Local covered an expanse of Midwest campus areas, from Ann Arbor and East Lansing in Michigan to the University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign, the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Minneapolis, as well as helping on the Colorado trip.

Members of the New York Local traveled up and down the East Coast, visiting Washington, D.C. (66 points), Norfolk, Virginia (28 points), North Carolina (122 points), Charleston, South Carolina (46 points) and Atlanta. Teams also went to numerous CUNY and SUNY campuses. Thirty-five points were sold at Columbia University, where the SYC has for years intervened in campus struggles, held forums and classes and distributed literature. Boston comrades, with help from New York, netted 108 points at Western Massachusetts campuses.

Defense of the right to distribute literature and participate in the political life of a campus is an important component of any sub drive. On occasion, petty school officials, unsettled by our unabashedly communist politics, have attempted to shut us down. At Boston University (BU), the administration suspended the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club (FOSYC) midway through the sub drive. The Boston comrades poured their resources into fighting this flagrant political censorship, mobilizing support among BU students and faculty to win the reinstatement of FOSYC. As a result of the FOSYC defense campaign, 18 points were sold at BU.

Finally, the "at large" points included points for subscriptions to *WV* sold by our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste as part of their *WV/Spartacist Canada* subscription drive. Subscriptions mailed in from locations not serviced by a local make up the remainder of the "at large" points. Congratulations again to everyone for all their work!

We welcome our readers, new and longstanding. We hope you will become our active supporters and join in the struggles of the working people and oppressed. We encourage you to contact us to discuss the contents of *WV* and introduce *WV* to friends and co-workers. If you agree with our purpose and principles, join us!■

New Orleans...

(continued from page 2)

Authority of N.O., is paying to rent "shuttering devices" at an incredible $55 per month per door and $22 per month per window to keep the residents out.

The City of N.O. has laid off most city employees and closed all the neighborhood parks and libraries indefinitely, except for Algiers on the West Bank.

A quarter of a million jobs disappeared in September, fully 40 percent of the local workforce. Employers have notified the State of additional planned layoffs. Locals are shut out of the massive work of debris collection, demolition and rebuilding. Less than one-half of one percent of the initial contracts went to Louisiana companies; the rest went to Halliburton and those with ties to the Bush Administration. Halliburton and friends brought in an initial workforce from out of state, apparently 99 percent white...and without health insurance. Which I know because they are showing up at the hospital where I work. The sub-subcontractors have since brought in Latino crews which has caused the black Democratic mayor to worry aloud about "being overrun by Mexicans," and led Democratic State Senator Mary Landrieu to call in the INS to deport undocumented workers from the Belle Chasse Naval Center. In historically under-unionized Louisiana, there has never been a clearer case for the need to unionize and unite workers of all races and nationalities.

There is a massive shortage of housing stock for both laborers and returning residents. Contractors and crews get little cooperation from local authorities and are squatting in massive encampments in City Park and empty lots everywhere. There is to this date not one occupied FEMA trailer in use in all of Orleans Parish.

Cops are enforcing the message that black residents better stay away. A tee-totalling 64-year-old black retired schoolteacher back to check on his 9th Ward home was beaten bloody and senseless and arrested outside his French Quarter hotel by NOPD who then menaced the TV camera man and reporter who recorded the incident. A middle-aged black female friend of mine, also back to check on her home, told me she is leaving the city for good because she cannot enter a store or place of business without being treated like a probable looter.

That was the line from the bourgeois state immediately after the storm. The prostitute bourgeois press duly repeated the lies as fact for four fateful days: namely that there was nobody in New Orleans to save but criminals and looters, and you couldn't go in there, because you'd get shot.

Red Cross trucks and fleets of rescue vehicles were stopped by the feds and barred from entering the city while vulnerable elderly and ill died awaiting rescue, including those in hospitals.

Only after enough movie stars, Wal-Mart trucks and TV camera men got in and showed the scenes of poor and elderly, mothers and children begging to be saved did the tide turn.

After all was said and done the "criminal takeover" turned out to be a racist lie, and no one has apologized or retracted it.

The real looters were the cops. NOPD officers stole every last Cadillac and Corvette from a downtown dealership in a widely witnessed example.

New Orleans is a key port city and transportation hub which cannot be abandoned, moved, or reduced to a Disneyland version of the French Quarter. Black people are literally the backbone, guts and heart of New Orleans. People love this city for its Afro-Caribbean-Creole-Latin charm, reflected everywhere: in the architecture, food, music and culture of "laissez les bon temps rouler." You cannot keep out the black port workers, laborers, musicians, chefs, oil workers, hospital and hospitality industry workers and still have a city.

A bitter joke made the rounds here: What is Bush's position on Roe versus Wade? Answer: he doesn't care how people get out of New Orleans. The hurricane of the century blew down most of this town, revealing the vicious hostility of the ruling class toward the poor, the black and the working class. Truly a socialist revolution is needed to put the working class in power. It's a matter of life and death.

Ruth
New Orleans

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With Racist Cop Terror!

AFP photos

Paris suburb Clichy-sous-Bois invaded by cops. Right: Cops arrest youth on October 30.

The following article is based on a leaflet issued on November 5 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

PARIS, November 8—On October 27, two youth of African origin, Ziad Benna and Bouna Traoré, were electrocuted in a power substation where they had sought refuge from a police dragnet in Clichy-sous-Bois, near Paris. For over a week, immigrant and minority ghettos and neighborhoods have been in flames. Thousands of cars as well as some warehouses and stores have burned. The unprecedented unrest in the suburban ghettos has also flared up in the center of Paris and spread to suburbs all over France and beyond. Cars were set ablaze outside the main train station in Brussels and in a working-class neighborhood of Berlin.

The French government continues to fuel the outrage. A state of emergency invoking sweeping police measures has now been imposed against the seething ghettos. Some 10,000 police have been deployed while more than 1,200 youth have been arrested and some have already been sentenced to months in jail. We demand the ***immediate release of all the jailed youth and the dropping of all charges! Down with racist police terror against youth in the immigrant ghettos!*** We also oppose Vigipirate, a plan consisting of racist joint police and army patrols in train and metro stations and airports, which has been on "code red" for five months now.

The explosion started in Clichy-sous-Bois, a rundown ghetto with a population consisting heavily of immigrants and French youth of immigrant descent. The official unemployment rate there is 25 percent; in reality, probably more than 50 percent of youth there are unemployed. No wonder Clichy exploded. The bourgeoisie does not have much to offer these youth except police patrols, jail and death—in some prisons about 80 percent of the inmates are of Muslim background, whereas Muslims make up less than 10 percent of the population of France.

A recent sociological study documents "apartheid at school," with racist segregation now even more intense in high schools than in housing. As a result, these youth have little to no perspective of finishing school or getting a job. And the situation has gone from bad to worse over the last 20 years, under "left-" and right-wing governments alike. Racism is inherent to capitalism, and in France it is rooted also in its colonial past: the French bourgeoisie still seethes over its defeat in the Algerian liberation struggle over 40 years ago. A consistent fight against racist oppression requires a fight to overthrow the whole capitalist system.

Riots such as these are an expression of despair by unemployed youth so marginalized that they are deprived of any means to be a factor for effective social change. The unrest has also included incidents of indiscriminate attacks on individuals who happened to find themselves in the wrong place, and has devastated the neighborhoods these youth have to live in. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the devastation suffered, these outbreaks usually change nothing. This makes it even more important for workers to fight for better conditions for residents of these neighborhoods. The working class is the social force that has the objective interest and power to overturn this whole system of capitalist exploitation, racism and misery, and build a workers state based on a planned economy.

Aulnay-sous-Bois is another city in the 93rd district, a heavily working-class and immigrant region outside Paris that was prominent in the recent riots. In Aulnay there is also a large Citroën auto plant where young workers, mostly of North and West African immigrant origin, carried out a winning strike this past March. Thousands of youth from the area have jobs at the nearby Charles de Gaulle Airport, one of the largest in Europe. The power of the multiethnic workforce of the area, French and immigrant, can be unleashed to fight against the terrible conditions in the ghettos and in defense of the oppressed youth. But for this to happen, what is necessary is a relentless fight against the chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy, which restrains and betrays working-class struggles because at bottom it shares the bourgeoisie's concern that French capitalism be made more "competitive" against its international rivals.

AFP

Clichy-sous-Bois residents march on October 29. T-shirts reading "Dead for Nothing" honor two young men who died after being chased by police.

The government's vicious attack against a whole generation of youth is intended to fuel racist divisions within the multiethnic working class of this country in a context of savage attacks against the whole proletariat and growing working-class resistance. After the seamen of the Corsica-Mediterranean ferry line lost their strike, stabbed in the back by the CGT union leadership (see "Corsica and Class Struggle in France," *WV* No. 857, 28 October), the government, wielding an anti-strike court injunction, is now trying to break a month-long strike by Marseille transit workers. A strike has been called for November 21 by all the major unions of the SNCF railway. This makes it all the more urgent for the organized workers movement to oppose the government's racist onslaught. For the working class, it is a life-and-death question to stand united and fight off the attacks on its standard of living and on social services. As the LTF wrote in *Le Bolchévik* (September 2005):

> "An attack against one is an attack against all. The whole workers movement...must mobilize in defense of its most vulnerable class brothers, the workers coming from North and West Africa in particular, who form a strategic component of the proletariat of this country, whether in construction, auto or among the sanitation workers of Paris. What's needed is a campaign to unionize the temp workers, time-limited jobs and 'new hire contracts' [a new type of contract below union standards]. ***Down with Vigipirate! Down with racist expulsions and deportation charter flights! Full citizenship rights for all those who are here! French troops out of Africa!***"

Neighborhood Police and Riot Police: Guard Dogs of the Bourgeois Order

The trade-union bureaucrats and the reformist parties should be condemned for their refusal to protest the government's racist onslaught in Clichy-sous-Bois and other neighborhoods. They mainly complain that Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy is a crazed maniac, only pursuing his career to become president. Thus they give backhanded support to his rival, Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin (a close ally of President Jacques Chirac), who has even increased the level of police repression since he took over the situation after the first days of rioting. The reformists condemn Sarkozy for sending riot police on hit-and-run operations against the minority ghettos. Instead of Sarkozy's raids, they promote the so-called good old days of the "neighborhood police" put in place by the late popular-front government of Lionel Jospin of the Socialist Party (PS) and Marie-George Buffet, the current head of the Communist Party (PCF). The PCF and Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which is linked to the American pseudo-Trotskyist organization Spark, have even attacked Sarkozy for reducing the number of police working daily in the ghettos. LO wrote in *Lutte Ouvrière* (8 July):

> "In complete contradiction to his promises, the minister Sarkozy has conducted the same policy on his turf as his colleagues: playing tricks with the numbers to hide the decrease, closing police precincts, budgets without funds."

The "neighborhood police" was a favorite concept of Jean-Pierre Chevènement, minister of police in the Jospin government.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 859 — GCIU C-701 — 25 November 2005

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

NOVEMBER 22—The abandonment of masses of overwhelmingly black and poor people by America's capitalist rulers in the face of Hurricane Katrina is a crime that must be seared into the memory of working people. Months after the catastrophe, New Orleans remains a rotting shell. Bodies are still being found almost daily. Nearly half the devastated city is without power, without medical care and with most of its population unable to return to their homes.

Barely a day after a moratorium on evictions by Louisiana's governor expired on October 25, record numbers of eviction notices were being served. Some 10,000 people now face homelessness as landlords raise rents by as much as 100 percent. With Dickensian cruelty, FEMA has announced that after the Thanksgiving holiday, it will evict as many as 53,000 families from the motel rooms they've been forced to call home. Thousands more will be evicted following Christmas and New Year's. Earlier this month, FEMA, in an unprecedented move, stopped payment to flood insurance policyholders, outrageously claiming that it had run out of money. This is an outright lie. Of the utterly inadequate $62.3 billion Washington appropriated for relief after hurricanes Katrina, Rita and Wilma, "more than half—$37.5 billion—is sitting in FEMA's account, waiting for a purpose" (*Time*, 28 November).

When the State of Louisiana requested $250 billion in funds, this was contemptuously dismissed in the media as the "Louisiana Looters' Bill." In contrast, Congressmen had no problem voting themselves another pay raise as they recessed for Thanksgiving.

It is the capitalist looters who are making out big. Northrop Grumman is in line for $2 billion in FEMA funds to rebuild its shipyards, where most of the Navy's surface ships are built. And defense contractor Titan, a company that has its hands in the Abu Ghraib torture scandal, has already received contracts worth over half a million dollars. Meanwhile, nationwide the bourgeoisie continues to intensify its attacks on the working class: on the heels of auto parts supplier Delphi's savage assault on its workers' wages and pensions through bankruptcy maneuvers, GM just announced its plan to cut 30,000 jobs over the next three years.

At the same time, popular support for the Bush administration continues to fall over government corruption scandals, the economy and, mainly, the debacle of the bloody Iraq occupation. On November 17, Democratic Congressman John Murtha of Pennsylvania, a longtime hawk, called to "redeploy U.S. troops" out of Iraq within six months, although when Republicans forced a House vote on the question, Murtha and all but three Democrats voted against immediate troop withdrawal. The Democrats' concern is that through its incompetence and savagery in Iraq, the Bush administration is undermining the reactionary "war on terror" and U.S. imperialism's long-term strategic interests. Expressing this frustration, liberal columnist Frank Rich complained that "the percentage of Americans who now regard fighting terrorism as a top national priority is either in the single or low double digits in every poll" (*New York Times*, 20 November).

New Orleans: Racist Atrocity

Hicks/NY Times

Iraq: Murderous Occupation

Reuters

The Democratic Party is a capitalist party dedicated to the fundamental interests of U.S. imperialism. As we wrote in "Big Lies and Imperialist War" (*WV* No. 856, 14 October):

> "Growing opposition in the U.S. population to the Iraq occupation, revulsion over the government's role in the death and destruction of black people and the poor after Hurricane Katrina, anger at the attacks on fundamental democratic rights—the situation speaks to the burning need to build a workers party that would organize ***class struggle*** against the U.S. capitalist rulers ... Only when the multiracial proletariat seizes power from the blood-drenched, arrogant capitalist rulers can we begin to speak of a world rid of imperialist wars and occupations and offering material security and social justice for all."

We print below, edited for publication, a presentation by Spartacist League spokesman Erica Jones at an October 20 New York City forum.

* * *

We saw it as necessary to have a forum on the fight for black liberation and the fight for a workers America at this time because events such as the racist atrocity in New Orleans have further exposed the irrationality and anarchy of capitalism, its lies and its unsustainability. The tragedy of New Orleans isn't exactly "all natural," as the capitalist rulers and their media would have you believe. The raw, naked truth is that securing the safety of the black and poor living in New Orleans was not considered profitable. The facilities on the Mississippi River from Baton Rouge to New Orleans constitute the U.S.'s largest port, and the Louisiana coast produces one-third of the country's seafood, one-fifth of its oil and one-quarter of its natural gas. But the capitalist system as it relates to building and securing infrastructure is not rational.

The U.S. government, from Clinton's time to the current Bush administration, knew about the dangers facing New Orleans. They knew that the levees surrounding New Orleans were not built to withstand anything beyond a Level 3 hurricane, that the levees were in poor repair, that the wetlands which provided a barrier to the ocean were rapidly receding. Yet before hurricane season, funding for flood control was drastically slashed as more and more money was provided for the war in Iraq.

The capitalist class and the parties that uphold its rule—Democrats and Republicans—also knew that if a hurricane the size of Katrina hit New Orleans, given the social structure of America, the rich would be protected as they always are—on higher ground. Yet bourgeois

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NBA Racism

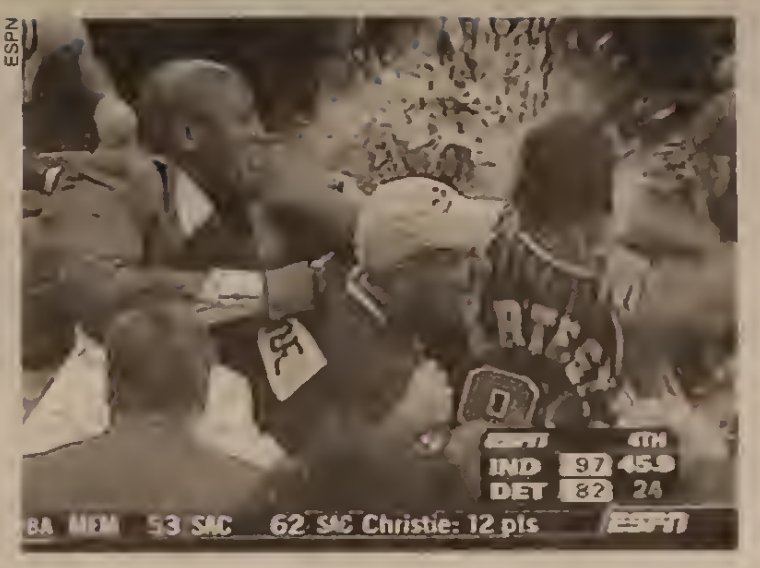
7 November 2005

To the editor:

As the *New York Times* noted with the opening of another National Basketball Association (NBA) season, November 19 marks the anniversary of the now-famous brawl in the Indiana Pacers/Detroit Pistons game in Auburn Hills, Michigan. Black Pacers forward Ron Artest was suspended for a full season for punching a fan. Two black teammates were barred for at least 15 and 30 games respectively. This was a travesty that captures all too well the treatment of black people in this society—even those who have "made it."

It turned my stomach to see Artest lying on the scorers' table, being pelted by beer, food and who knows what else by white fans in the $300-plus seats. At least one press account said the "N" word was used. Why shouldn't Artest go after the racist pig who did this? I know Artest is not a freedom rider, but the image that popped into my head the more I watched the repeated replays was that of the civil rights activists being pelted with flour and other foodstuffs at the Greensboro, North Carolina, Woolworth's lunch counter in 1960 and elsewhere. Nobody else would have been expected to take this without standing up for himself. (Compare Artest's treatment with baseball icon Ty Cobb—a racist sociopath—who once attacked with impunity a paraplegic fan for needling him.) Why are young black athletes expected to?

Not surprisingly, those screaming the loudest for Artest's suspension were the sports press corps. To give a facade of evenhandedness they also criticized the fans who were involved. But it is the very same sportswriters who play a key role in inciting the fans. Their basic line is that young black players are nothing but overpaid, spoiled thugs who should kiss everybody's ass that they have the chance to play professional basketball for money—if not for this they'd likely be in prison.



November 2004: Pacers forward Ron Artest hit with beer thrown by white fans.

The vilification of Artest and other black athletes is an essential component of the criminalization of a generation of black youth in a society that has no jobs for young black men and therefore no education to offer other than that found in a prison cell.

In their glorified gossip columns these writers daily scream their resentment for the salaries the athletes command, the women they get to sleep with and adulation they get. They whip up pseudo-populist resentment against the players—not the multimillionaire owners who ply the sportswriters with perks, comps and martinis—for the high price of tickets which the "working stiff" (like the six-figure salaried sportswriters) have to pay to see them play. (In contrast nobody complains about the high cost of movie tickets that pays the $10-20 million per film that Ben Affleck gets for such artistic gems as *Gigli*.) The players' personal lives are retailed in the gutter press, with their jobs put on the line every day by innuendo. Have a couple of bad games and the suggestion of drug or alcohol "abuse" is likely to appear, and with it the threat of being cut, prosecution and cop terror. It is in the context of this everyday dehumanizing treatment of black athletes that the fans at Auburn Hills, a white suburb of black Detroit, felt they could do and say anything to Artest and his teammates.

The Artest suspension was intended as a warning to all young black players to toe the line or be cast back out on the street. While basketball is seen as a "black sport" it is increasingly less so. The influx of successful European ballplayers, which will be accelerated by the embarrassing losses of the U.S. Olympic team last year, means there are fewer blacks in the NBA and will be even less in the immediate years to come. The *New York Times* quoted former NBA star Charles Barkley, "The NBA has a double standard because fans are looking at a black league. Larry Bird [1980s great white hope for the Celtics] touched on it last year when he said the league needs more white players." The attack on Artest is inseparable from the attack on black people, especially young black men, throughout this society.

To purge itself of the "hip hop" image, the NBA recently adopted a new dress code prohibiting chains, pendants and medallions, sunglasses worn indoors, shorts and T-shirts. Cited as the godfather of the young players to whom these restrictions are directed is Philadelphia 76ers star Allen Iverson. From the moment he donned a Sixers uniform, Iverson has played under the shadow of a "criminal" past. What does that criminality consist of? When he was a star high school player in Hampton, Virginia, Iverson and some friends were set upon by a gang of racist thugs at a bowling alley. They defended themselves. A brawl ensued. As would be expected, only the black students were charged. Iverson was convicted and spent four months in jail. Throughout his entire college career and early pro years Iverson was branded a troublemaker and a felon, without anybody—most black sports fans included—knowing what really happened. This marked not only him, but a generation of black NBA players as well.

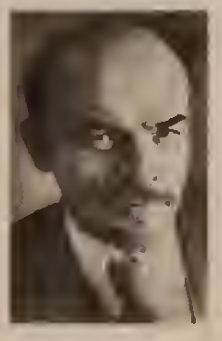
Having "made it" in the world of sports, like the entertainment business, does not spare these black stars the contempt regularly meted out to black people. The half-time show at the NBA all-star game was a southern country band. When the show was over Charles Barkley observed, what's this NASCAR stuff doing here? With hundreds of black performers and record executives in attendance, this year's Grammy Awards included a tribute to Southern Rock, which featured the Lynyrd Skynyrd song "Sweet Home Alabama," a segregationist anthem written in response to Neil Young's anti-lynching song "Southern Man."

Eighteen years ago *Workers Vanguard* ("Racism in Sports," No. 426, 17 April 1987) noted, "Ever since the 1830s when slaveholders imported boxing from England to bet on which slave (in plantation colors) could best pummel the 'property' of a rival plantation, black athletes have been used to entertain and make millions for their bosses, only to be chucked aside when their talents were no longer profitable." We added, "Sports is about the only profession where, for a few short, brutal years, blacks can earn six- and seven-figure incomes. But even for those on top, the 'American Dream' is a nightmare." As the case of Ron Artest shows, nothing has changed over the past two decades.

Paul C.

Marxism and the State

TROTSKY



LENIN

A vital lesson drawn by Marxists from the experience of the Paris Commune—when the city's proletariat briefly held power in 1871—was that the working class cannot emancipate itself by taking hold of the machinery of the capitalist state. In his introduction to Karl Marx's The Civil War in France, *Friedrich Engels explained the necessity for the working class to smash the bourgeois state and establish its own class dictatorship. It is through the victory of proletarian revolution internationally that the material basis would be laid for the elimination of classes and the withering away of the state.*

From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognise that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. What had been the characteristic attribute of the former state? Society had created its own organs to look after its common interests, originally through simple division of labour. But these organs, at whose head was the state power, had in the course of time, in pursuance of their own special interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society. This can be seen, for example, not only in the hereditary monarchy, but equally so in the democratic republic. Nowhere do "politicians" form a more separate and powerful section of the nation than precisely in North America. There, each of the two major parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions....

The state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy; and at best an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat, just like the Commune, cannot avoid having to lop off at once as much as possible until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap.

Of late, the German philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

—Friedrich Engels, 1891 Introduction to *The Civil War in France* by Karl Marx (1871)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 22 November

No. 859 **25 November 2005**

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International and discusses the impact of the 1917 October Revolution. The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism.

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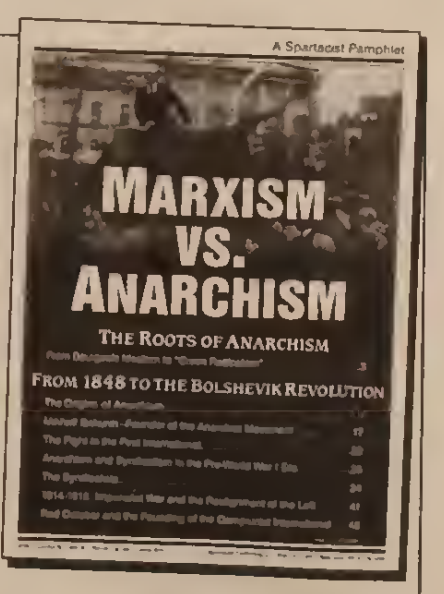

Young Spartacus

Campus Cops Attack Black SFSU Professor

Hands Off Antwi Akom! Drop All Charges!

We reprint below a November 7 statement issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club in response to the arrest of Africana Studies professor Antwi Akom at San Francisco State University (SFSU) on October 25. Professor Akom had dropped by his campus office that night to pick up a book and was arrested by campus cops as he hurried back to his two children asleep in his car. In a letter to the San Francisco Bay View, *Akom stated: "My children asked me: 'Daddy, why did you leave us for so long?' Because they treat us like disposable people, because they treat zoo animals better than they do the Black, Brown, Arab and yes some white folks too, in jail. The pain and suffering that I witnessed has shaken me to my core" (SFBayView.com, 9 November).*

Although the false charges of resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer were reduced from felonies to misdemeanors at a November 1 arraignment, Professor Akom still faces up to one year in jail. In a letter to the editor based on the following statement, which was printed in the SFSU newspaper the Golden Gate [X]press *on November 10, the SYC stated: "Anti-racist students must link arms with the multiracial working class, the only force in society with the social power and interests to make real social change through socialist revolution."*

Capitalist America's anti-black racism reared its ugly head once again at SFSU when, on the night of October 25, Professor Antwi Akom was arrested going into *his own office* after hours. Akom was charged with two felonies (the charges were later reduced to misdemeanors), resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer—adding "being on a university campus" to the list of things that it is illegal to do while being black. Outrageously, his bail was set at $51,000. ***Hands off Professor Akom! Drop all charges!***

Lubin/SF Chronicle photos

Professor Antwi Akom at November 1 arraignment. Right: SFSU students and faculty support Akom at arraignment.

The arrest of Professor Akom threatens the right of all black students, workers and faculty to be on campus. For decades the American rulers have been saying "drop dead" to black youth. The rising costs of tuition and the gutting of affirmative action are a racist purge driving black youth from the universities—locking them into ghettos and then into prison unless they enlist as cannon fodder for the imperialist military. The role of the cops on campus is no different from their role on the streets—subjugation through terror. ***Cops off campus!***

We warn students against illusions that the administration can be relied upon to end racism on campus. The administration's role is to make sure that the campus is administered in the interests of the capitalists, including enforcing their bogus "war on terror," which targets blacks, immigrants, leftists and labor. The Spartacus Youth Club has defended targets of the SFSU administration, most recently when the International Socialist Organization and Students Against War were sanctioned for protesting military recruiters on campus. Last year, a 15-year-old black high school student was beaten and arrested on this campus. In 2004, when four women students from predominantly Muslim countries defended themselves against the College Republicans who called them "terrorists," we demanded, "No administration reprisals! Down with the right-wing witchhunt!" In 2001, we joined with the General Union of Palestine Students in protest against the administration's handing over immigrant students' records to the FBI, demanding, "Down with SFSU collaboration with FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights!"

This history shows that [SFSU president] Corrigan's recent claim that "We are a campus community that identifies itself by a central commitment to social justice and equity" is nothing but a sick joke. The truth is that the administration is feeling the pressure from enraged students and faculty and launched an "investigation" team of former SF mayor Willie Brown and Louise H. Renne to put a lid on protest. But don't be fooled.

The Democratic Party figure Willie Brown is a black front man whose job is to make it easier to enforce segregation and oppression through brutal cop terror and economic marginalization in San Francisco's poor black neighborhoods. Louise H. Renne is a hangman of the capitalist injustice system, the president of the Police Commission that oversees the San Francisco police and its "Office of Citizen Complaints," whose purpose is to whitewash the cops' image.

The Spartacus Youth Club fights for free, quality education for all. Students who want to fight for equality must link arms with the multiracial working class, the only social force in society with the power to make real social change. ***For student/worker/faculty control of the university! Abolish the administration!***

Drop all charges against Professor Akom now! ■

Racist "Ghetto Party" at University of Chicago

Outrage!

We reprint below, edited for publication, an October 31 leaflet issued by the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club in response to a racist "ghetto party" thrown by students at a University of Chicago dorm. The leaflet was widely circulated on campus, and SYC members intervened at a meeting of minority students where the party was the focus of the discussion. The controversy was featured in the Chicago Tribune *and picked up on all the local TV news shows, as well as MTV.com. The U of C administration was quick to try to salvage its tarnished image, calling a "campus climate" meeting on November 8 that drew over 300 students. A member of the SYC intervened at this meeting, turning his back to the panel of campus bureaucrats. He warned students against any illusions in the racist administration whose job is to run the campus in the interest of capitalism. Our comrade motivated our program of revolutionary integrationism, based on the understanding that black oppression, which is the bedrock of racist American capitalism, can only be ended through revolutionary struggle that overthrows the profit system. The SYC also submitted a copy of the leaflet to the campus "progressive" newspaper* Diskord, *but they responded that they could not publish it unless "the Marxist rhetoric" was "toned down quite a bit."*

It was a racist outrage when several students at May House held a "Straight Thuggin Ghetto Party" on October 14. Students were encouraged to dress "ghetto," and showed up flashing mock gang signs, drinking from 40-ounce bottles in paper bags, and wearing handcuffs. The only thing missing from this disgusting spectacle were students wearing blackface! When several black students arrived to investigate, they were told, "You guys should've come earlier because you're far more ghetto than us"! And the garbage has continued, with some students setting up a Web page called "People Against Ghetto Parties Are Stupid" on the campus's online "facebook," mocking the just anger of many students who were appalled by the party.

It speaks volumes about the times that students thought they could act out these racist stereotypes and get away with it. The racist atrocity that recently took place in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina laid bare the nature of the capitalist system and showed quite clearly the contempt the ruling class holds for the black population. The capitalist rulers abandoned thousands of poor blacks to die as the city was submerged in water, and then proceeded to brand blacks who were forced to find food in abandoned stores and hotels as "looters," while whites who did the same thing were hailed as heroically "finding food." For two decades an entire generation of black youth has been criminalized through the racist "war on drugs" carried out by the capitalist Democrats and Republicans alike. The reality for poor black people today is segregation into ghetto hellholes that are more akin to prisons than neighborhoods, enforced with rampant cop terror.

U of Chicago Magazine

SYC protests racism at U of C: March 2004 student protest against beating of black student Clemmie Carthans by campus cops.

From the days of chattel slavery to the present, black oppression is the foundation upon which the American system of capitalist exploitation rests. It is not the result of bad ideas, nor is the source of racism to be found in some mythical "human nature." Rather, black oppression has its material basis in the fact that black people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main segregated at the bottom of American society. Black workers, who compose the majority of the black population, are a specially oppressed layer of the proletariat: last hired in times of economic boom, first fired during a recession. Ghetto youth are increasingly viewed as an expendable surplus population unworthy of being provided even the basic needs of subsistence. The genocidal logic of America's rulers was captured in right-wing bigot William Bennett's recent statement on his "Morning in America" radio show that "you could abort every black baby in this country, and your crime rate would go down."

The special oppression of black people in America cuts across class lines; even the thin layer of black students who make it to an elite college (black students are only 4 percent of the U of C student body) are still targeted with raw racism. The beating of black grad student Clemmie Carthans last year by two University of Chicago cops illustrates this point. At 3:30 in the morning on January 24, 2004, having already stopped Carthans simply because he was a black man on the U of C campus, the campus cops brutally beat Carthans after they saw him hugging a white woman.

The University of Chicago does not exist in a vacuum, detached from the outside world, but is itself a bastion of white bourgeois privilege dedicated to the maintenance of the capitalist system.

continued on page 8

Fight Government Repression!

PDC Rallies

WV Photo

Chicago united-front rally against government repression initiated by the PDC, October 1.

This fall, a series of rallies against government repression, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, drew hundreds of union members, activists, students and socialists. Held in New York on September 15, in Chicago and Berkeley on October 1, and in Los Angeles on October 8, these united-front events helped broaden support, particularly in the labor movement, for the causes of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur—fighters against oppression victimized by the racist capitalist "justice" system.

Participants discussed the need for massive protest against the government's all-sided attacks on democratic rights. As the PDC—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League—pointed out in its leaflet building for the rallies:

> "The bloodthirsty U.S. government's frontal assault on democratic rights is being carried out under the pretext of the bogus 'war on terrorism.' Basic rights, won through the hard-fought class struggles of the 1930s union organizing drives and the social struggles of the 1950s through the early 1970s—in the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War protests, for women's and gay rights—are being run through the shredder by the Bush administration with the full agreement of the Democratic Party. Political opponents face being imprisoned with no right to an attorney or a trial. The government asserts the 'right' to disappear and torture its opponents—to lock them up and throw away the key."

The leaflet stated that the Mumia, Stewart and Shakur cases "must be rallying points for labor, blacks and defenders of civil liberties.... Their fight is a fight for us all." Passing the bucket at the four events raised some $2,750, which was divided between the defense committees for Mumia and Stewart.

Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart is facing years in prison for her vigorous legal defense of Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. Her conviction threatens the Sixth Amendment right to an attorney (see "Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Rally," *WV* No. 855, 30 September). She is scheduled for sentencing along with her co-defendants, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar, on January 20 in New York City. Stewart's speech in New York was videotaped and played at the West Coast rallies.

Assata Shakur, former member of the Black Panthers and the Black Liberation Army, and two companions, Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli, were ambushed by New Jersey state troopers in 1973. The troopers immediately opened fire, killing Zayd Shakur, and one of the cops was killed with a bullet from a police revolver. The two remaining militants were convicted of killing the cop and their own comrade. While Sundiata Acoli has been in prison for over 30 years, Assata escaped prison hell in 1979 and eventually fled to Cuba, where she still resides.

Addressing Assata Shakur's case were Brother Sadki "Shep" Ojore Oughala of the N.Y. Hands Off Assata Shakur Coalition and Dara Cooper, Hands Off Assata Campaign/Chicago Coalition. In her NYC speech, Stewart recalled that years ago she, like many others, had a sign on her door reading, "Assata Shakur Is Welcome Here." She added, "Now if you put that on your door, you could be accused of materially aiding terrorism." In May, the federal Department of Justice and state of New Jersey raised the bounty on Assata Shakur's head to $1 million, while the Feds added her name to domestic and international "terrorist" lists.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Hands Off Lynne Stewart! Hands Off Assata Shakur!

COC Productions AP Elana Levy

Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost class-war prisoner, has been on death row for over 23 years, falsely convicted of killing a cop. Mountains of proof of his frame-up and the conspiracy that put him in prison have been compiled for the world to see, including the confession of Arnold Beverly, that he, not Jamal, killed Daniel Faulkner in 1981. But the capitalist rulers want to see the execution of the ex-Black Panther Party spokesman, MOVE supporter, award-winning journalist and outspoken voice for all the oppressed. Over the past two decades, the PDC and Spartacist League have fought to bring this case into union halls and workplaces from the U.S. to South Africa, seeking to mobilize the social power of the working class to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty.

Mumia provided the rallies with taped greetings and a commentary on the Hurricane Katrina disaster. Addressing Mumia's cause in NYC was Pam Africa of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Monique Code read a statement of support for the rally from Mumia's son Jamal Hart. Imprisoned since 1998 on bogus firearms possession charges, Jamal was targeted for prominently speaking out in defense of his father. Robert R. Bryan, lead counsel for Mumia, spoke in the Bay Area. Mumia's sister Lydia Barashango traveled from Philadelphia to speak at the Chicago and Los Angeles rallies (see article page 6). Jonathan Piper of the PDC, who was a member of Mumia's defense team from 1990 to 1999, also addressed the Chicago rally.

The West Coast forums were chaired by the PDC's Valerie West, who had worked with Stuart Hanlon and others in defense of framed-up Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). Geronimo fought for 27 years to prove his innocence before winning his freedom in 1997. West particularly aided him against attempts by state prison authorities to punish him for continuing to struggle for his freedom. In her remarks, West made special mention of a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League lawsuit against the FBI over earlier "terrorism" guidelines. In 1984, the government conceded the central point of our legal challenge: that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or terrorism. This was a modest but genuine blow to the government's efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. The broad repressive sweep of the current "war on terror" makes it all the more urgent to mobilize in defense of its victims.

Mobilize Labor's Power!

Based on the need to mobilize labor, blacks and defenders of democratic rights independent of the capitalist parties, the PDC-initiated rallies were in stark contrast to the dime-a-dozen liberal-reformist "Anybody but Bush" gatherings that serve to reinforce Democratic Party lesser-evilism. United-front defense actions can be catalysts for the open political debate and militant struggle needed to combat the rulers' war on black people, immigrants, women and labor. In taking up the cause of the class-war prisoners, the trade unions will be striking a blow against the very capitalist state whose purpose is to repress working people and minorities. It is through such struggles that the working class will develop the consciousness to wield its social power and organization in a revolutionary fight to smash the murderous, racist capitalist state and replace it with a workers state. The Spartacist League seeks to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the workers in this battle.

In motivating a class-struggle approach, PDC rally moderators stressed that while all legal avenues must be pursued in cases that are in the interests of the entire working class, no faith must be placed in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. As Rachel Wolkenstein explained in NYC: "Class-struggle defense means mobilizing the social power of the working class with its allies to create the type of pressure needed to obtain Mumia's freedom, overturn Lynne's conviction and defend Assata from the bounty hunters" (see article page 5).

The rallies featured speakers from unions representing thousands of workers. The Berkeley rally was addressed by Brian McKeever, Vice President of Local 9 of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association, whose strike against Northwest Airlines is important for the entire labor movement. Jack Heyman, Executive Board member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, also spoke there. New York speakers included James Webb, President Emeritus of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, who has spoken out for Mumia for many years; Cleo Silvers of 1199ers for Peace and Justice, the Communist Workers Organization and Workers to Free Mumia; and Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 808 and chairman of the Teamsters National Black Caucus. Mike Elliott,

continued on page 6

WV Photo

Oakland, 9 February 2002: PDC banner at labor-centered demonstration in defense of immigrant rights, against USA Patriot Act.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

We print below the opening remarks by Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee at the September 15 New York City rally against government repression, which she chaired.

This rally and others which will follow in Chicago, the Bay Area and Los Angeles were called by the Partisan Defense Committee a couple of months ago. Our purpose: to rally against Lynne Stewart's conviction and before her sentencing. She faces 30 years' imprisonment—this would be effectively a life sentence. We rally to show defiance of the one-million-dollar bounty placed on Assata Shakur's head like a fugitive slave warrant. We rally to mobilize to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.

Since the September 11 attacks, Bush and the Democrats have used the bodies of those killed in the criminal attack on the World Trade Center as a bloody shirt to launch the so-called war on terror as well as the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. The reality is that the "war on terror" is nothing but a pretext for a frontal assault on democratic rights and an attempt to invoke "national unity"—the notion that the exploited have the same

WV Photo

April 1989: PDC raising funds for people of Jalalabad, besieged by U.S.-backed Afghan Islamic reactionaries, at Washington, D.C. abortion rights demo.

interests as the exploiters who rule this society. Under this "national unity" umbrella, the capitalist rulers carry out their brutal policies toward black people, the poor, immigrants, and have launched a repressive assault on the working class and leftists.

These rallies could not be more timely. The criminal racist policies of the capitalist state carried out by its two parties, the Democrats and Republicans, have been laid bare in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The class and race divisions in the United States are clear. The devastation and death, which has been inflicted primarily on black and poor people, was not caused by nature. It was manmade, produced by the rulers' criminal neglect and contempt toward the poor and blacks. The death and destruction there was caused by the operation of the capitalist system. This anarchic, profit-driven system cannot even provide for the safety and welfare of the population. That system has to go!

The same capitalist state which is responsible for the savage occupation of Iraq and the human disaster on the Gulf Coast also attempts to silence, imprison and kill the voice of the voiceless, Mumia Abu-Jamal, radical attorney Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur. These are fighters who raise their voices, give their lives and energy in opposition to the policies of this racist capitalist system and in defense of the very kinds of people—poor, black, those specially targeted by the state—who have been criminally victimized in the aftermath of Katrina.

WV Photo

September 15: PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein addressing New York City rally against repression.

My name is Rachel Wolkenstein. I have been counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee since it began in 1974. I was part of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal defense team from 1995 through June 1999, in charge of the defense investigation. It was this investigation which led to obtaining Arnold Beverly's confession that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. In July 1999, I resigned from the legal team, along with Jon Piper, when lead attorney Leonard Weinglass and co-counsel Dan Williams precluded Mumia from putting this evidence of his innocence before the courts.

The Partisan Defense Committee is sponsoring this united-front rally to bring together, in defense of Mumia, Lynne and Assata, speakers and organizations across a spectrum of political beliefs, each raising his own views on these vital cases and how to fight to win. The PDC is based on the principles of non-sectarian, class-struggle defense. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We have a Marxist worldview; this is a class society. A handful of capitalists control and reap the wealth of the world for their own benefit, but this wealth is created by the many who labor. We say: Those who labor must rule!

The interests of the capitalist class, including the political parties which represent it, are totally opposed to the interests of the working class and minorities. And in the United States, black oppression is the bedrock of capitalism. Thus, the PDC is partisan, unconditionally, on the side of the working people and the oppressed. We stand for pursuing all legal avenues in defense of the cases and causes that are in the interests of the working people. But we place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatsoever in the justice of the courts.

The capitalist system and its courts cannot be fundamentally reformed. We stand for the independence of the working people from the capitalist state and its parties—Democratic, Republican, Green—regardless of whether the politician is white or black. Class-struggle defense means mobilizing the social power of the working class with its allies to create the type of pressure needed to obtain Mumia's freedom, overturn Lynne's conviction and defend Assata from the bounty hunters—a mass movement, centrally based on the independent power of the working class.

The PDC is also non-sectarian. That means we defend any member of the workers movement—workers, leftists, fighters against black oppression—who suffers persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or opinion. These are class-war prisoners. We stand on the old IWW (Wobbly) slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

Since 1974, we have conducted legal and social defense work in accordance with these principles. The PDC cut its teeth organizing international defense campaigns for Latin American leftists in the grip of bloody military dictatorship. We launched fundraising campaigns for striking British miners in the mid 1980s, as well as for the people of the Afghan city of Jalalabad when it was besieged by CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989. We have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the KKK and Nazis from marching in cities across the country, including the nearly 10,000-strong mobilization in New York City in October 1999.

In Oakland in February 2002, the PDC and the Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a united-front demonstration centered on the powerful ILWU longshore union in defense of immigrants and against the USA Patriot Act. The PDC, along with the Spartacist League, has filed friends of the court briefs in the Federal Court of Appeals and in the U.S. Supreme Court challenging the government's "enemy combatant" policy in the case of Jose Padilla. This is the government's attempt to establish its so-called right to disappear people.

Twenty years ago, the PDC revived the tradition of monthly stipends for those in prison for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. Over the years, we have provided financial support to 35 prisoners on three continents. A number were former supporters of the Black Panther Party, notably Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who was in prison for 27 years for a murder the cops and FBI knew he did not commit. Among the first stipend recipients was Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia by the FBI, the ATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] and the Philly cops under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode.

In 1987, MOVE prisoners asked us to take up the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and we threw ourselves into his defense at a time when he was virtually unknown. Beginning in 1989, we held rallies across the country and internationally to mobilize support for Mumia and to fight to abolish the racist death penalty. We have emphasized that this is a political death penalty case which illustrates the racism endemic in this country in its cruelest, most vicious form and lays bare the essence of the capitalist state. We are opposed to the death penalty as a matter of principle. It is not for the state to determine who is to live or to die.

Our work succeeded in getting broader forces to take up Mumia's case, although most of them generally did this not on

continued on page 7

Holiday Appeal Benefits for Class-War Prisoners

Bay Area
Sunday, December 11
2 to 6 p.m.
Oakland YWCA Tea Room
1515 Webster Street
For more information: (510) 839-0852
P.O. Box 77462
San Francisco, CA 94107

Chicago
Sunday, December 11
3 to 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information: (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 802867
Chicago, IL 60680

Los Angeles
Saturday, December 10
2 to 6 p.m.
Mount Hollywood
Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
For more information: (213) 380-8897
or e-mail:
partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net

New York
Friday, December 9
6 to 11 p.m.
6 Harrison St. (at Hudson)
Manhattan
(Take 1 or 9 to Franklin St.)
For more information: (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Toronto
Saturday, December 10
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
(near Queens Park Sta.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138
P.O. Box 314, Station B
Toronto, Ontario M5T 2W1

This is not charity—it's a duty and an act of solidarity with those in prison. Their fight is our fight!

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

PDC Rallies...

(continued from page 4)

UAW Local 551 Education Committee chairman, spoke in Chicago, while the Los Angeles rally featured Henry Walton, host of the KPFK radio program "Labor Review."

From the podium and the floor, discussions brought out the critical difference between a class-struggle strategy and one based on appealing to the capitalist state and political parties. On the West Coast, Don Cane of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense addressed the recent split among the AFL-CIO tops and called for a political fight against all wings of the labor bureaucracy:

> "Both Sweeney's AFL-CIO and Stern's Change to Win Coalition forsake class struggle in support of the capitalist profit system and are tied, hand and foot, to the capitalist Democratic Party. They whine to the capitalist government for concessions to help them silence the ranks of American labor. They will barter with the Republicans for votes and flirt with the capitalist Green Party, too, as they pander to the racism and chauvinism that divides the workers. The multiracial revolutionary workers party must fight for trade-union independence from all capitalist parties and defend the economic interests of all workers with resolute struggle."

A prominent focus of the rallies was the social disaster in the Gulf Coast region, a racist atrocity that threw a harsh light on the grotesque inequities of the U.S. capitalist system. As Don Alexander of the New York Labor Black League and Spartacist League Central Committee said, "Hurricane Katrina has ripped away the tattered facade of the U.S. government as 'of the people, by the people, for the people,' exposing the racism, venality and ineptitude of the White House gang. It also demonstrated the utter irrationality and anarchy of the profit-driven capitalist system.... The capitalists are not fit to rule. The workers have to fight to run this world" (see *WV* No. 855, 30 September).

Chris Silvera, who has long been a supporter of Mumia's cause, had just returned from a tour of the Gulf Coast. Silvera recounted the desperation he had seen there and spoke to the need to defend workers' gains and the fight for jobs and social service programs. However, Silvera said nothing about the class struggle needed to wrench such gains from the capitalists. Instead he called on everyone to turn out for the October 15 Washington, D.C. "Millions More March" led by the sinister Louis Farrakhan. Spartacist speakers and supporters responded by exposing the "Million Worker March Movement" (MWMM) led by Silvera and other left-talking union officials. While it claims to stand for the "class independence" of the workers, the MWMM made its mark last year by rallying in D.C. two weeks before the elections in a thinly veiled attempt to get workers disaffected with the two capitalist parties to vote for John Kerry. At the time, Silvera called the action "a crucial vehicle for voter mobilization."

It is a sign of the demoralization of the labor misleadership that, coming off Kerry's defeat, its "left" components are doing the donkey work for the anti-working-class, anti-Semitic, anti-woman bigot Farrakhan. With the Bush administration facing massive outrage over New Orleans and growing opposition to the bloody Iraq occupation, several black Democrats, along with Bill Clinton, supported Farrakhan's rally in a bid to further the Democrats' electoral fortunes (see "'Progressive' Union Bureaucrats and Farrakhan: A Cynical Lash-Up," *WV* No. 856, 14 October). Notably, the "Millions More" organizers did not play a taped message for the rally that Mumia had provided from death row.

It is the class-collaborationist program of all wings of the labor officialdom—politically expressed centrally through its support to the Democrats—that blocks the mobilization of the multiracial proletariat in its own class interests. As Don Cane put it, "The victims of New Orleans need more than tears and charity. We demand massive public works; jobs at union wages; safe, decent housing; education and health care for all. These would be the demands of a multiracial revolutionary workers' party." Cane continued: "Black workers are key. They are a key component of the industrial working class. Armed with a class-struggle program, they can open the road to struggle against this system. When black workers see their own leadership capacity, they will have no more use for the reverends: the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the Reverend Al Sharpton and the Minister Louis Farrakhan." As Cane pointed out:

> "Farrakhan was a sworn enemy of the martyred Malcolm X in life; but with the militant Malcolm forever silent, Farrakhan is promoted to the undeserved position of militant. The anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan is calling for a march commemorating the tenth anniversary of the 1995 Million Man March. The 1995 march placed black people—and black men, in particular—on their knees begging for 'atonement' for the sin of being oppressed and poor. It was an act of appeasement toward America's racist exploiters."

Labor: Fight for Mumia's Freedom!

Labor's role in the struggle against racist capitalist repression also came up in regard to the fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. In his presentation in the Bay Area, ILWU Local 10 representative Jack Heyman criticized the SL and PDC for not fielding contingents at the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" demonstrations and for not commending the union's West Coast stop-work meeting on behalf of Mumia the same day. He also raised our dismissiveness toward the 1997 *Neptune Jade* "community picket line" at the Port of Oakland, which was aimed at stopping the unloading of a scab ship in solidarity with Liverpool dock workers in Britain. We had

Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

Published September 2001

$.50 (32 pages)

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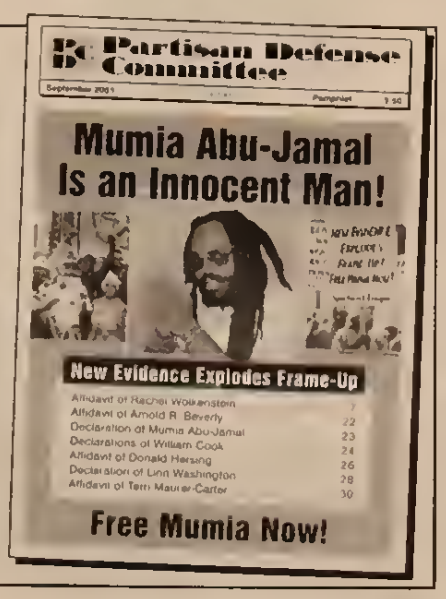
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013



Speeches from PDC Rallies

We print below edited extracts from a selection of speeches at the PDC-initiated rallies against government repression.

Standish E. Willis
Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers

There's a saying that we used to have back when I grew up and developed my political consciousness. As I study history, it is certainly true: this country has basically three ways to deal with social unrest and those in our communities who dare show leadership on behalf of our people. One way, of course, is to try to co-opt you, and that has been very effective. Another way—if they can't co-opt you—is to harass you and to scare the hell out of you, and to keep you out of the movement because you are too afraid. Lynne Stewart's case is a case about that. It's to scare progressive lawyers away from the movement. And a third way, if they can't co-opt you and scare you away, is to frame you and put you in prison or kill you. And there aren't that many in-betweens. And so we see that the United States framed Mumia, framed Assata and framed Lynne Stewart.

WV Photo

And then we look at the targeting and the organizing of the United States government's so-called COINTELPRO, the Counter-Intelligence Program by the United States government that was designed to derail and destabilize and neutralize black folks, the civil rights movement and the black nationalist movement. And "neutralize" was not a neutral phrase. Neutralize means get rid of them by any means necessary. So in the mid '60s we see the United States government, and some of you say, well that was Hoover. It wasn't Hoover, it was the United States government. It was the Kennedy administration that was involved with the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. So we have to go beyond just looking in the United States because we have this government and these liberal Democrats and Republicans that are committing these crimes against our people all over the world!

We've seen these attacks against our people in the '60s and '70s, and as a result of those attacks, in 1968 some 300 young Black Panther Party members went to prison and several dozen were murdered. In Chicago, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark—and I knew Fred Hampton—were murdered. And I remember, I was here at this school when I heard young Fred had been murdered—I didn't know at the time, but I had a strong suspicion—by the United States government and the local government. And they murdered them because these young people were probably one of the first generations to not be *afraid* in masses.

Lydia Barashango
Sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal, describing the night her brother, falsely charged with killing a police officer, was brought to the hospital after being shot by police.

When this happened, I was working as a nurse. I got a call at work from one of my other brothers saying, "One of my brothers is in jail and one is in the hospital." So I took off and went to the hospital first. I found Mumia in a holding area with all kinds of tubes. There were minimally six cops around him, with guns on them. Mumia was not alert or oriented. He appeared to be unconscious when I got there. And there were Foley bags to urinate in, there were IVs, there was oxygen, and through all of that, Mumia's face was monstrously swollen. I mean, I would not have recognized him had not I already spoken to the doctor, who asked me to give consent for Mumia to have surgery.

WV Photo

I got to the bed, and I shook him. I was trying to tell him that I was going to give consent for him to have surgery. He could just open his eyes, he was just barely coming through. And he says, "I'm innocent, I didn't do it, I didn't kill him, I didn't kill him." Then he slipped back into unconsciousness. If that didn't assure me, my past relationship with him did assure me that Mumia is innocent. And I've known that all the time. He's innocent.

Mike Elliott
Chair, UAW Local 551 Education Committee

WV Photo

Any one of us could be targeted; any one of us could be in any of these three people's positions—tomorrow.

I'm a worker, and I happen to understand that as a worker I'm part of the most powerful class in the world, the working class. And I'm very proud of that. I just wanted to sum this up by saying that it's time for us all to take a stand right here and right now and to defend our families, our communities, our unions, our organizations, our children and ourselves. We are compelled by the voices of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur to organize, agitate and educate.

James Webb
President Emeritus, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

To me, things have not improved a bit from the days of the old civil rights fight. Many of us think they have, but I am one that says no, there is no improvement. Everything that we fought for has slowly been taken away. We wake up now and find ourselves right back in the position we were then. Maybe we're not being lynched on a tree, but 41 bullets in a hallway to me is lynching.

WV Photo

We're still fighting the system. It's a corrupt system. We've got to stay together, stand together and support one another. ■

Hands Off Miguel Malo!

We join student activists, trade unionists and defenders of civil liberties in outrage over the recent frame-up conviction of Hostos Community College student leader Miguel Malo. Malo, the former Student Senate President at Hostos, was arrested in 2001 for the "crime" of holding up a sign denouncing cuts in bilingual programs and hikes in fees for English as a Second Language workshops. On October 24, over four years and 50 court appearances later, he was convicted on frame-up charges of reckless assault and disorderly conduct based on false allegations that he assaulted two City University of New York "peace officers." Numerous witnesses have testified and evidence has shown that it was actually CUNY cops who assaulted Malo, leaving him with injuries to his wrists, forearms and back.

The Partisan Defense Committee sent a November 7 protest letter to Bronx County District Attorney Robert T. Johnson, pointing out that: "Over the lengthy persecution of Mr. Malo, your office has attempted to deny him the legal counsel of his choice, deny him a translator, violated his Fifth Amendment right to remain silent by demanding that he write an affidavit, and most recently, your office demanded that a prohibitively high bail of $3,000 be set ensuring that he spend time in jail. Because of the political witchhunt carried out by your office with assistance from the CUNY administration, Mr. Malo, an innocent man, faces up to a year in prison when he is sentenced.... The Assistant District Attorney involved in the case argued that to believe Miguel Malo would mean that the campus cops are 'complete and utter liars.' Well, the prosecution's entire case was based on fabrications and suppression of evidence. Cops are so well known for lying that there is a word for it: 'testilying.' Nobody knows this better than the largely black and Latino residents of the Bronx."

Miguel Malo was targeted because he is a student leader and activist who defends immigrant rights on an overwhelmingly minority campus. His persecution is intended to stifle all protest so that CUNY can continue to slash education for workers, immigrants, minorities and the oppressed. ***Show support for Miguel Malo at his sentencing hearing on December 13 outside the Bronx County Criminal Courthouse at 215 East 161st Street!***

TWU...

(continued from page 12)

an "ally" of the TWU. The cops are the hired guns of the capitalists whose job is to terrorize the ghettos and barrios and repress working-class struggle—they have no business in the unions! Neither do the MTA's "Property Protection" security guards, who are members of Local 100.

In a gross violation of labor principles, five local vice presidents are suing Toussaint and the union over a series of complaints. Before his election in 2000, Toussaint's New Directions opposition group repeatedly sued the leadership in office at the time. The courts are an agency of capitalist repression—their intervention into union affairs can only weaken the union. Courts, cops—out of the unions!

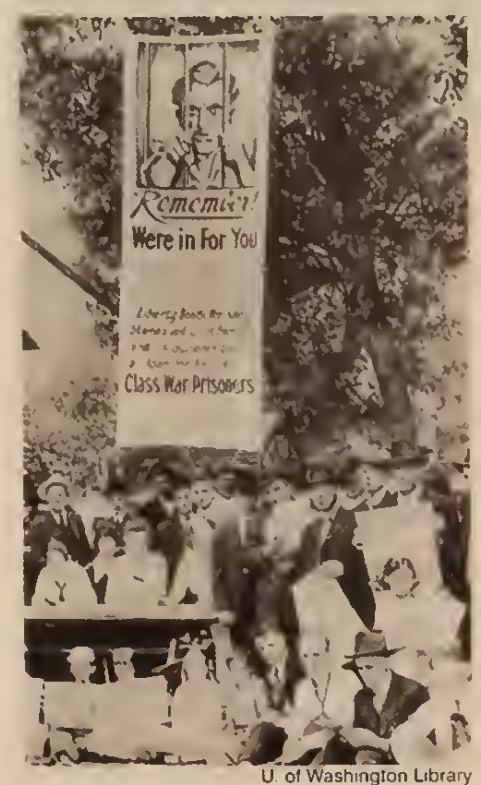
MTA "Plantation Justice"

NYC transit workers are wary of their leadership in this year's contract negotiations given their experience the last time around. In 2002, 10,000 transit workers voted to authorize strike action at two mass meetings a week before the contract expired. Then, as the clock was ticking down, thousands of TWU members marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall prepared for a long-awaited fight, but were infuriated to learn that the ink was already drying on a deal.

Under that settlement, workers received no wage raise in the first year, just a lump-sum bonus. Local 100 officials claimed that they at least won some gains against the MTA's vicious disciplinary system, but the numbers tell a different story. A recent Local 100 Internet posting notes that renewed MTA efforts to "increase efforts to improve employee availability" mean "tougher time and attendance rules and more disciplines and threats." Last year alone, the MTA hit the predominantly black subway and bus workers with *15,204 disciplines*, with minority and women workers in the lowest-paid jobs the hardest hit. No wonder transit workers call this "plantation justice."

This time the Local 100 tops are not even making a pretense of preparing for a strike. Isolated shop rallies have taken the place of union-wide protests, and a mass union meeting isn't scheduled until December 10, just five days before the contract expires. What's needed is a series of mass meetings—not showpieces where the bureaucrats present the decisions they've already made and union members get no chance to speak, but decision-making meetings where the membership hammers out a policy of struggle against the MTA.

It is through union struggle that the TWU can defeat the MTA's multiple schemes to pit different sections of the workforce against each other, weakening the union as a whole: immigrant versus native-born, new-hires versus veteran workers, bus division versus subways, regional/suburban lines versus city transit. A hard fight lies ahead. The only road to victory for transit workers and the entire working class is mobilizing labor's power independent of the capitalist state and political parties. The working people need a party that fights for *their* class interests, a workers party committed to overturning this whole system of capitalist exploitation, racial oppression and imperialist war.■



U. of Washington Library

1917 IWW picnic in Seattle for class-war prisoners.

already acknowledged our tactical mistakes in "A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks" (*WV* No. 841, 4 February).

In his comments, Heyman dodged his own role in initiating the ILWU motion explicitly endorsing the April 1999 rally with its central demand for a "new trial" for Mumia, to which he added as window dressing the statement that Mumia cannot get justice in the bourgeois courts. We were correct not to endorse the April 1999 protest and other actions that subordinated the call to *free* Mumia to the demand for a "new trial." The "new trial" slogan is based on the lie that the same capitalist courts that want to see him killed could deliver justice for Mumia. Working with the dubious International Bolshevik Tendency and its Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, Heyman provided a left face for those who opposed raising the call for Mumia's freedom. We sent large teams to the rallies. But in not building "Free Mumia" contingents, we weakened our political effectiveness in counterposing a class-struggle strategy to the liberal-reformist outlook of the rally organizers and exposing the maneuvering of Heyman. His role was in fact to aid the reformists whose reliance on liberal public opinion has *demobilized* protests for Mumia.

Responding to Heyman, an SL speaker explained that the protest organizers deliberately rejected the call to free Mumia in favor of the "new trial" slogan because they did not want to alienate people whose faith in the bourgeois justice system would not allow them to believe that "there could be this conscious political frame-up of an innocent man. In other words, they were pandering to the illusions of liberals in the nature of the racist capitalist system." Many in the liberal milieu believe that Mumia may be guilty and oppose his conviction solely on the ground that he did not receive a fair trial. The comrade pointed out that Heyman obscured the fact that these slogans embodied different strategies and opposing class perspectives.

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

In Chicago and L.A., Lydia Barashango, Mumia Abu-Jamal's sister, spoke movingly of her brother's character as they grew up together. She spoke of the impact this case has had on her family, which has been "on hold" for all these years—including men who have been driven out of Philadelphia and who live in constant fear of state retribution.

In NYC, Pam Africa urged everyone to get the affidavit by Rachel Wolkenstein reprinted in the September 2001 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* The pamphlet includes the confession of Arnold Beverly and other eyewitness accounts and declarations that confirm Mumia's innocence. Pam Africa called it a "must-have" because it tells the truth about Mumia's case. She told the audience, "If you want to be in this fight to free Mumia, get the Rachel Wolkenstein affidavit.... Arm the youth with some information about what is really happening with Mumia."

Robert Bryan, Mumia's lead counsel since 2003, told the Berkeley rally what Mumia had said to him that same day about his case:

> "He said, Robert, it's about the thousands of men and women on death row, which is not only in the United States but around the world. It's about the many more thousands of people, certainly in the U.S. but around the globe, who are victims of human rights abuses. It's about people who are discriminated against because of their politics, because of their gender, because of their sexual preference. It's about the right of children not to go to bed hungry anywhere in the world. It's about the right for people to have an education and not to be abused, particularly by governments such as the one in this country."

Bryan noted that "when there were few people who were willing to stand up for Mumia; when there were virtually no organizations, there was the Partisan Defense Committee. And the Partisan Defense Committee started organizing, having rallies, raising the consciousness of all of us before anybody else was doing it."

Speaking during the discussion at this rally, Wolkenstein described her battles with others on Mumia's former legal team, namely lead defense attorney Leonard Weinglass and co-counsel Daniel Williams. Recounting that Weinglass and Williams had suppressed the evidence of Jamal's innocence and ensured it was never introduced in court, Wolkenstein said: "All the issues that are raised around the Beverly evidence—and it's much more than the confession by Arnold Beverly—have to be raised in the course of the mass movement which must be built. Because that evidence confirms in every way that this was a political prosecution, not only racist but political, and touches on the entire workings of the American capitalist legal system." She continued:

> "The legal betrayals of the case came from politics—the people who were supposedly doing the lawyering succumbed to a political view that they had to present Mumia in a way that would be palatable to the bourgeois courts. It was the political Marxist lawyers who were fighting to turn over every stone and pursue in the courts every bit of investigation that was possible, along with all the different constitutional violations."

As Wolkenstein stated in conclusion, Mumia's case shows "the total nature of the capitalist, racist frame-up system.... It's a political frame-up, and it will only, only be a mass movement based centrally on the power of labor that will get him free."■

Class-Struggle Defense...

(continued from page 5)

the basis of class-struggle defense. Others have been agnostic on Mumia's innocence, thereby effectively denying that this is a political case. Mumia is an innocent man! He is the victim of a racist political frame-up. There have been illusions sown in the courts by campaigns based on the call for a new trial for Mumia, rather than a call to free Mumia. There is no justice in the capitalist courts! This campaign for a new trial effectively demobilized a whole generation who had come out for Mumia in the hundreds of thousands at the time of his 1995 hearings in the face of the death warrant and into the later 1990s.

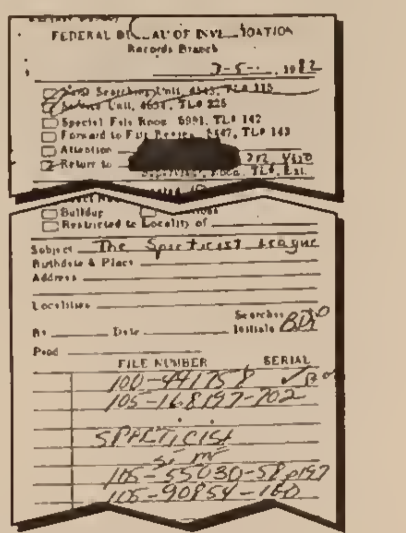
The question of defense of Mumia, Lynne and Assata and the overall fight against government repression, the defense of blacks and others throughout the Gulf Coast victimized by the capitalist rulers, the defense of the trade unions—all are dependent on our understanding of the capitalist state and its courts, and that the system as a whole has got to go! The power to defend all intended victims of this racist capitalist state is going to come out of the social power of the working people and its allies. That means labor strikes, mass protests and demonstrations organized around the power of the integrated labor movement in this country and internationally. The speakers here tonight are activists and leaders. And I say that with Lynne here, because that is her main role, not as a defendant or a victim. They are all here to explain, to rally new supporters and, importantly, to debate the way forward, the best way to fight government oppression. Free Mumia! Hands off Lynne Stewart! Hands off Assata Shakur! This rally is one part of that very important struggle.■

Chicago SYC Replies to YDS:

"State Department Socialists" and FBI Smears

When the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club posted an announcement for its Marxist class series to the e-mail list of the University of Chicago Young Democratic Socialists, former YDS honcho Lucas Shapiro replied with vitriolic slanders. We reprint below the SYC's reply, issued as a leaflet titled "YDS: Lapdogs for U.S. Imperialism" on October 29.

On October 10, Young Democratic Socialists (YDS) former national organizer Lucas Shapiro posted an e-mail on the YDS list serve, slandering the Spartacist League as a "sect" whose members "might as well be federal agents" because they "disrupt other leftwing events." We of the Spartacus Youth Club are responding to refute these smears. What Shapiro calls "disruption" is simply the exercise of our democratic right of raising criticism of the left's crawling before the capitalist Democratic Party. With his "federal agents" slur, Shapiro is taking a page from former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's sinister COINTELPRO program that targeted leftists and black radicals in the 1960s for "neutralization."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105-168197-702
SPARTICIST
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105-90854-160

FBI files misspell Spartacist League's name. YDS slander mimics previous provocations against us that used same FBI misspelling.

On that note, it's striking that Shapiro spells the name of our organization "Sparticist League" (with an "i"). Considering nearly everyone even vaguely familiar with us is aware that our name is spelled "Spartacist," it is remarkable that someone who presents himself as being knowledgeable in regards to our group could misspell our name. This particular misspelling obviously does not come from reading our own press. Instead, it has a very sinister origin, and has appeared in a variety of slanderous, violence-baiting provocations directed against us over the years. We researched its origins, and traced it back to FBI and CIA surveillance files about our organization, some of which were recovered by us under the Freedom of Information Act.

Shapiro has some nerve to claim that we "might as well be federal agents," considering that Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) founder Michael Harrington and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the DSA's predecessor, both have had known ties to the CIA. In 1959, for example, Harrington (then a member of the Socialist Party [SP]) led the Young Peoples Socialist League (the youth organization of the SP) in their participation in a CIA-funded event in Vienna designed to provide a counterweight to the World Youth Festival, a Communist Party supported event. This was later admitted to by well-known feminist and DSOC member Gloria Steinem, who herself served as an executive of the CIA-funded "International Research Service" (*Washington Post*, 18 February 1967).

Like all fake leftists who throw around smears about "disruption" and "cults," what sets Shapiro off is that we oppose the left's program of "unity" to pressure the capitalist politicians. What Shapiro, the DSA and YDS really despise about us is our revolutionary politics, exemplified by our unwavering defense of the former Soviet Union against imperialist aggression and capitalist counterrevolution while calling for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. The DSA and its predecessors, on the other hand, have consistently given their support to U.S. imperialism's vicious struggle against socialist revolution. Michael Harrington, for instance, was head of the Socialist Party when the SP supported U.S. imperialism in its attempt to crush the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants who were fighting to oust capitalism.

SL defended Red Army intervention against CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan in the 1980s. YDS forebears sided with U.S. imperialism.

It infuriates Shapiro that the SYC and SL supported both the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the suppression of Solidarność's counterrevolutionary power grab in Poland. We are proud of our positions on these events, which were both aspects of our principled defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and the defense of the gains made by the October Revolution of 1917. We hailed the Red Army's march into Afghanistan, realizing that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan made possible the extension of these gains to the Afghan people, women in particular. The Soviet intervention into Afghanistan allowed the Afghan government to redistribute land to poor peasants and grant women and young girls the right to an education, and in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan women were free from the oppressive veil. In contrast the DSA (like most of the left) sided with U.S. imperialism in supporting the forces of Islamic reaction, led by the CIA-funded mullahs and clerics such as Osama bin Laden and what became the Taliban.

Solidarność was a mobilization of clerical-nationalist forces in Poland fighting for capitalist restoration, not the trade union it was portrayed as by much of the left. Solidarność's counterrevolutionary bid for power in 1981 was cheered not only by Wall Street banking interests who sought to gain a foothold in eastern Europe, but also by such "democracy" loving types as Ronald Reagan, the CIA, the Catholic church, various fascist organizations, and...the DSA. We supported the spiking of Solidarność's attempted counterrevolution by the Warsaw regime because we knew Solidarność's real goal was to sell the country off to the imperialists. Some ten years later, victorious capitalist counterrevolution in Poland led to an all-sided assault on the working class, and was accompanied by rapidly decreasing living standards and a rise in all forms of reaction.

We encourage anyone that honestly wishes to fight for socialism, and is rightfully repulsed by the DSA's disgusting work on behalf of imperialist counterrevolution, to come to any of our events. For anyone interested in learning more about our politics, selected articles can be found on our Web site.■

Racist Party...

(continued from page 3)

Founded by oil baron John D. Rockefeller, the U of C serves as a training ground for the next generation of capitalist politicians, corporate lawyers, and other assorted representatives of the property-owning class. Located in a black neighborhood in one of the most segregated northern cities in the United States, the U of C is a leading landlord in Chicago's largely black South Side, and utilizes a private army of campus cops to terrorize black residents of the surrounding neighborhood. This is a school whose student orientation helps foster anti-black racism, inculcating a fear of black residents of the surrounding neighborhood. We of the Spartacus Youth Club call for the opening of the U of C to the surrounding black neighborhood as part of our fight for a free, quality education for all. Nationalize the University! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students!

Many students have rightfully expressed their outrage over the racist May House party, but this is mainly expressed in calls to pressure the administration to make the university a more "tolerant" place. What should have happened was immediate protest by students and campus workers to show that this racist crap will *not* be tolerated! Given the administration's role as a pillar of the racist capitalist order, it is dangerous to believe that it can be made to act on behalf of those this system oppresses. Just look at Georgia State University, where in 2004 the Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity had a racist "Straight Out of Compton" party, with two students even going so far as to wear blackface to the event. The GSU's Black Student Alliance and the campus NAACP organized a series of speakouts and rallies to respond to this outrage. The GSU administration reacted by ***suspending the BSA***, charging them with intending "to incite others by making a misleading flyer" and "discriminatory harassment"! Any powers granted the administration to discipline groups deemed as offensive will ultimately be used to target minority groups and leftists.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs look to the working class as the only social force with the power and interest to smash the capitalist system of exploitation and eliminate the racism it produces once and for all. Just as it took the Civil War to crush the resistance of the Southern slavocracy, nothing short of an overturn of the capitalist system will succeed in destroying the economic base of black oppression. We advance a program of ***revolutionary integrationism***, seeking to mobilize the power of the labor movement to fight against all instances of racist oppression, while understanding that to eliminate black oppression will require a socialist revolution. To accomplish this requires breaking the chains that bind labor to the Democratic Party of war and racism and forging a revolutionary workers party. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win youth to the perspective of building such a party. *For black liberation through socialist revolution!*■

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Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

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The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Tuesday, November 29, 7 p.m.
University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Room 104, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

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3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 1)

politicians such as Clinton, who ran to Bush's side immediately after the hurricane hit, want you to believe that the government is doing all that can be done and that racism has nothing to do with the relief efforts. And in regard to the destruction of the ports and oil refineries, who do you think is profiting off rebuilding them? You guessed it, the Halliburtons, the Bechtels, etc.

The death and destitution were preventable. Just compare how hurricane situations are handled by the Cuban deformed workers state, where the capitalist class was expropriated and where collectivized property and a planned economy exist. Its government can actually provide for the safety and security of its citizens, even in the face of the long-standing U.S. economic embargo. The Cuban government has repeatedly safely evacuated up to two million people from oncoming hurricanes.

Why didn't the U.S. government prepare to evacuate its poor and black citizens of New Orleans in a similar way?

Reuters

Havana, September 4: Cuban doctors preparing to go to aid of Gulf Coast victims. Bush refused Castro's offer of almost 1,600 doctors equipped with medical supplies.

Perhaps a shred of New Orleans history may offer a clue. In 1927, there was a flood of the Mississippi River that threatened to destroy the land and property of the wealthy aristocrats who dwelt in southern Louisiana. To divert the damage that the flood might have caused to their property, they devised and implemented a plan to dynamite the levees surrounding the black and poor neighborhoods to take pressure off the levees surrounding their own. As a result, thousands of black and poor Louisiana residents were left homeless. And those black people who worked on the plantations in the region were not allowed to leave because the plantation owners rightly feared that they would never come back to work in slavery-like conditions. So they were herded on top of the levees under the guns of National Guardsmen, and only those families who had members helping repair the levees were allowed access to the food provided by the Red Cross. The rest were left to fend for themselves.

Does this sound familiar? The only interest that this capitalist government serves is the defense of private property and the profit system as a whole. The U.S. capitalist class has a lengthy history of exploiting labor and oppressing minorities. It is futile to appeal to its "conscience" or "morality." Its actions are guided by its class interest, which is to maximize profits. They're not even bothering to count the bodies of many who died during the Hurricane Katrina flood. Almost two months later, there are still over 500 people "missing" from New Orleans Parish Prison, where prisoners had been left to drown in their cells.

For Class War Against Capitalist Rulers!

This reminds me of Iraq, where the U.S. imperialists and their allies aren't even bothering to count the bodies of Iraqis they bombed and murdered under the pretext of the "war on terror," "weapons of mass destruction" and "Saddam Hussein's links to Al Qaeda." Lies, lies and more lies. Even the lies used to bolster patriotic support for the bloody imperialist war in Iraq remind me of the racist atrocity in New Orleans. Not even a day after the levees broke, the bourgeois media was in a frenzy, telling tall tales of looting, robbery, murder and mayhem in New Orleans. In the face of starvation, the media wrote that blacks "stole" food and white people "found" it.

To be sure that this is racist America that we're talking about, dusted off was the lying slavery-era cry of the black man as sexual predator. Thus there was the scare over alleged rapes. "Hold on to your skirts, Southern belles, we're sending in armed federal guards with shoot-to-kill orders" was the message and method of justification for turning New Orleans into a federally occupied military zone. It wasn't to help people. They'd also have you believe they're helping the Iraqi peoples by bringing "democracy" and "liberation." Even the torture scandals of Abu Ghraib hit close to home. The U.S. houses nearly two million mostly black and Latino men, women and even youth in prison hellholes. It is the prisons of America that provided the training ground for torture like that we hear about in Abu Ghraib in Iraq and in Guantánamo.

The *New York Times* now reports that there was no evidence for the scare stories about New Orleans. The real criminals are the government and its army and police, a few of whom were recently investigated for stealing Cadillacs. And just a week ago, a retired elementary school teacher, Robert Davis, who is 64 years old and black, was brutally beaten by cops in the French Quarter for merely asking about the curfew time. The real thugs and looters are the U.S. imperialists and their allies who are exercising military might and plundering the world.

There is a war going on here at home as well. And as the racist New Orleans atrocity shows, it's a war against black people, poor people and working people. Now more than ever, it is clear that the workers and oppressed minorities in the U.S. must side with the Iraqi peoples who face imperialist onslaught, just as we must side with the victims of the U.S. rulers here in the belly of the beast. We must demand that the U.S. troops get out of Iraq now! Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism, without giving one iota of political support to the insurgents and while opposing communal violence and religious fundamentalism.

AP

Democrat Clinton, along with Bush Sr., rushed to back up George W. Bush in face of popular anger over government response to Hurricane Katrina.

At home it is necessary to wage class war to fight against the racist capitalist rulers and to fight for workers revolution to defeat U.S. imperialism. After the hurricane disaster, we called for trade unions to mobilize for the rescue effort and to demand a massive rebuilding effort. Powerful unions such as the TWU transit workers and the ILA longshoremen should be mobilizing black, white, Latino and immigrant workers to organize unions in Louisiana, to fight for union jobs at good union wages, for public works and health care, emergency clothing and safety equipment. Such a fight would strike a blow against the capitalist bosses and the government's attempts to pay below-prevailing wages on federally funded construction projects. It is necessary to fight for abolishing the capitalist system in its entirety.

Marxism and Black Liberation

Throughout the history of class society, there has been slave and slave master, lord and serf, and today there is the capitalist class (the bourgeoisie) and the working class (the proletariat). In today's society, the bourgeoisie owns all of the means of production—the factories, the mills, the shops, the plants—along with the modes of transportation and all of the material resources needed to keep production running. The proletariat has its labor power, which it must sell to survive. The bourgeoisie exploits this labor power to create profit.

The state appeared when society first divided into classes. The ruling class needs a special apparatus of coercion and of subjugating the will of others by force. Thus in today's society, the working class is kept under control by the state, which at its core is made up of the cops, the military, the courts and prisons, all of which exist to uphold the bourgeoisie's private property system and keep the workers and the rest of the have-nots in place. Supplemented ideologically by the churches, educational institutions and media, the state is used by the ruling class to suppress anger over such conditions as the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor.

In the U.S., key to mobilizing the working class to smash this system of repression is the perspective of revolutionary integrationism. The Spartacist League's program of revolutionary integrationism was developed by Richard Fraser when he was a member of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In his 1953 lectures titled "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (reprinted in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser"), Fraser wrote:

> "The racial division of society was born with capitalism and will die only with the death of this last system of exploitation. Before capitalism there was no race concept. There was no skin color exploitation, there was no race prejudice, there was no idea of superiority and inferiority based upon physical characteristics.
>
> "It was the advent of Negro chattel slavery in the western hemisphere which first divided society into races....
>
> "Having become the imperialist leader of the capitalist world, the U.S. exports race prejudice as naturally as it does death and destruction to the colonial world."

In the years since the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, the fundamental conditions of life for the majority of black people, particularly in the key areas of employment, housing, wages and education, have worsened. Fifty percent of black men are unemployed in New York City. There are 9,000 homeless black children in the Chicago public school system, and many children walk out of the metal detectors at their school entrances into the metal detectors at the entrance of their local and state prisons. In cities like Detroit, black ghettos look like war zones with dilapidated houses, abandoned businesses and armed police patrolling the streets looking to kill with impunity. For the past 20 years, the "war on drugs" has hit black people with a brutal vengeance—a war of police repression and imprisonment aimed at the black and minority population that has sent almost a generation of black men to prison. America is as racist today as it ever was.

In the U.S., black workers have historically made up a disproportionate percentage of the bourgeoisie's reserve army of labor, sought after in times of economic boom and war but the first to be laid off when times are bad. American black workers face pervasive racial oppression both on and off the job. And, more and more, the black population has become an

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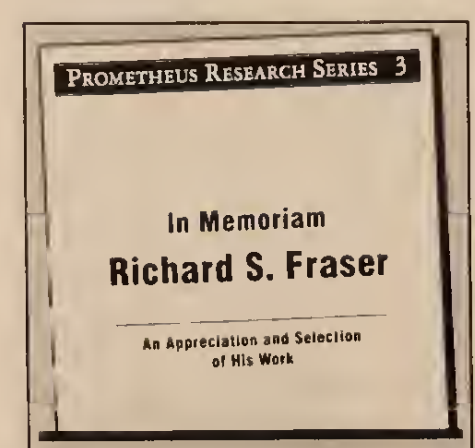

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In 1927 Mississippi River flood, black people were forced to live on levees and to work without pay.

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 9)

excess, surplus population for the ruling class. William Bennett's comment that "you could abort every black baby in this country, and your crime rate would go down" reflects the bourgeoisie's impulse toward genocide of the black population.

However, black workers play a strategic role in the American economy and are represented in union jobs at a higher rate than white workers. For the struggle for black freedom to succeed requires struggle by the working class as a whole to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian socialist society. Our program of revolutionary integrationism is premised upon mobilizing the working class to take up the fight for black liberation—a class-struggle fight to uproot the source of black oppression, which is capitalism.

But the struggle of black people in this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is also more than that struggle. Black people are an oppressed race-color caste. And while there are other racial and ethnic minorities, mainly immigrants, who also face oppression because of the inherently racist nature of U.S. capitalist society, the histories of non-white groups of people in this country are not all the same.

The liberal "people of color" rhetoric that you hear actually erases the distinct history of each racial minority group and liquidates the unique aspect of black oppression rooted in U.S. history—like slavery, like lynching and the Klan, like the degradation and humiliation of riding in the back of the bus, sitting in the back of a restaurant and not being allowed to travel or buy a home where you want. Dividing the working class along race lines is key to maintaining capitalist rule in the U.S. Conscious of the social power that the proletariat would attain through

AP photos

Far left: Black Panther leader Huey Newton. Left: 1970 police raid on New Orleans Panther office, part of murderous government vendetta.

Usher/Time

Canal Street, a central thoroughfare in New Orleans, remains devastated nearly three months after Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast.

unified struggle, the American bourgeoisie applies "divide and conquer" strategies.

In racist capitalist America, the right to abortion is under attack, and the fastest-growing component of rising incarceration rates is young black and Latina women, who are also getting the HIV virus and AIDS at a higher rate than the rest of the population. Black women workers face triple oppression. They are oppressed as part of a race-color caste, oppressed as women and oppressed as workers. In the U.S. and all over the world, we fight for full equality for women and their complete integration into the workforce. We call for equal pay for equal work and for free, safe abortion on demand as part of a free, quality health care system. The struggles against exploitation, against women's oppression, against racial oppression will advance together or fall back separately. The working class cannot be free unless it fights for black freedom, and you cannot have a workers revolution without black freedom at the center of your program. The question of black oppression in the United States is strategic to the revolutionary task of the working class.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution

We base our program on the lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The October Revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party under V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, is the only successful workers revolution in history, where the working class overthrew the rule of its capitalist exploiters and took power. The October Revolution created a workers state based on workers councils, or soviets, and forged a Red Army that triumphed in war against counterrevolutionary forces backed up by world imperialism.

The early Soviet government expropriated the holdings of the capitalists and cancelled the debt owed to the imperialists. It proclaimed the right of working people to jobs, health, housing and education, and took the first steps toward building a socialist society. The revolutionary government gave land to the peasants and self-determination to the many oppressed nations of the former tsarist empire. The regime separated church and state and, significantly, funded secular education and science, promoting a thoroughly materialist worldview. It eliminated all laws discriminating against national and ethnic minorities, women and gays. And it decreed that abortion be free and legal. What made the Russian Revolution successful was the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, which fought not only for the freedom of those oppressed by capitalist rule in Russia but for the emancipation of the international proletariat and for a world socialist order.

As revolutionary internationalists, the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky saw that for U.S. Communists, the fight for black liberation was a central priority. As early as 1920, a main point on the agenda of the Second Congress of the Communist International was the situation of black people in America. As James Cannon, an early Communist Party (CP) leader and later the founder of American Trotskyism, wrote in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962), "The main discussions on the Negro question took place in Moscow." It was based on these discussions and the influence and pressure of the Comintern that the American CP of the '20s started to really do something to fight black oppression. The CP adopted the understanding of the black question as a special question of doubly exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the overall revolutionary program.

I hope this paints a clear picture as to why we proudly say, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution." We militarily defended the Soviet Union and its collectivized property system and planned economy against the imperialists and internal counterrevolution, in spite of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin beginning in 1923-24. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and for the extension of the revolution worldwide.

Communism is far from dead. While the bourgeoisie has been busy perpetuating the lie about the "death of communism" since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, it is also actively dusting off its special police "red squads." The government has also initiated some of the worst attacks on democratic rights in recent history, such as the USA Patriot Act and the detention of Jose Padilla, whose case represents the government asserting its "right" to disappear people, and the recent conviction of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart and new attacks on former Black Panther Party members. All of these attacks are ultimately aimed to suppress the working class.

While the U.S. rulers are now grabbing more of the oil wealth of the Near East, their main and ultimate target is the People's Republic of China, by far the largest and strongest of the remaining states where capitalism has been overthrown. Capitalist restoration in China, a country of over a billion people, would mean death and starvation of enormous proportions. China and North Korea are among those states explicitly indicated as potential targets for a U.S. nuclear first strike.

This makes all the more clear our duty to fight for the unconditional military defense of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam against the imperialist powers. And that means defending their collectivized economies and the economic and political expropriation of the capitalist class. It also means defending the right of North Korea to develop nuclear weapons. As we did in the former USSR and the East European deformed workers states, we also call for proletarian political revolutions to get rid of the ruling nationalist bureaucracies, whose policies undermine and weaken those states, and install governments based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

The SWP, formerly the Trotskyist party in the U.S., capitulated to both the liberal civil rights leaders and to black nationalism. They gave up on political combat against the black misleaders and on recruiting cadre from a generation of black youth who were radicalized by the civil rights movement. Many of these youth became involved with the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of radical black youth. In high school, when I first became politically engaged, I was immediately drawn toward learning more about and emulating the Panthers. But in regard to the contradictory and radical-nationalist Black Panthers, all you hear about nowadays is their free breakfast programs. It wasn't their social work that attracted me to them. It was their militancy.

Little do you hear about the militancy of the Panthers. That aspect has been whitewashed by Hollywood and the liberals, who'd have you believe that the Panthers were the Black Panther Party for Social Welfare and not the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Little do you hear about their offer to send troops to Vietnam to assist in the fight against U.S. imperialism, about how they initially organized independently of the Democrats and Republicans, or about how they advocated armed self-defense against racist attacks. However, the Panthers rejected mobilizing the revolutionary power of the multiracial proletariat to fight black oppression.

Some of the key leaders and groups, such as the Black Panthers, that came out of the Black Power movement became self-avowed black nationalists. But black people are not oppressed as a nation. There is no economic basis for a separate, independent black economy. Black nationalism is utopian; it's pseudo-nationalism. But even such a form of nationalism is

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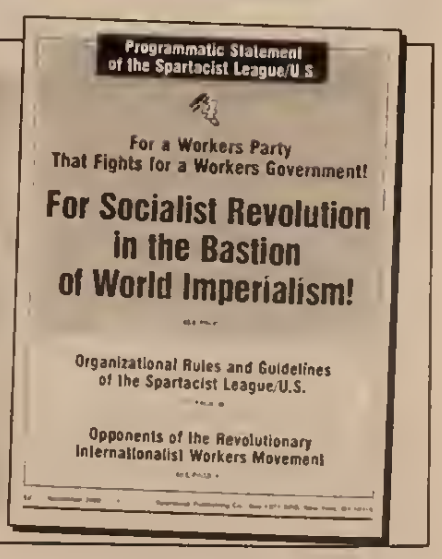


divisive and interferes with the development of class consciousness.

The Panthers were, in fact, confined by a sectoralist perspective of blacks liberating blacks, Latinos liberating Latinos, Asians liberating Asians, etc., and lacked an internationalist class-struggle program. Black workers have an exceptional role to play in the revolutionary struggle to smash capitalist wage slavery. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and the most conscious layer of the proletariat, black workers are slated to be a key factor in the coming American revolution. By rejecting a working-class perspective, the Panther leaders cut themselves off from becoming leaders in the struggle for socialist revolution internationally.

The lack of a working-class orientation also made the Panthers more vulnerable to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO, or Counter-Intelligence Program, which was originally set up in 1956 against the Communist Party but was revived particularly to murderously repress and disrupt the Panthers. Some 233 out of the 295 FBI COINTELPRO actions against black organizations were against the Panthers. At least 38 Panthers were murdered by agents of this raeist capitalist state through the instrument of COINTELPRO.

V.K. Bulla

Wide World

Left: Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin addressing Second Congress of Communist International, 1920. Right: Black poet Claude McKay speaking on racial oppression in U.S. at CI's Fourth Congress, 1922.

Today numerous former Panthers remain locked up in prison dungeons. The remnants of COINTELPRO remain with the capitalist state's attempt to execute former Panther and innocent death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia's case is a signature political frame-up spanning both Bush administrations, the Clinton administration, back into the Reagan years. Today COINTELPRO has heen repaekaged. A clear example of this was the recent FBI killing in Puerto Rico of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, the Puerto Rican independence fighter who was gunned down by agents of the capitalist state and then left for 12 hours to bleed to death.

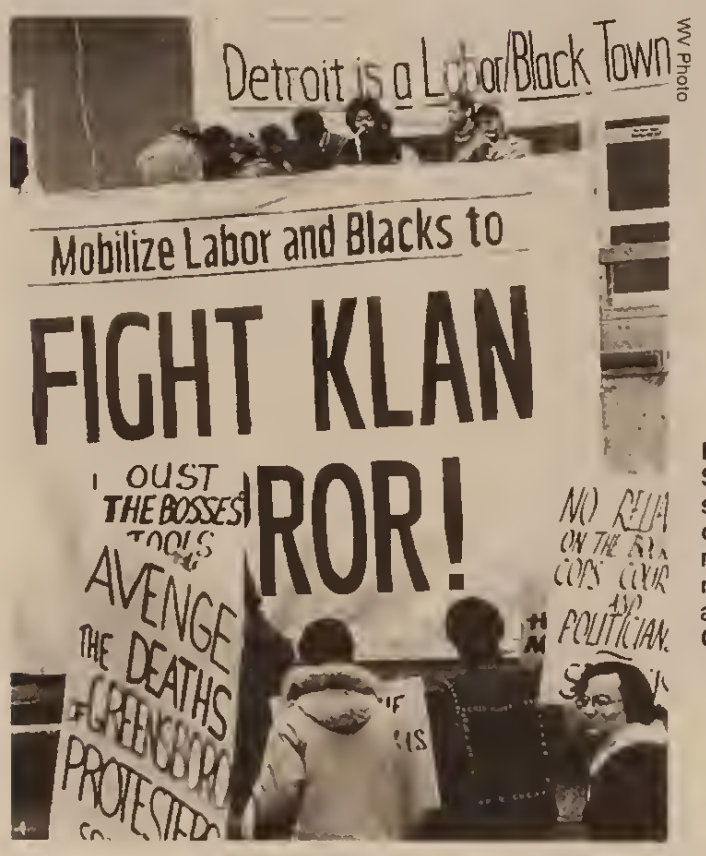
Break with the Democrats!

As outrage over New Orleans and the hloody occupation of Iraq fuels popular opposition to the Bush administration, the Democratic Party hopes to further its electoral fortunes. At the reformist-led Septemher 24 rally against the Iraq occupation in Washington, D.C., and at Louis Farrakhan's October 15 D.C. "Millions More March," Jesse Jackson proclaimed the need to take hack the White House in 2008. And believe me, he didn't have the Parliament/Funkadelic conception of painting the White House black.

The Democratic Party is no friend of black people and labor. It was Clinton who enacted "the end of welfare as we know it," leaving both black and white poor families without access to food and medical care. Clinton also presided over a huge increase in incarceration of black and Latino youth. While he pardoned his capitalist crooks and cronies on his way out of the office, he made doubly sure that innocent political prisoner and American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier was not to be freed. Clinton paved the way for Bush's Iraq war through eight years of regular bombing attacks and through continuing the starvation embargo that led to the deaths of some 1.5 million Iraqis. He also helped pave the way for Bush's "war on terror" at home with the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996.

But it wasn't just the Clinton-era Democratic Party that was racist and bloodthirsty. The Democratic Party oversaw the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. It was the Congressional Black Caucus that in 1998 voted along with the rest of Congress to have Assata Shakur extradited from Cuba. It was black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, working with the federal government, who ordered that a bomb be dropped on the MOVE home in Philadelphia in 1985, killing eleven black women, men and children. And more recently, it was black Democratic mayor Jack Ford of Toledo, Ohio, who called black protesters against the Nazis a violent group of gangs and unleashed police terror to suhdue them.

A fighting lahor movement will not be forged through impotent appeals to the Democrats but through sharp struggles to break with such representatives of the capitalist class enemy. That means seeing that the Democrats are the alternate party of capitalist rule and thus every hit as much a part of the problem as the Republicans—even more so because there is an element of trickery in their posture as friends of labor and the oppressed. What we need is a revolutionary workers party that stands up for labor rights, black rights, immigrant rights, women's rights and gay rights.



Detroit, 1979: SL-initiated protest stopped Klan from celebrating massacre of civil rights and labor activists in Greensboro, N.C.

It is not just that union leaders tie workers to the Democrats. Tailing them are reformist so-called socialist groups like the Workers World Party and their ANSWER coalition and the International Socialist Organization. Each of them has at one time or another given support to Democratic or other capitalist politicians like the Greens. Even the ultrarevolutionary-sounding Progressive Labor Party has acknowledged in its paper that its supporters have campaigned for Democrats Dennis Kucinich and Barack Obama.

The lifework of groups like the Workers World Party/ANSWER is protest politics within the framework of bourgeois "democracy." Fundamentally, they helieve that the capitalist system can be reformed. Opposed to revolutionary Marxism and a working-class perspective, such groups organize massive rallies to pressure whatever White House administration is in office to give money for food and education not war. If you've ever talked to some of these activists, they will near-unanimously tell you that we have to do something now, and the fight for socialist revolution is too far down the road. I guess by doing something now they mean pushing for certain eapitalist politicians to get into office and then begging them for handouts. In many ways they, too, have bought into the "death of communism" phenomenon. Some, such as the ISO, cheered for counterrevolution in the USSR.

That brings me to what to do now. What has to be done now is to organize the working class independently of the capitalist elass. This means breaking with the Democratie Party and fighting for a workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. In the U.S., it's necessary to combat anti-black racism in all spheres, including among immigrants, in addition to combating the anti-immigrant chauvinism that exists among black people. We also have to intervene into working-class struggles with the slogan, "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" We have to organize the working elass now to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal from execution by the capitalist state. The working class must be mobilized, on the basis of no illusions in the capitalist courts, to demand that the raeist death penalty be abolished and that Mumia be freed now!

For revolutionaries, Marxism is a living science and a guide to action. Revolutionary situations occur rarely in history, and we must be theoretically and politieally prepared. Our object is not simply to understand the world but to change it. But to be able to change it requires that we have a lever to effect revolution, to rip up this rotten social system that more and more threatens destruction, if not extinction, for humankind. That lever is a workers party of the Leninist type, organized in a democratic-centralist Fourth International. Such a party cannot be simply proclaimed but must be forged in struggle.

Without the leadership of a revolutionary party, the working class cannot wrest power from the bourgeoisie. Thus most importantly, if you want to get rid of capitalism, join the revolutionary internationalist Spartacist League or the Spartacus Youth Club, our youth auxiliary. ■

NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office will not be open on Saturday, November 26.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Transit: Jobs, Health Care, Pensions on the Line

TWU Must Fight Bosses' Attacks!

NEW YORK CITY—With the contract between Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) expiring on December 15, the transit bosses are gunning for major givebacks from the union's 33,000 subway and bus workers. The MTA typically tries to conceal enormous budget surpluses as it works to squeeze the union for concessions. But the MTA is only too ready to fatten the pocketbooks of its real estate buddies, as seen last year when it offered to sell property on Manhattan's West Side worth nearly $1 billion to developers for $210 million. With this year's contract negotiations proceeding, the MTA has a surplus of over $1 billion that's just too big to hide. Even so, the bosses are demanding major concessions that would lead directly to fewer jobs and higher health care costs for workers as well as an additional tier of workers with inferior benefits.

The attacks on the TWU are part of a class war by the capitalist rulers against working people in the U.S. and internationally. The same capitalist government that launched the imperialist wars against Afghanistan and Iraq left masses of black poor and others to die in New Orleans. Now many Hurricane Katrina survivors are threatened with eviction from the meager shelter they managed to get in other areas, while many also still remain without jobs. With help from the courts, United and Northwest airlines and auto parts maker Delphi have declared bankruptcy in order to annul pension plans and tear up union contracts, part of a broad assault on wages and health care and other benefits. To the parasitic capitalists, pensions have become outmoded and outlandish perks: workers should simply work like slaves, then die.

It's time that labor waged some class struggle against these assaults. Earlier this month, over 5,000 Philadelphia transit workers in TWU Local 234 and United Transportation Union Local 1594 waged a one-week strike that blocked the bosses' drive to make workers pay thousands in health care premiums (see "Philly Transit Strike Beats Back Bosses' Assault," *WV* No. 858, 11 November). Although some concessions were made, the strike fended off the bosses' most onerous demands, showing that unions have the power to fight back.

TWU Local 100 must fight the MTA's union-busting multi-tier system. If the TWU gives in to the MTA's current demand, new-hires would be forced to pay health care premiums for the first time and would have to work an additional seven years to qualify for a pension. The company's attempt to pit younger workers against older workers must be answered with the elementary union principle of "equal pay for equal work," reinforcing the union solidarity needed to defend all workers. Sanitation workers, firefighters and several other NYC public employee unions have recently negotiated contracts that stiff new-hires with lower pay packages in return for long-delayed wage hikes that barely cover inflation. The MTA is also reportedly going after the workers' right to change job locations, while demanding an expansion of "broadbanding." Under this scheme, workers do several types of work rather than stick to what's in their current job title, leading to a reduced workforce carrying heavier workloads in more dangerous conditions.

The MTA also wants to reduce the workforce by introducing new technology that would supposedly make many workers redundant. The decaying, century-old subway network does need to be modernized and made safer: 21 workers have died on the job in the last two decades. But the MTA's modernization schemes are intended only to save them money by getting rid of workers, simultaneously making the subways *more* dangerous for both workers and passengers. The MTA wants to remove station agents from the token booths, which would frequently leave passengers without assistance, particularly for emergencies. The transit bosses are also aiming to remove conductors from the trains by implementing the computer-operated One Person Train Operation system. Under capitalism, the introduction of new technology, which should benefit the whole of society, is inevitably used to eliminate jobs. The labor movement should counter this by fighting for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to divide up the work and provide more jobs.

WV Photo

March 2001 TWU rally to defend health benefits fund.

If the MTA insists on hardlining its giveback demands, then the TWU must be prepared to resist with all its might. The union's power to do so ultimately resides in its ability to shut the city down by mobilizing its membership to strike. Transit workers did this successfully in 1966, and also struck in 1980 before being sold out by the union misleaders. But they also know they are saddled with the state's Taylor Law, which was created to shackle unions by outlawing public employee strikes. The right to strike can only be won through hard struggle in *defiance* of anti-labor laws. Key to smashing the Taylor Law is forging a fighting alliance with all of NYC labor at the head of the city's working masses and its ghetto and barrio poor.

Workers Need Class-Struggle Leadership

To reverse the decades of attacks on labor will require the kind of class struggle that built the industrial unions. Labor needs a leadership that understands that the interests of the working class and the capitalist class are completely counterposed, and that labor must be politically independent from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Local 100 president Roger Toussaint, who won office with phony credentials as a "militant" alternative to the conservative TWU "old guard," has strengthened the chains binding the union to the exploiters. Toussaint supports Democrats like Hillary Clinton, who in 1999 explicitly supported the use of the Taylor Law against a possible TWU strike. Last year the TWU International threw its support to John Kerry, and the AFL-CIO tops spent millions in union dues on his failed presidential bid. This year the Local 100 tops hustled votes in the mayoral election for Fernando Ferrer, a man who declared that the NYPD committed no crime by its coldblooded killing of African immigrant Amadou Diallo.

Pouring union resources into the coffers of capitalist politicians—a clear expression of the labor bureaucracy's acceptance of the entire capitalist system—is the antithesis of what workers need. A class-struggle labor leadership would break the unions' ties to the Democrats and support the building of a workers party that fights for a workers government. It would also break from the labor bureaucracy's criminal support to the government's "war on terror," which is nothing but a pretext for brutal imperialist war in Afghanistan and Iraq and for cracking down on immigrants and opponents of government policy at home. The government's repressive measures attack fundamental democratic rights and are particularly aimed at suppressing the black population and regimenting the entire working class. That the "war on terror" takes aim at unions was graphically demonstrated during the transit contract struggle in 2002, when the gutter press terrorist-baited the TWU for threatening to strike.

Toussaint enthusiastically signed on to the "anti-terror" drive, working to turn union members into auxiliaries of the racist cops. Following the criminal London transit bombings in July, the Local 100 bureaucracy offered that "transit workers are in a position to spot suspicious activity in the system" and berated the MTA for not training transit workers to do that (*Local 100 Express*, August 2005). Toussaint provided union funds to hire Israeli and other "counter-terrorism" experts to "train" Local 100 members.

The crackdown on "terror suspects" following the London bombings brought nothing but more vicious racist repression, as cops flooded subway stations and other transit facilities. In London on July 22, police jumped a worker from Brazil, Jean Charles de Menezes, who was sitting in a subway car, and executed him with seven shots to the head. In NYC on July 24, a police SWAT team dragged several men from Britain of Pakistani origin off a tourist bus in Midtown Manhattan, handcuffed them, forced them to kneel and searched their bags before finally releasing them.

Toussaint and the labor bureaucracy as a whole criminally embrace the racist cops as union brothers. Thus Toussaint touts Patrick Lynch of the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association as

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Agins/NY Times

16 December 2002: Local 100 president Roger Toussaint embracing MTA chairman Peter Kalikow after announcement of contract sellout.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 860 — C-701 — 9 December 2005

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!

Iraq: U.S. Occupiers Out Now!

When George W. Bush ascended to the presidency, he announced that God had chosen him to accomplish a mission. Today, many would say that even the president's divine benefactors seem to be fed up with him. Steadily rising U.S. casualties in Iraq and the administration's racist indifference to the victims of Hurricane Katrina drove its approval ratings to new lows. On top of this has come the indictment of a vice-presidential aide for trying to cover up the outing of a CIA agent, as well as criminal investigations of a widening pool of Republican Senators and Congressmen for corruption.

Last month, Democratic Congressman Jack Murtha, a longtime hawk who voted for the Iraq war, called for a speedy redeployment of U.S. troops out of Iraq. It is widely understood that Murtha was speaking for a section of the military hierarchy that is fed up with the White House. As Iraq spirals ever more out of control the military brass is worried about the armed forces being stretched thin, while enlistments are declining. Following Murtha's pronouncements, an increasing number of bourgeois politicians, mostly Democrats, have been pushing for some kind of "exit strategy"—from the three liberal Congressmen who voted for immediate withdrawal to Hillary Clinton, who now declares that the Iraqi elections scheduled for December 15 "should, if successful, allow us to start bringing home our troops in the coming year." As popular support for Bush plummets, the Democrats see a clear opportunity to boost their fortunes in next year's Congressional elections and the 2008 presidential campaign.

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Venezuela: Populist Nationalism vs. Proletarian Revolution

White House Vendetta Against Chávez

U.S imperialism continues to pose a clear and present danger to the government of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. Since being elected president in 1998, Chávez has survived a short-lived coup (in 2002), a months-long effort by a section of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie to shut down oil production, and a well-financed recall referendum, all backed by Washington. And if it were not bogged down in Iraq, the Bush gang might well have organized further provocations.

The very things that have made Chávez a thorn in the side of the arrogant U.S. rulers have made him an idol for masses of impoverished barrio residents in Venezuela and for large numbers of young leftists around the world. Chávez has called Bush an imbecile (*pendejo*) and ostentatiously embraces Washington's chief nemesis in the Western Hemisphere, Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Chávez has condemned the U.S. occupation of Iraq and denounced the "neoliberal" economic policies promoted by the U.S. in Latin America and elsewhere. He has launched social programs benefiting the rural and urban poor in Venezuela and embarrassed the Bush administration by offering to provide relief for the dispossessed people of New Orleans. Most recently, through its CITGO affiliate, Venezuela has begun supplying the poor of the Bronx and parts of Massachusetts with cheap gas and oil for heat this winter.

This last January, when Chávez, speaking under the auspices of the imperialist-funded World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, proclaimed that capitalism must be "transcended" through socialism, his largely leftist audience burst into delighted soccer-style chants of "Olé, Olé, Olé, Chávez, Chávez." But Chávez is no socialist. A former army colonel now head of the capitalist state, he is an ***enemy*** of the struggle for socialism—i.e., the fight for workers revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie. In fact, Chávez is very much in the mold of a string of bourgeois military officers who have come to power on the basis of nationalist populism, from Col. Juan Perón in Argentina in the 1940s to Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in the 1950s. In the 1950s and '60s, as Soviet-backed nationalist movements swept the semicolonial world, virtually every Third World capitalist demagogue claimed to be a "socialist" or "Marxist-Leninist" of some description. Nasser promulgated "Arab socialism," seized the Suez Canal from the French and British imperialists in 1956 and instituted a series of nationalizations. He nevertheless presided over the exploitation of the Egyptian toilers on behalf of imperialism—breaking strikes, subordinating the unions to the capitalist state, arresting and torturing Communists.

Corbis — AP

Oil refinery in Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela, world's fifth-largest oil producing country. Top right: Populist strongman Hugo Chávez speaks to massive demonstration in Caracas, 2004.

In the face of another U.S.-backed coup, we, as Marxist internationalist opponents of U.S. imperialism, would again call on the working class to mobilize in military defense of the Chávez government (see "CIA Targets Chávez," *WV* No. 787, 20 September 2002). At the same time, we politically oppose the bourgeois-nationalist Chávez regime. In regard to the 2004 recall referendum organized by the regime's right-wing opponents, we argued for abstention rather than a no vote, which would have been an expression of confidence in Chávez. As we wrote in "U.S. Imperialism's Referendum

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MTA, City Gear Up Against TWU

NYC Transit Workers Must Prepare to Strike

NEW YORK CITY, December 5—As the December 15 expiration of its contract approaches, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is in for a hard fight against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) bosses and capitalist politicians. Backing the MTA, Republican governor George Pataki is threatening to hammer the union with the state's Taylor Law, which bans public employee strikes, in order to push through attacks on pensions and working conditions that aim at the heart of this powerful, multiracial workforce. These threats are retailed by the big business media, with an MTA official telling the *New York Post* (29 November), "A strike would *cripple* the city—but it might *kill* the union." The 33,000-strong Local 100 can defeat this anti-labor assault, but it will take a hard *class-struggle* fight.

The TWU's power lies in its capacity to bring the finance capital of the world to a halt by shutting down NYC subways and buses. A strike authorization vote will likely happen at a December 10 mass union meeting. Transit workers have repeatedly expressed a grim determination to fight the MTA's attacks, knowing full well that the Taylor Law threatens the union and individual union members with massive fines and jail sentences. It will take hard struggle *defying* anti-labor laws and relying on the strength of the whole labor movement to defeat the union-busters and win the right to strike. As we wrote in "TWU Must Fight Bosses' Attacks!" (*WV* No. 859, 25 November), "Key to smashing the Taylor Law is forging a fighting alliance with all of NYC labor at the head of the city's working masses and its ghetto and barrio poor."

The TWU, with its predominantly black and immigrant membership, is connected to every part of New York City. A successful fight against the MTA's vicious disciplinary procedures—dubbed by unionists "plantation justice"—would resonate with all minorities and all labor. Against efforts by the MTA and City Hall to pit the public against the union, the TWU could win massive support by resurrecting its historic demand for free mass transit.

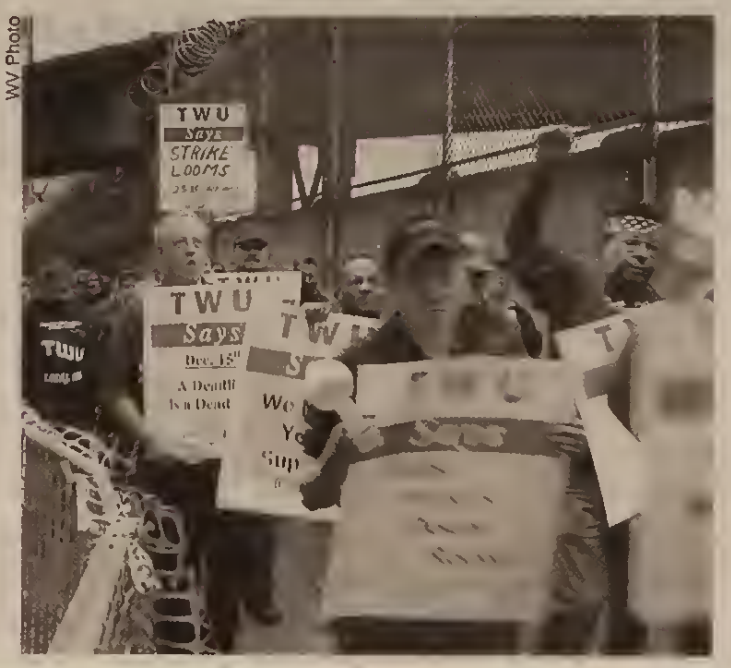
The need to prepare a strike, which means preparing for battle against not only the MTA but also the capitalist government, runs straight into the question of the union leadership. TWU members have been chanting "No contract, no work" at shop gate rallies. Too often NYC teachers and city workers have worked without a new contract, sometimes for years. Local 100 president Roger Toussaint says that a strike "is an option that we will not take off the table. There's the law and then there's justice. We want justice" (*New York Times*, 3 December).

But as one transit worker told *WV*, "Toussaint is blowing hot air to the press and cold air on the workers." Local 100 members remember that Toussaint, newly elected to office, talked militant in the 2002 contract battle, only to shaft workers with a sellout sealed with a bear hug with MTA chief Kalikow. This capitulation to the MTA brass and the bourgeois state flowed directly from the labor bureaucracy's program of class collaboration, which sees allies for the workers in the politicians and government of the capitalist enemy. At a November 29 union rally at a bus depot, Toussaint brought in Democrat Jesse Jackson, whose role is to *defuse* social struggle. Jackson says he might get involved in the NYC transit discussions. In Los Angeles in 2000, he came in to help scuttle a four-week strike, resulting in a settlement that reinforced a divisive multi-tier wage scale.

What the Local 100 leadership is not doing is preparing the membership for a hard struggle against the attacks on their jobs and benefits. The November 29 protest was one of a series of atomized Tuesday "days of action" at shops and depots that the Local 100 tops have substituted for mass union rallies. The December 10 meeting will be the first mass union gathering all year. What the Local 100 tops do instead is push the union's role in providing "security" in the subways, expressing the Toussaint bureaucracy's support to the government's "anti-terror" drive. The "war on terror" is nothing but a pretext for cracking down on immigrants and opponents of government policy at home and for imperialist war against Afghanistan and Iraq. Its ultimate target is the labor movement.

Among those opposing the Toussaint leadership are individuals such as Car Maintenance Division vice president Ainsley Stewart and executive board member Martin Goodman, who is supported by the reformist Socialist Action group. However much they claim to be for a "real fight" for workers' interests, Stewart and Goodman were part of the New Directions outfit that helped propel Toussaint into office and whose hallmark was ***suing their union opponents in the bosses' courts***. In fact, Stewart and four other vice presidents are currently suing Local 100. This treacherous policy did not stop self-proclaimed "militant" Eric Josephson, who is supported by the fake-socialist League for the Revolutionary Party, from giving Toussaint "critical support" in 2000. The courts are the very agencies that would impose massive fines on the union and its members for violating the Taylor Law. Their intervention into union affairs only serves to place the union under the thumb of the capitalist state. Courts out of the unions! Labor must clean its own house!

The kind of leadership labor needs is one based on the policy of class struggle and its corollary—the political independence of the working class from all the parties and state agencies of the capitalist enemy. This means a struggle to break the political chains forged by the trade-union tops to the capitalist Democratic Party and to build a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government. Workers make society run. When workers rule society, transport and industry will be ripped out of the hands of the greedy capitalist exploiters and put at the service of all. ■



WV Photo

November 29: Local 100 transit workers rally at 207th Street shop gate as contract deadline looms.

United Labor Action Can Smash Taylor Law!

TROTSKY

LENIN

Latin America and Proletarian Class Independence

The bulk of the left hails Venezuela's bourgeois populist strongmon Hugo Chávez as an anti-imperiolist and olly of the workers and oppressed. Commenting on the 1930s bourgeois-notionalist Mexican regime of Lázaro Cárdenas, who nationolized imperialist oil holdings and corried out limited land reforms, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed that only the socialist revolution of the proletoriat, leoding the peasantry and urbon poor, con emancipote the region from imperiolist snbjugation. This perspective of permonent revolution, based on the politicol independence of the proletariat from all wings of the bourgeoisie, was verified by the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Latin American society, like every society—developed or backward—is composed of three classes: the hourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. Insofar as the tasks are democratic in a large historical sense, they are bourgeois-democratic tasks, but the bourgeoisie here is incapable of resolving these democratic tasks, as the bourgeoisie was incapable in Russia or in China.

In that sense, during the struggle for the democratic tasks, we oppose the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The independence of the proletariat even in the beginning of this movement is ahsolutely necessary....

This is the period in which the national bourgeoisie searches for a hit more independence from the foreign imperialists. The national bourgeoisie is obliged to flirt with the workers, with the peasants, and then we have the strong man of the country orientated to the left as now in Mexico....

Now the Fourth International recognizes all the demoeratic tasks of the state in the fight for national independence, but the Mexican section of the Fourth International is in competition with the national bourgeoisie hefore the workers, before the peasants. We are in permanent competition with the national bourgeoisie as the only one leadership which is capable of assuring the victory of the masses in the fight against the foreign imperialists.

—"Latin American Problems: A Transcript," 4 November 1938,
Writings of Leon Trotsky: Supplement (1934-40)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 6 December.

No. 860 **9 December 2005**

Stop Execution of Stanley "Tookie" Williams!

Tookie com

As the scheduled December 13 execution of Stanley "Tookie" Williams approaches, California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger will hold a clemency hearing on December 8. Williams, a leader of the Crips gang in his youth, has since become renowned for his anti-gang writings. On November 30, the California Supreme Court denied a defense motion to reopen the case. As the clock ticks, Williams' supporters in the Save Tookie Committee (www.savetookie.org) are planning numerous rallies and protests, including showings of the movie "Redemption," which is based on Williams' life. On November 23, anti-death-penalty activists protested Los Angeles radio station KFI-AM, which is broadcasting a vile, racist "Tookie Must Die/Kill Tookie" hour every day. The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following letter to Schwarzenegger on November 29.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee opposes the execution of Stanley Williams by the state of California scheduled for 12:01 am on December 13. Capital punishment is an act of state-sanctioned murder that shows the brutality of this class-divided and race-biased society. We stand for the complete abolition of the death penalty, which is the barbaric legacy of medieval torture and, in racist America, of chattel slavery. The primary victims of this legal lynching in the U.S. are black people like Stanley Williams.

The case of Stan "Tookie" Williams is a prime example of the racist travesty that is American "justice." Williams' 1981 conviction on four counts of murder during two robberies was engineered by a prosecutor who has been twice censured by the California State Supreme Court for discriminatory behavior. Williams' prosecution included racist jury rigging—all prospective black jurors were struck, resulting in a virtually all-white jury; the prosecutor grotesquely told jurors that their view of the defendant in the courtroom was like seeing a "Bengal tiger in captivity in the zoo" whose natural habitat was South Central Los Angeles.

A former leader of the Crips gang, Williams maintains that he is innocent of the murder charges. He was convicted largely on the basis of circumstantial evidence and the hearsay testimony of witnesses who themselves faced felony charges. The "star" witness, who testified that Williams had confessed in jail, was later proved to be a paid police informant. One witness had his ribs fractured and later said he was so scared he would have told the police anything; even the prosecution has admitted that it was an "illegal interrogation." Other evidence at the crime scene includes fingerprints and a boot print that have never been identified. A forensics expert has called the ballistics testimony offered by the police "junk science at best"; there is no conclusive evidence that the shotgun shell recovered at the scene came from Williams' gun.

Courts have denied four *habeas corpus* petitions to reopen the case based on new evidence uncovered since the trial. On October 11 the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Williams' appeal based on the blatant racism of the prosecution. On November 10 Williams' attorney filed another *habeas corpus* petition attempting to obtain information about ballistics, crime scene evidence and records about witnesses who testified against Williams in return for immunity or other benefits. But the state of California has accelerated the execution date and moved Williams to the execution holding pen at San Quentin.

Now famous for his anti-gang writings, Stanley "Tookie" Williams has been nominated five times for the Nobel Peace Prize. He has written nine books attempting to deromanticize gangs, crime and prison and is the author of an internationally known autobiography. A 2002 *amici curiae* brief on his behalf was signed by the ACLU, Arab American Attorneys Association, NAACP, SCLC of Greater Los Angeles, and the San Francisco La Raza Lawyers Association, among others. On November 19 more than 1,000 people protested at San Quentin, demanding an end to the death penalty and clemency for Williams, and 32,000 have signed a petition in his favor. But Williams' bid for clemency has been met with an ugly smear campaign. Williams' attorneys have charged "official misconduct" against Vernel Crittendon, a San Quentin spokesman, for stating that he suspected Williams of orchestrating gang crimes. In fact, a 2004 San Quentin report cleared Williams of gang involvement.

We demand: Stop the execution of Stanley Williams! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

Lynne Stewart Denied New Trial

In a sweeping 54-page ruling issued on October 24, United States District Judge John Koeltl rejected defense motions to overturn the verdict and upheld the convictions of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart and her Arabic translator, Mohamed Yousry, and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar. In a case stemming from Stewart's legal representation of the Egyptian Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the three were convicted on February 10 in New York City on frame-up charges of conspiring to provide material support to terrorism and to defraud the U.S. government. In a separate ruling, Judge Koeltl, who presided over the seven-month-long trial, also rejected Stewart's claim of right to an untainted jury. Koeltl dismissed a juror's written statements that she voted against her conscience to convict Stewart because she felt coerced and feared for her life, as well as evidence that another juror had admitted to being biased in favor of the prosecution.

Lynne Stewart's conviction is a frontal attack on the Sixth Amendment right to an attorney and the free speech rights of us all. Abdel Rahman is serving a life sentence for conspiracy to blow up New York City area landmarks. The prosecution of Stewart, Yousry and Sattar was based on hundreds of hours of videotaped and recorded discussions between the sheik and his attorney that are supposed to be free from government snoops. The "material support to terrorism" charge is a witchhunter's dream: Donating money for tsunami relief that is later used to rebuild an Islamic school in Indonesia could land you in the Feds' anti-terror web. In this case, Stewart's alleged material support to a terror "conspiracy" consisted of making the views of her imprisoned client known to a Reuters journalist, in violation of the patently unconstitutional restrictions (Special Administrative Measures—SAMs) placed on Stewart as a condition of being allowed to meet with her client. Openly speaking to a major international news agency is some "conspiracy"!

The Lynne Stewart case sets the dangerous precedent that attorneys can be prosecuted for the alleged crimes of their clients. The aim is not only to scare away any lawyer from defending a client with unpopular views but to criminalize dissent. As we stated at the time of Lynne Stewart's conviction: "If nobody can get a lawyer to zealously defend him from prosecution, then fundamental liberties, from the right to a trial and an attorney, to even the right of free speech and assembly, are choked" ("Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted—Outrage!" *WV* No. 842, 18 February).

The vendetta against Lynne Stewart is a centerpiece of the government's "war on terror," which is a pretext for a modern-day witchhunt against all who are perceived as standing in the way of the aims of the capitalist government. Her prosecution represents an escalation of the rulers' attack on democratic rights won through massive struggles, including two bourgeois revolutionary wars in this country (the War of Independence and the Civil War). It is crucial to be clear that the attacks on civil liberties are not solely the work of the Bush gang. Indeed, the Democrats criticize the Republican White House mainly for failing to prosecute the "war on terror" more effectively. The SAMs that strip prisoners of elementary rights to communicate with the outside world, and which Lynne Stewart is accused of violating by defending her client, were implemented under the Clinton administration.

A cornerstone of the "war on terror" is the government's assertion of its right to throw anyone it deems an opponent behind bars without rights to an attorney, free speech or other protections supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. The prosecutors in the Stewart case ranted that by letting the words of her client get out beyond the prison walls, Stewart had performed a "jailbreak." The supposed "jailbreak" consisted merely of public expression of Abdel Rahman's views.

In adopting the prosecution's claims, Judge Koeltl's ruling guts the right to free speech. His decision states: "The First Amendment lends no protection to participation in a conspiracy, even if such participation is through speech." Koeltl cited an earlier ruling by Judge Mukasey in Abdel Rahman's trial that "speech is not protected by the First Amendment when it is the very vehicle of the crime itself." While speech is judged the vehicle of the crime, even the U.S. attorneys who prosecuted the case admitted that ***no crime occurred***, that no terrorist attack resulted from this fabricated "conspiracy." Stripped of the camouflage of legal jargon, the "crime" here is speech that the government deems counter to its interests.

This case is also rich with political hypocrisy. Whether speech is judged a criminal activity depends on the political interests and machinations of the U.S. government. U.S. Attorney Patrick J. Fitzgerald (today's darling of the liberals, and others, for his investigation into the outing of CIA agent Valerie Plame) testified

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Holiday Appeal Benefits for Class-War Prisoners

Bay Area

Sunday, December 11
2 to 6 p.m.
Oakland YWCA Tea Room
1515 Webster Street
For more information: (510) 839-0852
P.O. Box 77462
San Francisco, CA 94107

Los Angeles

Saturday, December 10
2 to 6 p.m.
Mount Hollywood
Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
For more information: (213) 380-8897
or e-mail:
partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net

New York

Friday, December 9
6 to 11 p.m.
—New Venue—
District Council 1707, 14th Fl.
75 Varick Street
(North of Canal St.
Take # 1, A, C or E to Canal St.)
For more information: (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Chicago

Sunday, December 11
3 to 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information: (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 802867
Chicago, IL 60680

Toronto

Saturday, December 10
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
(near Queens Park Sta.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138
P.O. Box 314, Station B
Toronto, Ontario M5T 2W1

This is not charity—it's a duty and an act of solidarity with those in prison. Their fight is our fight!

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

In Honor of Our Comrade Elizabeth King Robertson

Robertson Family

1951-2005

Our comrade Elizabeth King Robertson died on October 12. In an obituary published in *Workers Vanguard* No. 857 (28 October), we wrote: "Over the course of more than 30 years as a professional revolutionist, Lizzy excelled as an organizer, propagandist and editor." She was a patient mentor and inspiration for younger comrades. At the time of her death a few weeks before she was to turn 54, she was a full member of the Spartacist League Central Committee and of the International Executive Committee of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Memorial meetings for comrade Lizzy have been held around the world, including in New York City on November 12 and Oakland, California on November 20. Photographs and documents illuminating her life and work were on display on both coasts. As is the custom in the communist movement, comrades gathered at the gravesides of past revolutionaries to lay wreaths or raise a glass in her honor, including at the grave of Karl Marx in London, East Berlin's memorial to Rosa Luxemburg and other socialists, and at the graves of heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi in Tokyo. Tributes to Lizzy were received from all over the world from present and past members of the ICL, including some politically now very distant, as well as from a former colleague of Lizzy's in the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee.

More than 20 members of her family, as well as former schoolmates from the Brearley girls school, attended the memorial in New York City. Comrade Emily from the Bay Area, a longtime friend and political collaborator of Lizzy's, noted that Lizzy was "a Jewish girl from Queens, transposed to Park Avenue and the Upper East Side of Manhattan at age ten after the death of her mother, Barbara." Lizzy attended the exclusive but academically challenging Brearley. She was a New York City debutante, but one who became a professional revolutionary. In a testament to the deep loyalty Lizzy inspired, Amanda, a friend from those early school days, spoke movingly of their lifelong friendship and of the last gathering of her old friends only months before Lizzy's death. During that reunion, Lizzy, she said, characteristically insisted on going horseback riding.

Lizzy's father, Henry King, addressed the New York memorial with great dignity and even a touch of humor. He said he had told Lizzy that "I had not subscribed to the work of this group—and I don't—but I did feel that Lizzy made a really strong contribution, and that in her own development as a person she had succeeded. And no matter what it is you do in life, if you can succeed the way Lizzy did, as being a contributor, as being loyal, as being smart, that to me was wonderful."

The outpouring of tributes to Lizzy struck several themes. A major one was her commitment to the struggle for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Lizzy's ability to thoughtfully apply our Marxist program to the real world with its complexities, contradictions and ever-shifting factors was appreciated by both our newest recruits and the most senior members of our Central Committee. Comrade Seymour wrote that because Lizzy had "an intelligence that was simultaneously receptive and critical," he regarded her, as did many comrades, "as a kind of intellectual editor."

Many comrades referred to Lizzy's painstaking work in developing our democratic-centralist organizational rules and to her presentation "On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998). This, combined with her astute assessments of personnel, led some comrades to compare her, with all historical proportions guarded, to the Bolshevik organizer Yakov Sverdlov. As Kathleen, an organizer trained by Lizzy, put it: "In Lizzy there was a perfect amalgamation of simple humanity and humor with hard communist principles."

We print below the memorial tribute to Lizzy delivered in Oakland by George Foster on behalf of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, as well as excerpts from speeches by Amy Rath, editor of *Women and Revolution*, and by Lital Singer and Maryan Thompson, two young women organizers trained by Lizzy.

* * * * *

George Foster: Comrades, friends and family members, we are all gathered here today to honor the memory of Elizabeth King Robertson, a professional revolutionary and member of our party for over 32 years. Her death after a six-year battle with cancer is a keenly felt loss to our close-knit international, and as well a devastating loss to her family—Jim Robertson, Martha and Martha's children Rachel, Sarah and Kenneth—and to her parents Henry King and Mary King and the rest of the King family, whose participation with us in a memorial meeting held last week in New York City was greatly appreciated.

As one of the founding members of our Boston Local, I've known Lizzy since she joined us. So let me talk a bit of her political life. Thirty-two years ago in Boston, as a 21-year-old New Left radical activist, Lizzy decided to join the Spartacist League's youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth. Young people of that day were radicalized by the Vietnam War, the struggle for black freedom and also for women's liberation. The *Roe v. Wade* decision was only a few months old when Lizzy joined. And throughout her life she remained a dedicated fighter for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

Prior to joining she had been active in the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee (CTOC), a tenants' rights group trying to defend working-class and minority families being pushed out of housing in Cambridge by various university real estate developers. The CTOC organized sizable demonstrations and rent strikes and mobilized large numbers of Cambridge residents to intervene in city council meetings. Lizzy was, I believe, the CTOC's full-timer/office manager. Was she supposed to be going to school instead? I don't know. To have such a young person playing such a large role was typical of the times, but impressive as well—an early indication of her capacities.

Around that time, the largest left group in Cambridge was the Progressive Labor Party, and they had been active around the CTOC. But I am sure that outfit, with their terrible line on the woman question, Stalinist bluster and thuggery and, above all, glorification of ignorance, would not have appealed to Lizzy. Instead she joined us and committed herself to the cause of the revolutionary emancipation of the working class and the program of Trotskyism. As Trotskyists, we base ourselves on the experience of Lenin and Trotsky, on the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution of October 1917, and as well on the struggle by Leon Trotsky and the international Left Opposition against the degeneration of that revolution, a degeneration presided over by J.V. Stalin with his anti-revolutionary dogma of "socialism in one country." As Trotskyists, we stood for the unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism and/or capitalist counterrevolution, while simultaneously seeking to mobilize a workers political revolution to oust the anti-revolutionary bureaucracy whose policies endangered those gains and short-circuited revolution internationally.

We recruit to our party based on agreement with our Marxist principles and acceptance of party program. So when Lizzy told us of her class background, which was one of considerable economic advantage and privilege, it was noteworthy but not a matter of concern. The Leninist party necessarily must have elements of both declassed revolutionary intelligentsia and the most politically advanced layers of the working class. Neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Trotsky were proletarians in origin; all were "traitors," in a sense, to their class origins. In fact, Lizzy's "advantages," a good education and a sense of duty, responsibility and self-confidence instilled by her parents and teachers, were put to very good use by her. She had a very keen sense of humor, and also, always, great poise and seriousness.

As a result of significant recruitment in Boston, by late 1973 we were able to establish a branch in Detroit, then the center of the largest and most militant sector of the U.S. labor movement. Lizzy was among those who volunteered to transfer, and when she arrived there, she was elected youth organizer. Many years later, she told me how much she enjoyed being Detroit youth organizer, and I agreed that politically the city and campuses were really interesting back then, but couldn't resist joking that it couldn't have hurt that she was one of the few women in an overwhelmingly male local, and that most of the comrades were understandably totally infatuated

WV Photo

November 12 memorial meeting in New York City concluded with singing of the "Internationale."

with her. She just started laughing at me, and said, "So what's wrong with that?"

Another story: In the summer of 1974, we had a national meeting on a campus located near Detroit. Most of the comrades rented rooms at the campus, but four from California couldn't afford to stay there. So when they came into town in their car, they were put up in a large house where a number of Detroit comrades lived, including Lizzy—something at the time we used to call a commune. Now, two of those comrades were, while young, mothers of young children and rather hard-bitten types. Well, the commune was in a rough neighborhood, and when the comrades got inside, the two moms were appalled. The interior resembled something out of a bad teen movie. But then they opened a door and found a neat, clean bedroom complete with a real bed and a nightstand on which there was a Plexiglas cube in which a comrade had mounted a lot of photos of a rather large family. Needless to say, it was Lizzy's room, something they were able to ascertain the next day at the conference by matching her face to the family snapshots.

It was in Detroit that Lizzy completed her training to become a legal stenographic reporter. This stood her in good stead as a way of earning her living, and she continued to work as a court reporter until her debilitation from the cancer surgery made that impossible. We all have a picture in our heads of this very well-groomed and tiny woman lugging a very heavy stenographic machine, which must have weighed 25 percent of her total body weight, to and from work. Again, her training and professionalism in this field was put to good use in the party—recording meetings and editing and producing party bulletins.

Her job as a court reporter gave her a very good sense of the courts, law and the legal system, which proved very valuable in legal defense work. Lizzy had a very keen intelligence, and had she been so inclined, she would have been a very effective attorney. And those of us who knew her know one would not want to be cross-examined as a hostile witness by Lizzy. As it was, she was a fierce defender of Marxist principle.

After Lizzy moved to New York around 1976, she was elected National Organizational Secretary of the youth. She helped coordinate the activities of the youth branches and worked on the youth press. In contrast to a couple of "precious" young male editors at the time, she did not disdain the technical side of producing the paper. By the time she became Political Bureau secretary in the summer of 1978, she had served her apprenticeship. As a young organizer and youth activist, she had gained valuable experience dealing with trade-union questions in the heavily black city of Detroit, she had learned an exacting skill, had served as a national youth leader and learned to issue propaganda, put out a youth paper and organize its distribution.

A short while after she became PB secretary, she and Jim got together. She was both his loving companion and his closest political collaborator until her untimely death. Lizzy was clearly the best PB secretary we ever had, both in terms of sheer technical capacity, organizational skills and political acumen. She helped shape and organize political discussion, and she played a central role in facilitating communications between our center and SL/U.S. local committees, as well as our international. And this was a high-stress job—actually having to be ready at any time, and I do mean any time, to assist in intervening and engaging in struggles, external and internal, to try to decide what could and should be done with the often very meager resources at our disposal. As a lapsed physicist, let me share with you a quip from Richard Feynman, who let the cat out of the bag: "Physics," he said, "is what physicists do late at night." Well, Trotskyism is what Trotskyists do late at night.

Lizzy's responsibilities entailed a lot of travel, discussion, inquiry and explaining points of program and organization to various comrades, local committees and sections. But through this, Lizzy acquired a very comprehensive understanding of the cadre and component parts of the ICL and Spartacist League/U.S., which made her invaluable in deciding questions of what personnel to allocate to address what task. It is also why she played a very large role in a number of nominating commissions, charged with evaluating the capacities of comrades nominated to leadership bodies at various of our national conferences.

Lizzy was, as well, in charge of indexing the bound volumes of our press and additionally was editor of internal party discussion bulletins. Minutes of meetings, our press and our discussion bulletins—these are the documentary history of our tendency. And as Leninists, we strive to be the historic memory of the working class, and to distill from such experiences and struggle the principles and program to guide us in our activity. There is no other way to test our understanding and guide our future actions and intervention as a disciplined party acting on a clear line, and there must be a record, so that we can evaluate what we understood and where we went wrong. To do otherwise is not to be a Marxist, but to repeat empty formulas as *ex post facto* justification for whatever activity you undertake. For us, principles, theory and program, i.e., consciousness, are indispensable.

Lizzy was a very modest comrade. When she was first proposed to become a full member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee, she was unsure of her qualifications—she saw her main talents as lying on the organizational and administrative side of things. But the delegates at our 1983 National Conference thought otherwise and did elect her. It was a very wise choice; she was selected for her sober political judgment and keen insights as well as her remarkable organizational capacities.

In the Spartacist League, we understand there is no such thing as a 100 percent leadership. Jim has argued that if we can manage to be right 70 percent of the time, we will be doing very well indeed. And Lizzy would be the first to admit that she made her share of errors. But what was truly remarkable about her was her absolute lack of subjectivity or personal defensiveness in addressing such errors, both her own and others. Her concern was to get at the root of questions, to understand, and based on that understanding, to move forward.

These qualities of hers were best expressed in a letter sent to me by a comrade from the Bay Area:

> "There are three concrete lessons I am very aware I learned from Lizzy (though how well or not is of course not her responsibility). The first two are central to the building of effective Leninist collectivity and Jim has demonstrated them to me as well: listen carefully to every comrade, because reason is not the exclusive property of anyone; and (relatedly) the conclusions of properly prepared collective debate of a political question are much more likely to approximate right than any single comrade's opinions (including not least one's own!). The third lesson is more personal, the result of a fight Lizzy in particular waged with me over the course of some years...the difference between moral imperative and dialectical materialism, between moralistic judgment and materialist understanding."

Additionally the comrade closes her letter: "To ease my conscience in regard to Lizzy's own wishes to be seen for what she was, I must add that she was a slow reader and not a good speller."

The last six years of Lizzy's life, after she discovered she had cancer, are both grim and inspiring and give us a true measure of her character, her revolutionary will and her humanity. She underwent chemotherapy, two extremely difficult and painful operations and radiation treatment. I believe she had the very best medical treatment available through the intervention of her father. But ultimately it was to no avail. The hopes of her family,

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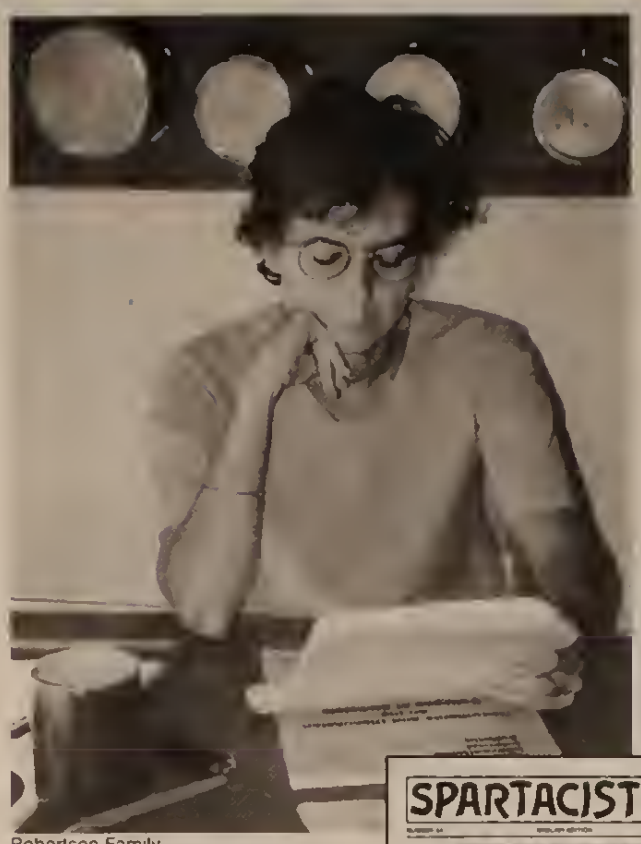
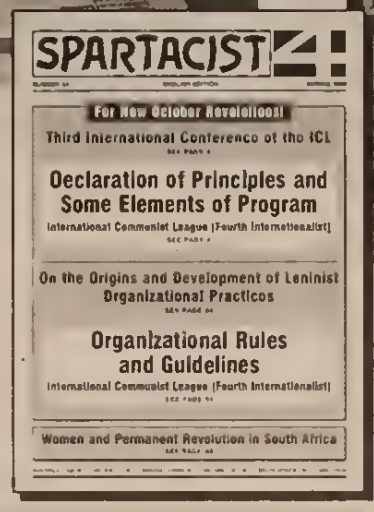


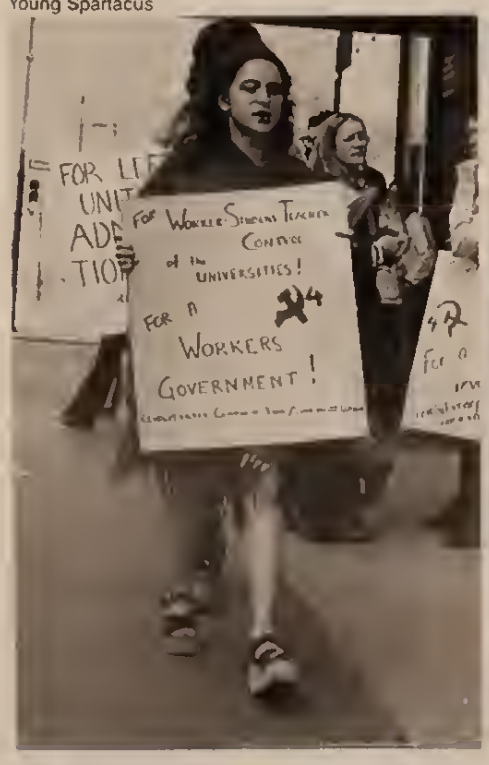
Robertson Family



Lizzy's work on ICL's Organizational Rules and Guidelines drew on history and traditions of the international Marxist movement.

From top: Founding of First International, 1864; congress of Second International's German section, 1875; publication of Third International, 1919; Leon Trotsky, leader of Fourth International founded in 1938, depicted in Diego Rivera mural.

Young Spartacus



WV Photo

Left: Lizzy at Wayne State University protest, Detroit, 1974. Above: Lizzy at February 2003 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

An International Salute

Spartakist

Comrades in Berlin laid wreath in Lizzy's honor at memorial for Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and other socialists, November 6.

Around the world, cadres of the International Communist League gathered to remember our comrade Lizzy. "Yesterday afternoon we went to Trotsky's grave to honor Lizzy," wrote the Grupo Espartaquista de México on October 16. "It was a beautiful clear day and the colors of the garden and the red flag were at their most intense." Comrades sang the international workers anthem, the "Internationale," concluding with cries of "*Viva la camarada Elizabeth—Viva! Viva la LCI! Viva!*" The GEM wrote, "We left a vase of red roses as a commemoration and finished at our regular bar in Coyoacán."

The Spartacist Group Japan held a memorial at Tama cemetery on November 12, where Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi are buried. These heroic Soviet spies were hanged on 7 November 1944, the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. As a comrade wrote, "We sang the 'Internationale,' in three languages, as we raised glasses of vodka at Sorge's grave, and cups of sake at Ozaki's."

The comrades of Spartacist South Africa met in Soweto at a memorial to Hector Pieterson, a student slain in the anti-apartheid struggles. In Paris, our French section held a tribute at the Wall of the Communards in Père Lachaise cemetery. In London, the Spartacist League/Britain met at Karl Marx's grave in Highgate cemetery. Other sections plan memorials, including an educational weekend in Italy. Condolences were also received from Colombo, Sri Lanka, "to salute and honour the memory of our beloved Comrade Lizzy, who spent time with us in the late '70s."

At the memorial held by our German comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party, a speech was given by Lizzy's longtime comrade Janis, who said: "It is fitting that we are here to lay a wreath for her at the Memorial to the Socialists in East Berlin, formerly the DDR [German Democratic Republic]. Here, where, among others, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the Spartakusbund, are buried." She continued, "It is here that the pro-socialist part of the German proletariat recognize their best traditions. Despite the lie of the 'death of communism,' a hundred thousand people come here every year on Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg day." Janis concluded, "Lizzy is gone. Her post is painfully empty. Other, young comrades must come forward to learn how to build a revolutionary party. You young comrades inherited this honor and duty."■

Workers Hammer

Karl Marx's grave, Highgate cemetery, London, November 20.

Espartaco

Leon Trotsky's grave, Coyoacán, Mexico, October 15.

Spartacist Japan

Richard Sorge's grave, Tama cemetery outside Tokyo, November 12.

Elizabeth King Robertson...

(continued from page 5)

friends and comrades were cruelly dashed—the cancer at some point metastasized and resulted in a very painful death.

Yet it was in this period that Lizzy struggled with great will, effectiveness and determination to defend the programmatic and organizational integrity of the party. The October Revolution was the signal political event of the 20th century, resulting in the overthrow of capitalism and creation of the world's first workers state. The demise of the October Revolution in 1991-1992 was a historic defeat for the international working class, ushering in a period of reaction and great difficulties for proletarian revolutionists. Most notably, we have to struggle anew to win the workers of the world to the banner of Marxism.

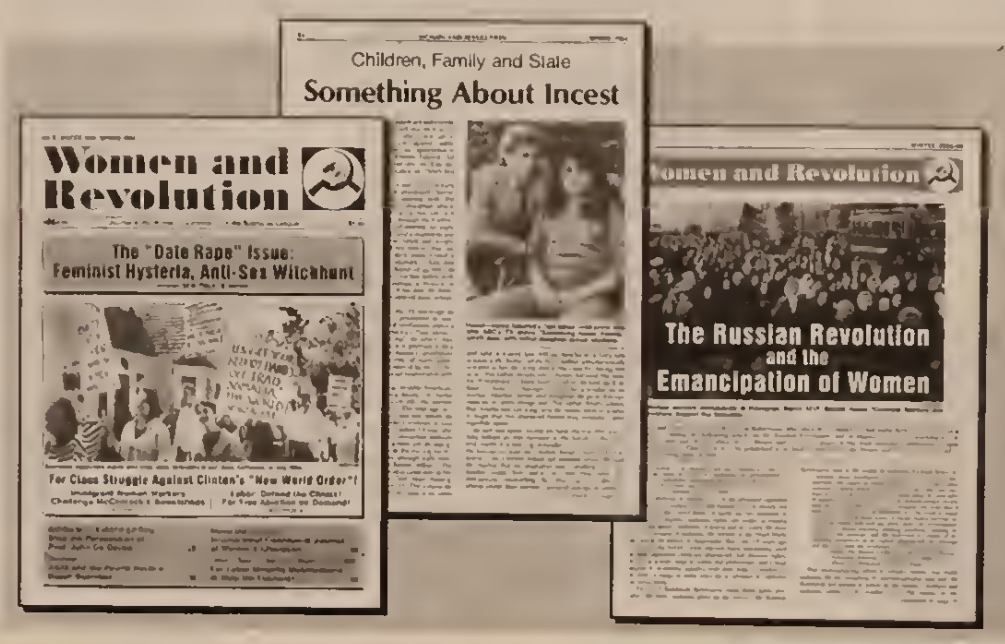
Our great difficulties in this period have been expressed in political disorientation and associated organizational disarray, matters about which we have written in our press. It was in these circumstances, on a number of issues of principle, program and tactics, that comrade Lizzy forcefully intervened to keep us the party she had originally joined, the party of the Russian Revolution. She did this with clarity, great energy and astounding determination, while suffering both physical disability and great pain, when much of her decreasing reserves of energy were spent on frequent visits to doctors and therapy.

Lizzy's obituary published in *Workers Vanguard* notes that her strength was in tackling the intersection of political principles with concrete social reality: coming up with tactics and slogans to express our program. That is very true, but it was an expression of both a lifetime of experience and very hard work.

V.I. Lenin, the founder of the Bolshevik Party, noted that it's far more difficult to be a revolutionary in periods of reaction than revolution. At a speech memorializing the Bolshevik organizer Yakov Sverdlov, he noted that during the difficult period of preparation for revolution there arises an inevitable gulf between theory, principle and program, and practical work, and that the Bolsheviks suffered from too deep an engrossment in theory abstracted from direct action. That is why we define ourselves as a fighting propaganda group, one that struggles to find opportunities, however modest, to intervene in struggle and test our program, organization and cadre.

Early on after his return to Russia in 1917, Lenin cited a line from Goethe's *Faust*: "Theory, my friend, is gray, but green is the eternal tree of life." It was a polemic against those who did not understand that political theory is an abstraction from experience, and that such theory, divorced from an analysis of the actual developments, runs the danger of degenerating into empty sloganeering. At issue here was the decision to struggle to embark on the course which led to the victory of the October Revolution. That capacity to grasp the green eternal tree of life is a rare quality, but it's absolutely necessary to transform revolutionary program to living reality. And that's how Lizzy lived her life, and that, as well as her friendship, beauty, compassion and courage, is what we shall miss.

In the Transitional Program, Trotsky writes: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear



A selection from Lizzy's significant contributions to ICL publications. Left to right: *W&R* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994; *W&R* No. 28, Spring 1984; forthcoming issue of *Spartacist*.

obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour of action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International." That is what Lizzy embodied, and we honor her best by honoring those rules.

* * * * *

Amy Rath: Lizzy's last contribution to the party's work was "The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women," in defense of the road of October, for the *Women and Revolution* pages in the upcoming *Spartacist*. For her, the article was key to getting out the message of the truly radical vision of human society that the Bolsheviks fought for, to educating this younger generation in the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

Lizzy was an exemplary member of the editorial board of *W&R* since 1979, concerned about every aspect of the paper: from editorial policy and broad political questions, to sales, to the grind of getting it out. Lizzy always had at least a finger, if not her whole arm, in each article. The most ambitious were a collective product, sometimes described by our critics as "editing by mass democracy." While our methods could certainly have been improved, such articles require that kind of collaboration and Lizzy was key to making that work. Sometimes she provided a crucial insight. Sometimes it was thoughtful advice on untying some knotty problem of politics or personnel. Sometimes it was a few well-considered touches on an almost finished piece. And sometimes it was an in-depth edit job, taking in the points of our eccentric editorial body and turning a draft into a cogent political statement. But Lizzy was never so dedicated to editing that she didn't take time off now and then to take in a Lakers game.

Lizzy's area of expertise was the thorny issue of human sexuality in its diversity, articles like "Something About Incest," "The Uses of Abuse" and "The 'Date Rape' Issue," which are featured on the display about *Women and Revolution*. And it's fitting that Isaac Deutscher's famous remark about "hunger, sex and death" as the three tragedies besetting man is also featured on the display. As Deutscher says, "Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on." But *W&R* was pitched to cover the human condition writ large. The woman question touches the human being in all of us, and so Lizzy liked to say that *W&R* is the "sex and death" desk.

Acting as the tribune of the people—protesting every act of oppression, no matter what layer of society it hits—can put you in some pretty unpopular spots in these days of the anti-sex witchhunt. Time after time, Lizzy had her finger on the hot-button questions that were socially explosive and about which we have something unique and powerful to say. In "Uses of Abuse," "Something About Incest" and "Date Rape," as we later summed up:

> "We explored some of the ambiguities of sexuality in a society where the deformities of class inequality and racial and sexual oppression can lead to a lot of personal pain and ugliness. We pointed out that while the abuse of children is a vicious and horrible crime, many 'illegal' sexual encounters are entirely consensual and devoid of harm per se. The willful conflation of everything from mutual fondling of siblings to the heinous rape of an infant by an adult caretaker creates a social climate of anti-sex hysteria in which the perpetrators of real violence against children often go free. And we insisted that the sexual proclivities of a group-living mammalian species such as our own are patently ill-suited to the rigid heterosexual monogamy which forms the ideological foundation of the institution of the family, reinforced by organized religion."
>
> —"Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria," *W&R* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996

Our position is summed up in the concept of *effective consent* as the guide in all sexual matters and opposition to state interference in private life. We do not condemn any kind of sexuality or sexual act per se—what counts is that it is *consensual*.

After we published "Date Rape," we received letters from a few outraged feminists canceling their subscriptions. I could say that that article lost us more readers than any other in the history of our tendency! So we knew that our paper was being read by its intended audience, and that we had hit our target hard enough to get an active and angry response. And Lizzy personally was quite delighted and proud. We also had to have a fight with a few youth comrades over the question, and Lizzy made a clarifying political intervention into the discussion that's printed in a bulletin, and this is some of what she said:

> "The reason that we talk about questions of sexuality is that often these questions are politicized, usually not by us but by the bourgeoisie, by some element of society, that takes questions that are normally of a secondary interest and makes them political questions that we not only *can* comment on but, in certain circumstances, *must* comment on and must take a position on."

In grappling with the tangled issues of sex and society, we sometimes arrived at a position only after extensive party debate. The article "The Agony of AIDS" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988) is one example, and Lizzy played a leading role in an important party discussion that began in the Political Bureau. It was a challenge to address the emergence of this deadly disease, which has been politically charged from the beginning.

In this article, we took up the controversy over the closing of the gay bathhouses in San Francisco at the beginning of the AIDS epidemic. Our first response in 1984 had been, as we said in our 1988 article, "a knee-jerk reaction." We wrongly demanded: "Government Out of the Baths!" according to the principle of opposition to state interference in private life. But this public health emergency was about ***life and death***. You don't cite the First Amendment when the Fire Department is hacking through your walls to stop a fire. In reconsidering our position, we wrote: "The problem is that there are two principles here which are always in tension: public health vs. individual rights. Which one has more weight at any given moment can only be decided by examining the particular health threat posed." And this was a key party discussion on the nature of the state.

Lizzy also played a key role in the piece on the traditional practice of female genital mutilation which took on the liberal and leftist advocates of cultural relativism, which rejects and opposes the rational humanism of the Enlightenment as a form of Western cultural imperialism. At its extreme, this doctrine leads to rationalizing the most barbaric anti-woman practices in tradition-bound patriarchal societies.

no credit

Lizzy with comrades at Los Angeles port.

Photos displayed at New York and Oakland memorials show Lizzy speaking for the ICL in January 2005 and February 1993.

The current *W&R* article in *Spartacist*, which is still on the newsstands today, about the U.S. government-sponsored "sex slave" hysteria about immigrant prostitutes, was also the product of an international discussion on the impact of the counterrevolution on the status of women. This discussion—again, where Lizzy played a leading role—reconfirmed our opposition to laws against the "crimes without victims" like prostitution, gambling and drug use, resulting in an important addition to the Labor Black League program and the Spartacus Youth Club's ten-point program.

To end, I'd like to quote Plekhanov, which to me sums up what Lizzy's life in the party was all about: "Freedom is giving all in the service of your aim."

* * * * *

Lital Singer: One of Lizzy's great legacies was the political investment that she made in many youth, in particular in the Bay Area and Los Angeles, in order to ensure revolutionary continuity. Lizzy was a remarkable example and inspiration to young cadre. In the early 1990s, the party made a decision to reinforce the Los Angeles Local, and Lizzy was assigned to be the Central Committee's representative to the local. Thus began a period of close collaboration with Los Angeles comrades that would span a dozen years.

I was a young and inexperienced organizer of the Los Angeles Local for two years, starting in 2003. In this capacity, I benefited from working closely with Lizzy. Los Angeles is a sprawling metropolis, and discussions in the local over how to implement our program have often centered around the fight against the oppression of the black population, defense of the large Latino immigrant population and the tensions between blacks and Latinos in the city. Lizzy helped us understand the need to make immigrant rights and immigrant workers a key part of the work of the local, and at the same time, the need to win Latinos and immigrants to an understanding of the central importance of the fight for black liberation.

During the many class battles in Los Angeles in the past few years, such as the longshore workers lockout, the UFCW grocery workers strike and transit strikes, Lizzy's main intervention was to warn us *against* the constant pressure to merely run from picket to picket. In addition to bringing our Marxist perspective to the workers, she urged us to bring those battles to students and youth, building support for workers' struggles on the campuses, bringing students to the picket lines and seeking to win youth to be lifelong partisans of the working class.

In a city that can easily lead one to forget about what's happening elsewhere, comrades treasured Lizzy for helping us to be better internationalists. As difficult as it is to be an organizer, consulting with Lizzy was always my favorite part of the job. She told me on numerous occasions to keep politics first. She advised us on how to deal with our tasks as a small local in a big city with a lot going on. She wrote: "The answer...is not to decide nothing and then do everything, necessarily half-heartedly and badly. You need to figure out what you *must* do first and do it, and then see if you can also tackle some of what you *want* to do—but that implies that you *agree* both on the vital and the desired. This can only be done through fighting out your differences which, if guided by a set of *programmatic* criteria, you will probably find are not that far apart."

* * * * *

Maryan Thompson: Lizzy trained me as Bay Area organizer. Lizzy served as the political chair of the Bay Area branch for the last five years. Lizzy greatly appreciated comrades' political input. Lizzy did a good job of circulating the ideas of members who were less likely to put pen to paper. When Lizzy became increasingly ill, one of the main assignments that she tried to maintain was coming into the Oakland office to talk with comrades and see what was on their minds.

Lizzy sat on the Bay Area executive committee for many years. She would bring in the flats of *Workers Vanguard* for exec members to review. She thought that a major task of the leadership was to prepare the local on how to discuss the new issue of the newspaper. Lizzy was generally very involved in our sales operation precisely because she understood that a central part of being a fighting propaganda group is getting out your paper. Lizzy strove to do regular sales. I was often on daytime sales with her. Sometimes we sold to sparsely attended union meetings and a couple of trade unionists would buy our paper. Lizzy thought that the sales were worth it because of those individuals and because of the thought and preparation that went into the sales.

She always had at least one youth member that she was meeting with regularly to discuss Marxist texts. She made what started out as a very difficult book, *The Development of the Monist View of History* by Plekhanov, one of my favorites.■

Venezuela...

(continued from page 1)

Ploy Fails—Populist Capitalist Ruler Chávez Prevails" (*WV* No. 831, 3 September 2004): "The immediate perspective that is urgently posed is not only to oppose U.S. imperialist incursions into Venezuela and elsewhere, but to fight to shatter the support of the workers movement to either Chávez or the opposition, and to forge a revolutionary internationalist workers party to lead the working class to power."

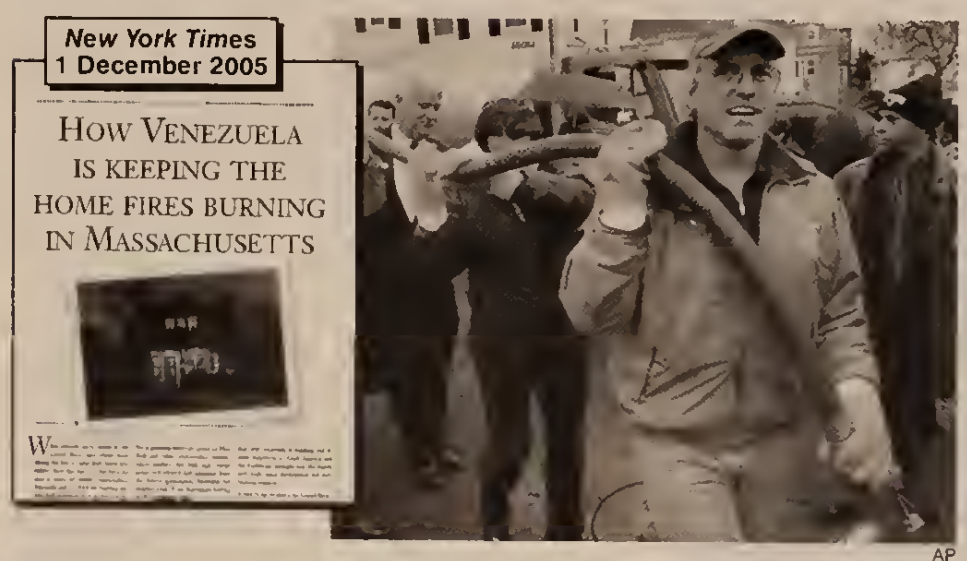
In contrast, the vast majority of self-described socialists and revolutionaries act as the "leftist" marketing department of Chávez's "Bolivarian Revolution." Foremost among these is Ted Grant's British-based International Marxist Tendency (IMT), now led by Alan Woods, author of a paean titled *The Venezuelan Revolution—A Marxist Perspective* (2005). While other opportunists offer the occasional criticism of Chávez, Woods and his outfit actually boast of being "Trotskyist" advisers to the left-talking *caudillo*. In foisting Chávez off as a champion of the poor and oppressed, ***the IMT et al. help set workers up for slaughter***. Tying the working class and its organizations to any bourgeois ruler only serves to impede independent working-class struggle. In opposition to groups like the IMT, Marxists seek to prepare the Venezuelan working class to effectively combat the murderous forces of bourgeois reaction, whether led by Chávez or his bourgeois opponents.

April 2005: Fake-Trotskyist Alan Woods, chief left booster of bourgeois-nationalist "Bolivarian Revolution," speaking at solidarity conference in Venezuela.

Chávez and Imperialism

Examining the arguments used by fake Marxists like the IMT to justify their support to the "Bolivarian Revolution" will help clarify the difference between populist nationalism and authentic proletarian Marxism. In a 1 March article on their Web site (www.marxist.com) titled "President Chavez Reaffirms Opposition to Capitalism," IMT spokesman Jorge Martin asserts that when he came to power in 1998, "Chavez did not start from a socialist standpoint. He was committed to solving the problems of inequality, poverty, and misery of millions of Venezuelans. But he initially thought that could be done within the limits of the capitalist system." Martin continues:

> "Since President Chavez was seriously committed to solving these problems, the oligarchy, en masse, went over to the side of armed insurrection against the democratically elected government....
>
> "It has been this rich experience of the revolutionary movement, faced with the constant provocations of the ruling class, that has pushed Chavez and many in the Bolivarian revolutionary movement to draw the conclusion that 'Within the framework of capitalism it is impossible to solve the challenges of fighting against poverty, misery, exploitation, inequality'....
>
> "This dynamic of action and reaction of the Venezuelan revolution reminds us in a very powerful way of the first years of the Cuban revolution. In a process of attack and counter-attack, the leadership of the Cuban revolution, which did not start with the intention of overthrowing capitalism, was forced, in order to solve the most pressing needs of the masses, to overthrow capitalism."



Joseph P. Kennedy II carrying fuel oil hose to kick off program providing cheap Venezuelan fuel to low-income Massachusetts residents, as described in newspaper ad.

Aside from the point that Chávez did not (and does not) "start from a socialist standpoint," every statement in this passage is false or misleading. We will address later in this article the notion that "the leadership of the Cuban revolution" should be a model for Latin American revolutionaries. For now it is enough to show how the IMT's comparison of Castro's Cuba with Chávez's Venezuela twists the facts into a pretzel. When Castro's rebel army marched into Havana on 1 January 1959, the bourgeois army and the rest of the capitalist state apparatus that had propped up the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship collapsed in disarray. By the time Castro declared Cuba "socialist" in 1961, the Cuban bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists and their CIA and Mafia henchmen had all fled and every bit of capitalist property down to the last ice cream vendor had been expropriated. What was created in Cuba was a bureaucratically deformed workers state. In contrast, Chávez came to power and rules *at the head of* the capitalist state, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie is alive and kicking, and the imperialists continue to carry on a thriving business with Venezuela, White House threats and provocations notwithstanding.

Chávez's principal concern upon coming to power was to "solve the problem" of the country's faltering oil profits, the lifeblood of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie. He moved immediately to discipline the oil workers union and to otherwise increase the efficiency of the state-owned oil industry, while pressing the OPEC oil cartel to jack up prices. It was for such efforts, and to enforce political stability, that Chávez was initially ***supported*** by much of the ruling class. This included not least his former comrades in the military high command, who were instrumental in restoring him to power after the 2002 coup. As oil prices climbed, Chávez did siphon off some of the enormous profits to finance a series of social measures; tripling the budget for education, setting up free health clinics and free food distribution programs for the poor, etc. But the aim of such measures is not to effect, but rather to ***deflect***, a social revolution—by binding the dispossessed masses more firmly to the Venezuelan state.

However much the lily-white Venezuelan oligarchy may detest this upstart junior officer who boasts of his *zambo* (mixed African and indigenous) heritage, Chávez serves the class interests of the Caracas bourgeoisie—and, through that class, world imperialism. While speaking of "restlessness in the boardrooms" over the regime's populist policies, a *New York Times* (3 November) article headlined "Chávez Restyles Venezuela With '21st-Century Socialism'" reported soberly: "So far, no noticeable exodus of foreign companies operating in Venezuela has occurred. Banks and oil companies are making record profits thanks to oil prices that have left the country, the world's fifth-largest exporter, awash in petrodollars."

In his Porto Alegre speech, Chávez was quick to assure the Venezuelan bourgeoisie and its imperialist overlords that his is not "the kind of socialism that we saw in the Soviet Union"—i.e., a planned, collectivized economy based on the overthrow of capitalist rule—which he denounced as "state capitalism" and a "perversion." He made it very clear that his friendship with Cuba's leader did not extend to its collectivized economy, saying, "Cuba has its own profile and Venezuela has its own." He lauded and identified with Brazil's Lula, the one-time populist who enforces imperialist-dictated austerity measures. In short, as Chávez declared on his *Alo Presidente* TV show on May 22, his vision of "21st-century socialism" is "not in contradiction with private companies, it is not in contradiction with private property."

Indeed. And so long as capitalist private property prevails, the masses will remain subject to exploitation and oppression, and economic development will be subordinated to the dictates of the world capitalist market, particularly the imperialist oil monopolies. There can be no permanent amelioration of the plight of the urban and rural poor without the smashing of the capitalist state and the overthrow of the capitalist social order, leading through a series of proletarian revolutions internationally to a global classless order in which all forms of exploitation and oppression have been eliminated.

Trotsky and Permanent Revolution

This understanding animated the October Revolution of 1917. Led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the workers of Russia—organized around their own class interests and through democratically elected workers councils (soviets)—swept away the capitalist state and replaced it with a workers state. The Bolshevik-led workers stood at the head of all the oppressed, not least the vast army of poor and landless peasants, and saw their revolution as the opening shot of a necessarily international struggle of labor against the rule of capital.

This is a far cry from what happened in the Cuban Revolution, where Castro's July 26 Movement consisted of peasant guerrillas and declassed petty-bourgeois intellectuals who had become estranged from the bourgeoisie and were independent of the proletariat. Under ordinary conditions, the Castroite rebels would have followed in the footsteps of countless similar movements in Latin America, wielding radical-democratic rhetoric to reassert bourgeois control. It was only as a result of exceptional circumstances—the absence of the working class as a contender for power in its own right, hostile imperialist encirclement and the flight of the national bourgeoisie, and a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—that Castro's petty-bourgeois government was able to smash capitalist property relations.

The existence of the Soviet degenerated workers state was crucial in this, providing economic assistance and a military shield that helped stay the hand of the imperialist beast just 90 miles away. Unlike the Soviet Union, where the original revolutionary and internationalist program of October was trampled underfoot by a conservative, nationalist bureaucracy that usurped political control in 1923-24, in Cuba the workers state was bureaucratically deformed from its inception.

In overthrowing capitalist rule, the Cuban Revolution stopped the plunder of the island by the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie. As with the Soviet degenerated workers state when it existed, we call for the unconditional military defense of Cuba and the other remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea and Vietnam—against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. It is the Stalinist Castroite bureaucracy that undermines the defense of Cuba, not least by cozying up to and providing a "revolutionary" cover for all kinds of anti-working-class capitalist regimes. As we state in the International Communist League "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Under the most ***favorable*** historic circumstances conceivable, the petty-bourgeois peasantry was only capable of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, that is, a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counterrevolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, an anti-working-class regime which blocked the possibilities to extend social revolution into Latin America and North America, and suppressed Cuba's further development in the direction of socialism. To place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development requires a supplemental ***political*** revolution led by a Trotskyist party. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening in which petty-bourgeois forces were able to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed, underscoring the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution."

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, confirmed by the Russian Revolution, holds that in those countries where capitalism emerged belatedly, the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries can only be carried out under the class rule of the proletariat. No matter how radical-sounding their political representatives, the bourgeoisies in the backward countries are too weak, too fearful of the rising proletariat and too dependent on the imperialist order to resolve the problems of political democracy, agrarian revolution and independent national development.

In its own way, it is rather appropriate that the capitalist demagogue Chávez idolizes Simón Bolívar, a man described by Karl Marx in a February 1858 letter to Friedrich Engels as "the most dastardly, most miserable and meanest of blackguards." As Marx makes clear in a contribution on Bolívar written for *The New American Cyclopaedia* of 1858, the founding father of Latin American nationalism embodied many of the attributes of the late-emerging semicolonial bourgeoisie of South America. He was venal, corrupt, cowardly and imperious. He repeatedly deserted his troops under fire, stabbed his comrades in the back and relied on the forces of British imperialism for his victories. Following his first triumph in 1813, he allowed himself to be publicly honored, drawn in a carriage by 12 young ladies from the first families of Caracas, and proclaimed himself "dictator and liberator of the western provinces of Venezuela."

The Bolivarian "Marxists" of the IMT turn permanent revolution on its head, arguing that if a bourgeois formation is

really committed to fighting for democracy, it can somehow overcome its historic limitations and achieve not only democracy but even socialism. Thus IMT spokesman Jorge Martin writes, "The central idea of the theory of Permanent Revolution is that in colonial and ex-colonial countries the struggle for the bourgeois democratic tasks, if it is pursued to the end, must lead (in an uninterrupted or permanent manner) to the socialist revolution." The programmatic essence of permanent revolution is the struggle for the *class independence of the proletariat* from *all* wings of the semicolonial bourgeoisie—no matter how "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" their proclamations. That struggle can be realized only through forging a revolutionary, internationalist workers party in opposition to all variants of bourgeois nationalism.

Glinn/Magnum

Rebel army led by Castro enters Havana, Cuba, on New Year's Day, 1959.

Reform vs. Revolution

The task of Marxists is to rip the "socialist" mask off the Chávez regime, to warn that he represents the class enemy. If the IMT's opportunist competitors do not simply fawn over Chávez and his "Bolivarian Revolution," they nevertheless join in depicting the left-talking *caudillo* as a potential, albeit partial and unreliable, ally of the working class. Thus Peter Taaffe's British-based Committee for a Workers' International (CWI) lauds Chávez for launching a "debate on the development of socialism" that is "crucial for the further development of the Venezuelan revolution" but complains that, "unfortunately," Chávez "has no perspective of spreading a socialist revolution to other[!] countries of Latin America" ("Venezuela: Socialism Back on the Agenda," 6 October).

Then there is the League for the Fifth International (L5I) centered on the British Workers Power group, which titles a chapter in its *Anti-Capitalism: A Rough Guide to the Anti-Capitalist Movement* (2005) "Hugo Chávez: A New Leader for the Anticapitalist Movement?" Polemicizing against admirers of the Mexican Zapatistas who believe that it is possible to effect social change without taking power, the L5I writes:

> "Chávez at least shows that genuine reforms cannot come by pleading, which have brought the precious few results for the Mexican peasants, but rather come from seeking to take hold of power. Chávez's faults lie in his unwillingness to destroy all those elements of the Venezuelan state—the judiciary, and police above all—which hamper and frustrate progress."

Chávez will not destroy the agencies of repression that are at the core of the bourgeois state—the judiciary, the police, the prison system and, "above all," the army—because he *administers* the bourgeois state. Sweeping away the dictatorship of capital in Venezuela means sweeping away the bourgeois regime through *proletarian* revolution, not lecturing the capitalist strongman as though he were a wayward apprentice. Indeed, as his left camp followers complain, Chávez has not even purged many individual recalcitrants from his military and police command, as happens after almost every Latin American coup.

Under its patina of pseudo-Leninist rhetoric, the L5I promotes the essence of social-democratic reformism—the notion that the bourgeois state need not be smashed on the anvil of proletarian revolution but can be reformed into serving as an instrument of social transformation. In Britain, Workers Power's home terrain, this has historically taken the form of slavish loyalty to the pro-capitalist, parliamentarist Labour Party (in which the IMT's British group remains deeply buried). In Venezuela, it means whitewashing the fact that populist strongman Chávez is the class enemy of the proletarian struggle for socialism.

Populism, Neoliberalism—Two Sides of a Coin

The popularity of Chávez and his "Bolivarian Revolution" among idealistic young leftists—and wizened opportunists—must be understood against the backdrop of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Among radical youth, nurtured by more than a decade of "death of communism" propaganda from the "left" and the right, the October Revolution is widely perceived to have been a "failed experiment." They reject as well the Marxist understanding that the working class is the unique agency for social revolution against the capitalist order. Moreover, capitalism has, by and large, been equated with that particular set of economic policies known as "neoliberalism"—widespread privatization of public facilities, destruction of social welfare programs, untrammeled imperialist aggrandizement.

The recent history of Venezuela amply demonstrates that neoliberalism and populism are nothing but two faces of the same coin, sometimes carried out by the same bourgeois regime in different periods. Carlos Andrés Pérez of Democratic Action (AD), for example, is remembered as the president who nationalized oil and mining in the mid 1970s and also as the president who introduced IMF shock treatment. AD spouted social-democratic rhetoric and controlled the corporatist CTV trade-union federation. Buoyed by a surge in oil revenues in the 1970s, the bourgeoisie amassed enormous wealth. At the same time, the AD and the bourgeois, pro-Catholic COPEI party, which was at different times the AD's rival and its partner, presided over the highest wages for workers anywhere in Latin America, as well as extensive price controls and subsidies for food, transportation, education, health care and other necessities.

But in the 1980s, the oil boom turned to bust and the huge imperialist debt bomb exploded, leading to a plunge in living standards for working people, massive cuts in social services and other stringent austerity measures. The portion of the population living below the poverty line nearly doubled, from 36 to 66 percent, between 1984 and 1995. As industry and agriculture declined, large numbers of formerly unionized workers and the rural dispossessed were driven into the low-wage "informal economy," trying to eke out an existence as street vendors, servants, temporary workers, etc. The rate of trade-union membership dropped from 26.4 percent in 1988 to 13.5 percent in 1995, leaving the CTV as the preserve of a relatively privileged layer of oil and other public-sector workers.

Reuters

Hugo Chávez embracing Fidel Castro in Bolivar City, Venezuela, 2001.

In 1989, Pérez introduced his *paquetazo*, the "big package" of austerity measures. This provoked mass protests, the *Caracazo*, which were brutally suppressed. In an essay in *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era* (ed. Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger [2003]), Kenneth Roberts writes:

> "The combination of social polarization and political detachment proved to be highly combustible after 1989, as Venezuelans turned on the political establishment and threw their support to a series of independent leaders and protest parties. By the end of the 1990s, widespread disillusionment produced a ground swell of support for the consummate political outsider: a former paratrooper commander who captured the popular imagination by leading a failed coup attempt against a discredited democratic regime."

These were classic conditions for the emergence of a populist strongman like Chávez.

Another example of a Latin American populist nationalist was Mexico's Lázaro Cárdenas, who nationalized foreign oil companies and made significant land distributions to the peasantry in the 1930s. He also broke strikes and subordinated the working class through the corporatist CTM labor federation. In a May 1939 article titled "Nationalized Industry and Workers' Management," Trotsky noted:

> "In the industrially backward countries foreign capital plays a decisive role. Hence the relative weakness of the *national* bourgeoisie in relation to the *national* proletariat. This creates special conditions of state power. The government veers between foreign and domestic capital, between the weak national bourgeoisie and the relatively powerful proletariat. This gives the government a Bonapartist character of a distinctive character. It raises itself, so to speak, above classes. Actually, it can govern either by making itself the instrument of foreign capitalism and holding the proletariat in the chains of a police dictatorship, or by maneuvering with the proletariat and even going so far as to make concessions to it, thus gaining the possibility of a certain freedom toward the foreign capitalists."

Bonapartism in Venezuela

In Venezuela, AD founder Rómulo Betancourt, who talked of socialism, governed in league with the military in the 1940s and purged the unions of Communists, turning the CTV into a tame corporatist labor adjunct of AD. Reading from the same script, Chávez advanced social reforms aimed at consolidating a base of support among the plebeian poor. His aim was to use this base as a battering ram not only against his enemies in the oligarchy but particularly against the CTV labor federation, whose top leadership was not only part of AD but also tied to the CIA through the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy in the U.S.

Under the battle cry of bringing "democracy" to the CTV, Chávez sought to bring the unions to heel. He assumed office in 1998 declaring that the CTV "must be demolished" and tried, unsuccessfully, to ram through a union-busting referendum two years later. For their part, the notoriously pro-imperialist CTV union tops joined with the oil bosses and other anti-Chávez sectors of the bourgeoisie and military in the botched 2002 coup and the lengthy strike/lockout in the oil industry that began later that year.

In April 2003, the Bolivarian Workers Force (FBT) in the CTV and other *chavista* union bureaucrats set up a new union federation under the umbrella of the government. The Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (UNT—National Union of Workers) garnered fully 76.5 percent of labor agreements signed in 2003-04, according to Chávez's Ministry of Labor, while the CTV captured a bare 20 percent. The UNT has now won the favor of the UN's International Labor Organization and the pro-imperialist Trades Union Congress tops in Britain. It has also been enthusiastically touted by the fake left internationally, including those groups that offer some tepid criticism of Chávez himself. In particular, such groups hail the occasional plant occupations and the UNT's call for "*cogestión*" (misrepresented as "workers control") as evidence that the "Bolivarian Revolution" is not simply a product of government policy but is driven by working-class struggle at the base of Venezuelan society.

Socialist Worker (5 August), newspaper of the U.S. International Socialist

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
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Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
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chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
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222 S. Morgan
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Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
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slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
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(212) 267-1025
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299 Broadway, Suite 318

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Oakland, CA 94604
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Venezuela...

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Organization (ISO), reported rhapsodically that UNT leaders had called for the "formation of a mass workers party that can fight for the socialist revolution in Venezuela." Striking a slightly more critical pose, the Internationalist Group (IG) writes in the *Internationalist* (September-October 2005): "The UNT has adopted socialist language, and even criticizes government plans for 'co-management,' calling for 'workers control.' However, none of the main sectors of the UNT has adopted a revolutionary program aiming at preparing the socialist revolution. Rather they seek to pressure the Chávez government to the left." Particularly coming from the IG, this is a rather mild way of describing a union federation that was established under the wing of the Chávez government.

You would not know it from reading its latest article, but the IG was singing a different tune in a November 2000 article titled "Against Chávez, the Stock Market and the IMF—Venezuela: Mobilize Workers Power to Defeat the Anti-Union Referendum!" That article, which appeared in Spanish on its Web site, depicted the Venezuelan populist as simply a stooge of the Caracas stock exchange and the imperialists and played down the dangers of U.S. imperialist intervention, as well as the CTV's organic ties to the bourgeois AD and its historic connections to the CIA's "labor" fronts in Latin America.

What particularly caught our eye at the time was that the IG did *not* describe the CTV as corporatist, an omission all the more remarkable given its use of that label as a justification for *not* defending the Mexican CTM labor federation against government attack. We observed: "Given its history of lining up behind 'anti-imperialist' nationalists from Mexico to Puerto Rico and beyond, one could have expected the IG to cozy up to the nationalist-populist Chávez" ("IG on Venezuela: Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows," *WV* No. 787, 20 September 2002). Having finally sniffed which way the wind is blowing, the IG is now racing to place itself on the left flank of the Bolivarian Revolution fan club. The IG now consigns the CTV to the dustbin.

The UNT leaders certainly talk a more radical line than the CIA-connected CTV tops, but they are no less tied to the capitalist government. In September, the UNT and FBT organized a "political education workshop" in Caracas "with the collaboration of the Ministry of Labour," according to a report by Jorge Martin (www.handsoffvenezuela.org, 26 September). A resolution passed there talked of "the historical struggle for the emancipation of the working class," "socialism as the hope of the oppressed classes of the world" and the need to expropriate the means of production. Prefacing all of this fiery rhetoric was an abject promise to "ratify the leading role of our president Hugo Chavez Frias in this democratic and participatory revolution." All talk of socialist revolution and a mass workers party is simply hot air in the absence of a struggle for *the complete and unconditional independence of the proletariat from the capitalist state and its political parties.*

Rochkind/Polaris

Prensa Presidencial

Left: State-owned Alcasa aluminum mill, where workers elect some managers and directors. Right: Chávez with workers at Invepal paper factory following January nationalization of bankrupt company. "Co-management" schemes help prop up bourgeois order.

The "*Cogestión*" Scam

In trumpeting the scam of "*cogestión*" (co-management), which is promoted by Chávez and the UNT as "workers control," the reformist left helps strengthen the stranglehold of the capitalist state over the Venezuelan labor movement. In the U.S., the Workers World Party exults that "Workers Are Taking Control in Venezuela": "Everywhere in Venezuela today workers are forging ahead with new formations of workers' organization. They are taking over factories here, experimenting with co-management there. Workers are challenging the old class relationships and coming to a collective realization of their historic role in the struggle for socialism" (*Workers World*, 5 May).

In Marxist terms, workers control is not an institution, nor is it a demand to be raised for implementation by the bourgeoisie. It is dual power at the point of production in a revolutionary crisis—i.e., the workers have the power to veto management actions they oppose. It can only end in the workers seizing state power through a socialist revolution or in the capitalists reasserting their power through a counterrevolution. What is being passed off as "workers control" by the cynical pro-Chávez "left" is in fact a scheme to *institutionalize class collaboration* and more tightly bind the workers organizations to the capitalists and their state. There is nothing new in this. In Trotsky's unfinished 1940 article "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," he wrote:

> "The management of railways, oil fields, etc., through labor organizations has nothing in common with workers control over industry, for in the essence of the matter the management is effected through the labor bureaucracy which is independent of the workers but, in return, completely dependent on the bourgeois state."

In Venezuela today, the main example of "workers control" is the paper supplies factory Venepal (now Invepal). Formerly employing 1,600 workers, by the time this bankrupt company was nationalized in January, only 350 workers remained. The company, in dire straits since 1997, had simply not been able to restart production after supporting the 2002 lockout against Chávez. The workers finally turned to Chávez, who went on to nationalize the company. However, the company was to be directly run initially by the state, and only at a later stage would it be converted to a co-management structure between workers and the state under the direct supervision of Labor Minister María Cristina Iglesias. Six months after the IMT originally cried "socialism!" over the Venepal nationalization, the Grantites were forced to acknowledge in an Internet article (18 July) that "the leaders of the union have taken the step of disbanding the union and are hoping to buy off the state's stake in the company so that they can be the sole owners and keep any profits from production" (Jorge Martin, "Chavez Announces Expropriation of Closed Factories").

Another example of "co-management" is the ALCASA aluminum mill in Ciudad Guayana, whose board now includes two directors elected by the workers and four appointed by the state, according to a report in the *Militant* (15 August), newspaper of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. One local leader of the Sintralcasa union said that he was not for wholesale nationalization, explaining: "We depend a lot on the U.S. economy, so we're not for bringing down the empire." Another said, "Now that we have co-management, the union no longer speaks only of raising wages" and continued, "we have to increase production and lower costs."

The ISO's *Socialist Worker* assures its readers that "cogestion has nothing in common with socialdemocratic co-management." In fact, that is essentially what it is, a variant of what is known in Germany as *Mitbestimmung* (co-determination), implemented through plant councils (*Betriebsräte*) that by law, if not always in practice, include representatives of management. Perhaps even more pertinent to the situation in Venezuela is the example of "autogestion" (self-management) in post-colonial Algeria in the early 1960s. The Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (UGTA) organized independent workers' self-management committees in the factories and on the agricultural estates abandoned by the departing French colonialists. Fearful of a challenge to its rule, the very left-talking bourgeois-nationalist FLN (National Liberation Front) regime of Ahmed Ben Bella pushed through the institutionalization of self-management and ever greater state regimentation of the UGTA. Once the power of the working class had been shackled, the "socialist" Ben Bella was ousted through a palace coup.

A central role in the betrayal of the Algerian workers was played by Michel Pablo, who served as an adviser to the capitalist FLN government. Pablo's pamphlet *World in Revolution* boasted that he "helped codify and institutionalize self-management in Algeria, and draft the Algerian Reform Law and economic and social policy in the country between 1962 and 1965" (see "They Never Learn," *WV* No. 86, 21 November 1975). Some years earlier, as a central leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International (FI), Pablo authored the liquidationist program that was responsible for the destruction of the FI. Today, Alan Woods' IMT, whose political lineage goes right back to Pablo, aspires to play Pablo's role in Venezuela.

History will reserve a harsh verdict for those "leftists" who promote one or another left-talking capitalist *caudillo*. The way forward for the downtrodden throughout the Americas does not lie through painting nationalist strongmen as revolutionaries and populist forays as revolutions. It lies instead in constructing national sections of a reforged Fourth International in the spirit of uncompromising revolutionary hostility to any and all kinds of capitalist rule. South of the Rio Bravo, such parties will have to be built in political struggle against widespread illusions in populism and nationalism. In the United States, the belly of the imperialist beast, a revolutionary workers party will be built in the struggle to break the proletariat from the Democratic and Republican parties of capital and to replace the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO tops with a class-struggle leadership. ■

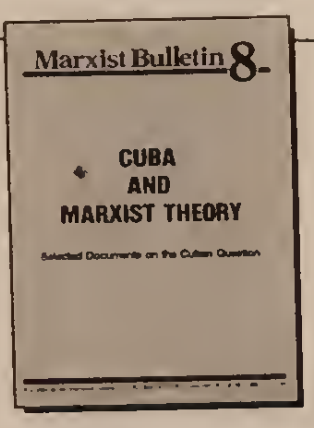
Viktor Bulla

Working class in power: Putilov factory workers meet to elect representatives to Petrograd Soviet, 1920.

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips an issue in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 6.



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Feds Concoct New Charges

Free Jose Padilla Now!

Down With "War on Terror"!

Reuters

For over three years starting in 2002, Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen, has been imprisoned in military brigs without charges or any way to challenge his detention. He was not even allowed to see a lawyer during his first year in captivity. The Feds sought to justify his detention with one outlandish cover story after another. First Padilla was held as a "material witness" in a "terror" investigation. Then, when the government was required to either charge or release him, it designated Padilla an "enemy combatant" who planned to set off a "radioactive" dirty bomb on U.S. soil, or blow up apartment high rises with natural gas. Later the government claimed that he fought for Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. But in a dramatic turnaround, on November 22 the Bush administration hit Padilla with a federal criminal indictment in Miami based on a completely new theory that he was a bit player in a vague "conspiracy" to support terrorism in Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia and Chechnya!

The transparent motivation behind the indictment is to avoid a decision in the U.S. Supreme Court on Padilla's "enemy combatant" designation. Last year in the case of Yasser Esam Hamdi, a U.S. citizen captured in Afghanistan and imprisoned without charges as an "enemy combatant," the Court ruled that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president" and that Hamdi must have a "fair opportunity to rebut the government's factual assertions." At the time, however, the Court refused to hear Padilla's case on the flimsy ground that his *habeas corpus* petition was filed in the wrong court.

After the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Padilla's "enemy combatant" designation in September, he appealed to the Supreme Court. The criminal indictment is meant to bypass a Supreme Court decision and thereby preserve the government's ability to hold—indefinitely and without charges—anyone deemed an "enemy combatant." In the face of this move, the Fourth Circuit said it would not authorize Padilla's transfer from military to Justice Department custody until the government explains "the different facts that were alleged by the President to warrant Padilla's military detention" as compared with "the alleged facts on which Padilla has now been indicted." The court also suggested it might vacate its September ruling on Padilla.

Explaining why the new indictment does not include the "dirty bomb" scenario, White House spokesmen admit that those charges could not be proved in court. Indeed, the government's "evidence" against Padilla would have been challenged on the grounds that it was obtained by ***torturing*** detainees! The lawyer for one man accused of being Padilla's accomplice stated that his client simply "signed a confession saying whatever they wanted to hear, which is that he worked with Jose Padilla to do the dirty bomb plot. He says that's absolute nonsense, and he doesn't know Jose Padilla" (*New York Times*, 24 November).

The only overt acts by Padilla that are mentioned in the indictment are his application for a U.S. passport and his supposed attempt to get admitted to an Afghan "Mujahideen" training camp. For this he faces a possible life sentence. The charges against four others indicted as co-conspirators are just as bogus. Apart from setting up various Islamic charities, they are alleged to have been overheard on phone calls using words like "zucchini" and "soccer equipment," which the government claims must be code words for weapons of mass destruction. The Justice Department has already made clear that if Padilla wins an acquittal in his Miami criminal trial, the Feds will just ***reinstate*** his "enemy combatant" classification and throw him in the brig again!

The stakes in the Padilla case are deadly serious. *Amici curiae* (friends of the court) briefs submitted by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in 2003 and 2004 on Padilla's behalf stressed that in this case the Bush administration was asserting "nothing less than the right to disappear citizens." Our briefs denounced the "war on terror" as a "pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population." We explained that the Padilla case threatened to roll back rights of citizenship that had been won through generations of social struggle, including civil war: "If the imperial President is upheld, Padilla's detention threatens to become the Dred Scott case of our time, a declaration that 'Citizens have no rights that the government is bound to respect'."

The government's somersault over the Padilla case has been seized upon by liberal bourgeois mouthpieces as another example of how Bush administration policies are undermining the global "war on terror." In response to the new indictment, the *New York Times* (23 November) intoned: "If Mr. Padilla was seriously planning a 'dirty bomb' attack, he can never be held accountable for it in court because the illegal conditions under which he has been held will make it impossible to do that.... This is hardly what Americans have had in mind hearing Mr. Bush's constant assurances since Sept. 11, 2001, that he will bring terrorists to justice."

Bush's liberal critics are chiefly concerned with refurbishing U.S. imperialism's "democratic" pretensions in the wake of the Abu Ghraib torture scandal and revelations that the CIA has repeatedly kidnapped people and taken them to be tortured in European hideaways. In October, the Senate passed a bill supposedly prohibiting the government and its CIA hitmen from engaging in torture or other "cruel" and "inhuman" methods used against detainees, drawing howls of protest from Vice President Cheney. But the utter hypocrisy of the Senate was shown on November 15 when it voted 84 to 14 to take away the Guantánamo Bay detainees' right to file *habeas corpus* appeals to challenge their conditions, including torture!

Behind its "democratic" facade stands the capitalist state's machinery of organized violence: armed bodies of men—the cops and military, with their adjuncts of the courts and prisons—committed to defending and enforcing capitalist rule against workers and the oppressed. This is no less true when the bourgeois state is administered by the Democrats. Consider the repeated attempts by the Kennedy administration to assassinate Castro, or the 1969 assassination of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago under Democratic mayor Richard Daley, part of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO campaign against black militants.

Congress is currently tinkering over provisions of the draconian USA Patriot Act—the centerpiece of the government's attacks on civil liberties that passed with overwhelming Democratic support—that are up for renewal at the end of the year. The *Washington Post* (6 November) reported that under the Patriot Act, the FBI has issued over 30,000 secret "national security letters" each year to obtain personal data from phone companies, libraries and other sources, without even a hint of court supervision.

At the onset of the "war on terror," we warned that the government's repressive measures, directed initially at Muslims and immigrants, and trampling political dissent along the way, would necessarily broaden to include black people and the integrated labor movement. At the same time, what the U.S. capitalist rulers get away with will largely depend on the level of social and class struggle in this society. Workers, fighters for black rights and all defenders of civil liberties must demand: Free Jose Padilla! ■

Stewart...

(continued from page 3)

that former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, former attorney for Sheik Abdel Rahman, also violated the SAMs by conveying his client's views to the press. Why wasn't Clark prosecuted? Because, as Fitzgerald put it, his was a "noble" violation. Clark publicized Abdel Rahman's support to a ceasefire between fundamentalists and the U.S.-supported Mubarak dictatorship in Egypt; Stewart publicized his second thoughts about that.

Lynne Stewart was targeted on the basis of her political beliefs and lifetime of legal practice in defense of victims of government repression. This case illustrates again how "conspiracy" prosecutions provide legal cover for repression of the government's political opponents when the state can find no evidence of criminal activity. Organizing labor unions was once deemed a conspiracy against "free trade."

Although the post-September 11 "war on terror" hysteria was in the foreground of the prosecution of Lynne Stewart, the real purpose of the "anti-terror" measures is to enhance the arsenal of state repression against the labor movement and black people in this country. It is significant that Judge Koeltl based his Orwellian ruling that constitutionally protected speech is "actually unprotected" on the prosecution of black communist Bill Epton. Epton was convicted of "conspiracy to riot" for organizing the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) to defend black Harlem against murderous police attacks in the spring and summer of 1964. For our vigorous defense of Epton and the besieged black community, *Spartacist* editor James Robertson was hauled before the grand jury.

Since Judge Koeltl revived the Epton persecution in an effort to send Lynne Stewart and Mohamed Yousry to the clink for decades, it is useful to recall the eloquent words of Bill Epton himself in his statement to the court:

> "We ask you, who are the criminals? Who makes 'laws' and when their same 'laws' make it possible to dissent, turn around and either re-write them or ignore them? Who persecuted and attempted to destroy the trade unions in the name of 'national security'? Who jailed those people who dared speak out against their oppressive system? Who framed and murdered the Rosenbergs in the ***true tradition of Hitlerite Germany? This was all done by the United States government!***"

The world's biggest terrorist is the U.S. government, and its Democratic and Republican party rulers and spy agencies are the ones who should be tried by their victims as the animators of a terror conspiracy. Abdel Rahman was one of the Islamic fundamentalist clerics working with the U.S. in its *jihad* against the Soviet Red Army and its allied government in Afghanistan. Uniquely on the left, the Spartacist League ***hailed*** the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan and later denounced then-Soviet premier Gorbachev for pulling out to appease U.S. imperialism and vacating the field for the woman-hating *mujahedin*. With the Soviets out, the U.S. turned its back on its holy warriors and then got bit, hard, by the very monsters it created. The U.S. imperialists then launched a campaign against their erstwhile allies.

In "FBI Provocateurs in World Trade Center Bombing" (*WV* No. 591, 7 January 1994), we wrote of Abdel Rahman's prosecution:

> "We have no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, but we nevertheless defend those who were caught in the web of government provocation against this witchhunt prosecution which aims to cover up the *government's* crimes. The 'conspiracy' and 'sedition' laws exist to be used against striking unionists, leftists and oppressed minorities, while the conspirators in power in Washington go free."

The recent decision in the Lynne Stewart case is a setback, but not unexpected. ***There is no justice in the capitalist courts!*** It is in the direct interest of the labor movement to mobilize vigorous public protest and defense of Stewart, Yousry, Sattar and all victims of capitalist repression.

Sentencing is scheduled for Friday, 24 February 2006. Lynne Stewart and Mohamed Yousry face more than 20 years behind bars, effectively a life sentence for Stewart. Sattar faces life imprisonment. ***Rally 9:00 a.m. outside the courthouse in Thomas Paine Park, Centre and Worth Streets in lower Manhattan. Pack the courtroom! Drop the charges against Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar!*** ■

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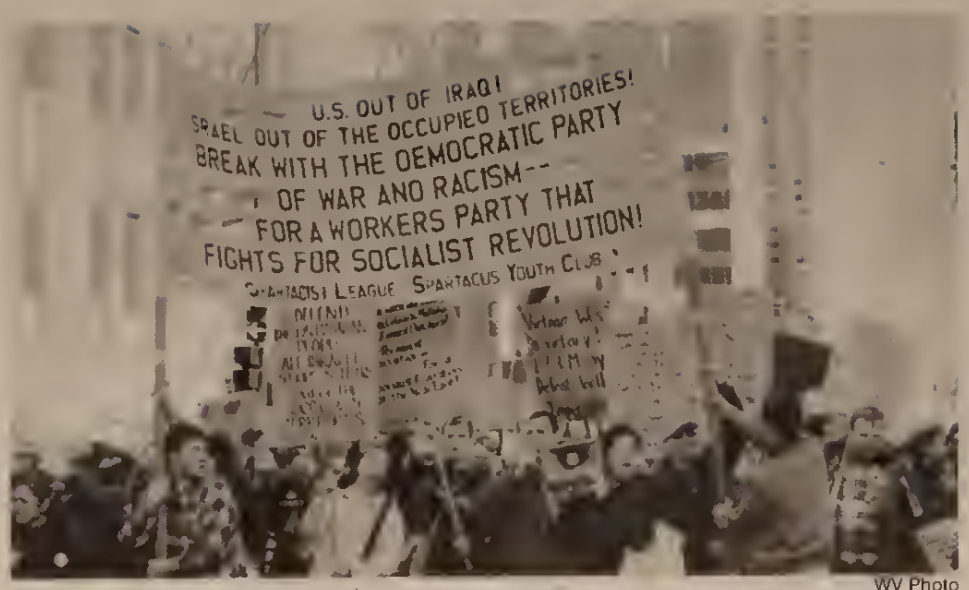
Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

New York Times columnist Bob Herbert reflected the liberal consensus when he wrote in a 28 November column: "We need to cut our losses in Iraq.... The war is not sustainable." An editorial in the radical-liberal *Nation* (28 November) stated that the Iraq war is "the single greatest threat to our national security." At bottom, what worries Bush's bourgeois opposition is that the administration's particular savagery and incompetence in Iraq are fomenting new terror attacks and harming U.S. imperialism's long-term strategic interests.

From the beginning of the Iraq war, many Democrats complained that the overstretched military was unprepared to pursue more important targets, such as the North Korean deformed workers state. Since the Septemher 11 terror attacks, U.S. imperialism has been diverted from its strategic pursuit of capitalist counterrevolution in China, the most powerful of the remaining societies where capitalism was overthrown. It is the duty of the international proletariat to defend these societies—China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam—against military attack and capitalist restoration.

The Bush regime sold the Iraq war as a cakewalk, promising that U.S. troops would be greeted as "liberators." The fact that American casualties are producing a sense of shock within the military elite reveals a mentality resembling that of a cop rather than a soldier. The job of a soldier is to kill and be killed. The job of a cop is to kill and not be killed. That the military brass feels jolted by some 2,100 dead troops shows that they think they can invade, conquer and occupy whole countries without suffering consequences.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at March 2004 Chicago protest against occupation of Iraq.

CNN

Baghdad, 1983: Saddam Hussein greets Donald Rumsfeld, an emissary of the Reagan administration.

The brutality carried out by U.S. forces and their Iraqi underlings is in the very nature of colonial occupations. When a secret prison run by the Iraqi interior ministry was recently uncovered, it confirmed what had already been known—that the Shi'ite-dominated U.S. puppet regime in Baghdad is running death squads and a network of secret torture chambers, especially targeting Sunnis. Last month it came to light that when the U.S. military leveled the city of Falluja a year ago, it used white phosphorous munitions, an incendiary weapon that burns flesh down to the bone. No wonder the military is paying Iraqi journalists to publish favorable coverage of the occupation. Back home, the U.S. rulers do it another way, using such stalwarts of the "free press" as the *New York Times* and its ace reporter Judith Miller to spread the administration's lies. Meanwhile, with the U.S.-orchestrated trial of Saddam Hussein under way, one can assume that the thousands of Communists slaughtered in his and the Ba'athists' rise to power, as well as his collaboration with Donald Rumsfeld during the Reagan administration, will *not* be among the evidence used against him.

From the occupation of Cuba and the Philippines beginning in the late 1890s to U.S. imperialism's dirty counterrevolutionary wars in Korea and Vietnam to Iraq today, lies and torture have been standard operating procedure for America's rulers. When Democratic politicians complain of U.S. forces' use of torture, they are really complaining about the Bush administration's ineptness—what is normally carried out in secret is now public. They worry that the U.S. rulers' pretenses of fighting for "human rights" and "democracy"—as well as Washington's international alliances—are being undermined. Thus, revelations that the CIA's international network of secret prisons and torture centers may extend to East Europe have set off a diplomatic firestorm.

In the lead-up to and during the invasion of Iraq, we took a side for its military defense against U.S. imperialism while politically opposing the bloody capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein. Today we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq, the Near East and Afghanistan. Setbacks to the imperialists' depredations in Iraq serve the interests of workers and the oppressed internationally.

Ultimately, the solution to the suffering of U.S. imperialism's victims depends on the struggle of the American proletariat to overthrow the capitalist order through socialist revolution. From the onset of the Iraq antiwar protests in 2002, we have stressed the need for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. This perspective requires a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders who chain the proletariat to its capitalist class enemy, not least through supporting U.S. "national interests." It is out of working-class and social struggle and through the intervention of Marxists that the revolutionary workers party essential for the victory of the proletariat will emerge.

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War

As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained, under imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, there is an inevitable drive toward war—colonial wars as well as wars among the imperialist powers themselves (e.g., World Wars I and II). The invasion of Iraq was designed to ensure Washington's strategic dominance in the oil-rich Near East to the detriment of its imperialist rivals and to display the U.S. rulers' power to ride roughshod over any "bad guys" who get in their way.

Rejecting the Leninist understanding of imperialism, Workers World Party (WWP), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), organizers of the main demonstrations against the U.S. occupation of Iraq, reinforce the liberal illusion that the murderous, profit-driven capitalist system can he reformed to serve human needs. They promote slogans such as "Healthcare not Warfare"—as though the task is to convince the capitalist rulers to reorder their priorities. The reformists act to retard the political consciousness of the working class and radical-minded youth, opposing the road of socialist revolution as the way out of imperialist war.

From the onset of the Iraq war, the ISO and other self-proclaimed socialists organized protests whose demands would be acceptable to those capitalist politicians (e.g., Barbara Lee, Dennis Kucinich, Al Sharpton) who opposed the war because they deemed it was not in the best interests of U.S. imperialism. Very revealing is the slogan commonly promoted by the various antiwar coalitions, "Bring the Troops Home." This slogan is meant to evoke sympathy for the U.S. armed forces, serving to clean up the tarnished image of U.S. imperialism. U.S. troops in Iraq are the enforcers of a vicious occupation that, by some estimates, has cost the lives of 100,000 Iraqis. The photo of Lynndie England, dog leash in hand, is a graphic reminder of the routine brutality meted out by imperialism's military enforcers.

Now, the RCP is organizing for a State of the Union protest in January to demand that "Bush himself step down and take his regime and his whole program—including this brutal and reactionary war—with him" (*Revolution*, 27 November). What then? The RCP gave its answer in its recommendation for the 2004 elections: "Vote for Kerry if you feel you really have to" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 29 August 2004).

In a 2 Decemher *Socialist Worker* article, the ISO strikes a more leftist pose, referring to the Democrats and Repuhlicans as "two ruling-class parties that start from the same assumption that U.S. glohal and regional interests must he preserved, but hicker over the best strategies to accomplish that." The ISO concludes, "We have to organize an opposition independent of the Democrats and their cynical maneuvers." Speaking of cynical, this statement comes from an organization that endorsed and helped huild every major antiwar protest, all of which were premised on appealing to bourgeois-liheral opponents of the Bush administration. The ISO wants an "independent" opposition to...more effectively pressure the Democrats. That's the tack they followed during the 2004 presidential election in hacking capitalist politician Ralph Nader, who made clear that his goal was to pressure the Democrats to the left.

The Left and the Iraqi "Resistance"

The various antiwar coalitions set up or supported by the reformist left refused to call for the defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the war. Now the ISO and WWP hail the insurgencies in Iraq as a "national liberation movement." Behind this seemingly leftist posture stands the same old Democratic Party lesser-evilism. The reformists' cheerleading of the "resistance" is in no small measure dictated by the fact that every blow against the U.S. in Iraq redounds against Bush, serving to play to the Democrats' advantage.

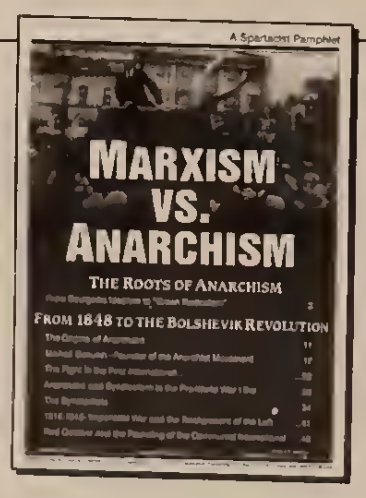
There is no unitary "resistance" in Iraq but rather disparate groupings organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces—and often against rival insurgent groupings as well as civilians from the myriad religious and ethnic populations. When the insurgents strike against the U.S. imperialist occupiers, they are striking against the greatest enemy of the world's proletariat and oppressed. Such acts coincide with the class interests of the proletariat. However, as we wrote in "The Left and the 'Iraqi Resistance'" (*WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004):

> "We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials and warn that in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of one or another of the reactionary clerical forces is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism. We are intransigent opponents of the murderous communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations oftentimes carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies."

Should the Iraqi proletariat raise its head, it would face not only the savagery of the imperialist occupiers but also the brutality of the reactionary Muslim fundamentalists and hourgeois-nationalist Ba'athists that dominate the "resistance" hailed by reformist "socialists."

Iraq is not a nation, but a patchwork of peoples and ethnicities—primarily Kurds, Arab Shi'ites and Arab Sunnis—carved up by the British imperialists out of the Turkish Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. There is no possibility of equitably resolving the national and communal conflicts that beset Iraq (and the Near East as a whole) short of the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the region through workers revolutions and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. That task demands the forging of Marxist workers parties that champion the rights of women and all ethnic and national minorities.

Here in the U.S., it is the multiracial working class that has the power to bring down the most dangerous enemy of all humanity, the U.S. ruling class. What is needed is to forge a revolutionary workers party, a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International. Only when the proletariat seizes power will imperialist slaughter, material scarcity and ethnic bloodletting be put to an end and the construction of an egalitarian socialist society begin. ■



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  Muslim Professor Sentenced to Life for "Thought Crime": Free Ali al-Timimi!, #852, 5 Aug. (3)

  L.A. Cops Beat NOI Official: Hands Off Tony Muhammad!, #856, 14 Oct. (10)

- **Ohio 7**

  Free Ohio 7 Prisoner Tom Manning! (CSDN), #847, 29 Apr. (4)

  Free Ohio 7 Prisoner Richard Williams! (CSDN), #851, 8 July (2)

- **Padilla, Jose**

  Court Approves "Disappearing" Citizens, #855, 30 Sept. (2)

  Feds Concoct New Charges—Free Jose Padilla Now!, #860, 9 Dec. (11)

- **Peltier, Leonard**

  Leonard Peltier Becomes PDC Stipend Recipient (CSDN), #847, 29 Apr. (4)

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- **Stewart, Lynne**—And see **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row.**

  Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Benefit, #840, 21 Jan. (5, 11)

  Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted, #842, 18 Feb. (1, 9)

  Fight Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!, #844, 18 Mar. (12)

  Lynne Stewart Challenges Frame-Up Conviction, #853, 2 Sept. (15)

  Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Rally, #855, 30 Sept. (9, 10)

  Lynne Stewart Denied New Trial, #860, 9 Dec. (3, 11)

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"Deep Throat": COINTELPRO Top Cop Finked on Imperialist Pig, #852, 5 Aug. (3, 12)

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German Trotskyists Beat Back Attack by Pro-Zionist Goons, #850, 10 June (5, 14)

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Long Island, NY: Stop Racist Violence Against Immigrants, Blacks!, #847, 29 Apr. (6, 7)

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International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)—See **Longshoremen.**

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International Marxist Tendency (IMT)—See **Venezuela.**

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  Defend the Iraqi Peoples! U.S. Out Now!, #840, 21 Jan. (1, 9)
  Sham Elections, Savage Occupation, #841, 4 Feb. (1, 9)
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- **Antiwar Protests**—And see **Armed Forces.**
  Why the Antiwar Movement Didn't Stop the War (YSp), #839, 7 Jan. (12, 7, 8)
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The Fight for Abortion Rights: The Church, the State and Women's Oppression (*Spartacist Ireland*) (W&R), #858, 11 Nov. (6, 7, 8)

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Jacobs, Harriet—See **Black Question.**

JAPAN—And see **China; Quote of the Week; World War II.**
Japanese Trotskyists Say: Down With Japanese Provocations Against China, North Korea! (*Spartacist Japan*), #842, 18 Feb. (4, 5, 11)

Jewish Question—See **World War II.**

Kakehashi—See **China.** See also **Japan.**

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Kinsey, Alfred C.—See **Sexuality.**

Ku Klux Klan—See **Black Question; Fascism.**

LABOR—And see **Airline Workers; Auto Workers; California; Immigration; U.S.: General.** See also **Black Question; Longshoremen; New Orleans; Partisan Defense Committee.**
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AFL-CIO Split: Sellouts Fall Out, #852, 5 Aug. (16, 15)
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U.S. Imperialist Hypocrisy Over Mexico's Racist Stamp, #852, 5 Aug. (12)
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League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP)—See **Black Question.**

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Left Organizations—See **Fascism.** See also **Armed Forces; Black Question; Iraq: Antiwar Protests; Poland; Venezuela.**

Lenin, V.I.—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **Armed Forces.**

Levi, Primo—See **Quote of the Week.**

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Liebknecht, Karl—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **Armed Forces.**

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Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)—See **Brazil; Europe; France.**

Long Island, New York—See **Immigration.**

Longshore Workers Coalition—See **Longshoremen.**

LONGSHOREMEN—And see **France.**
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13-Year-Old Devin Brown Gunned Down by LAPD, #843, 4 Mar. (12)

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Lutte Ouvrière (LO)—See **Europe; France.**

Lynching—See **Black Question.**

Makhno, Nestor—See **Anarchism.**

Malcolm X—See **Quote of the Week.**

Malo, Miguel—See **Campus Repression.**

Manning, Tom—See **Civil Liberties: Ohio 7.**

Maoism—See **China; Revolutionary Communist Party.**

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MEXICO—And see **Labor Black Leagues.**
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Down With Anti-Black Racism! For Joint Class Struggle in Mexico and the U.S.!, #852, 5 Aug. (16, 12)
López Obrador, Democratic Rights and the Tasks of the Working Class (*Espartaco*) (S)
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Military Recruiters—See **Armed Forces.**

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Defend Utah Miners! Victory to the UMWA!, #840, 21 Jan. (11)

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NAMBLA—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

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Nation of Islam—See **Labor.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases; Quote of the Week.**

National Basketball Association—See **Black Question.**

National Question—See **France; Iraq: U.S. War and Occupation; Northern Ireland.** See also **Russia.**

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Lebanon: Imperialist Intrigues and the Spectre of Civil War, #849, 27 May (1, 9, 10, 11)
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Oakland, California—See **Education.**

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We Will Miss Gonzo: Hunter S. Thompson vs. the Twisted Swine, #844, 18 Mar. (3)
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Padilla, Jose—See **Civil Liberties: General, Padilla Case.**

Palestinians—See **Near East.**

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19th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal, #839, 7 Jan. (10)
Thousands Raised for Class-War Prisoners, #840, 21 Jan. (4, 11)
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Pope John Paul II—See **Religion.**

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Posada Carriles, Luis—See **Cuba.**

Preobrazhensky, Evgeny—See **Quote of the Week.**

Progressive Labor Party (PLP)—See **Armed Forces; Fascism.**

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On the 100th Anniversary of the 1905 Russian Revolution (V.I. Lenin), #840, 21 Jan. (2)
Sixtieth Anniversary of the Red Army's Liberation of Auschwitz (Primo Levi), #841, 4 Feb. (2)
Religion, Reaction and Education (V.I. Lenin), #842, 18 Feb. (2)
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Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism! (*WV*, 1975); Spartacist telegram to Ho Chi Minh, 1965, and NLF reply, #848, 13 May (2)
For Revolutionary Struggle Against Imperialism and War (Leon Trotsky), #849, 27 May (2)
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For Black Emancipation Through Socialist Revolution! (James P. Cannon), #855, 30 Sept. (2)
Democratic Rights and the Class Struggle (James Burnham), #856, 14 Oct. (2)
Imperialist War and Opportunist "Socialism" (V.I. Lenin), #857, 28 Oct. (2)
The 1917 October Revolution (V.I. Lenin), #858, 11 Nov. (2)
Marxism and the State (Friedrich Engels), #859, 25 Nov. (2)
Latin America and Proletarian Class Independence (Leon Trotsky), #860, 9 Dec. (2)

Railway Labor Act—See **Airline Workers.**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

2005 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 839 (7 January) through No. 860 (9 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2005, from issue No. 839 (7 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 860 (9 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August, and skipping the last issue in December.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Labor: Organize Wal-Mart!, #851, 8 July (16, 10, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 851, dated 8 July 2005, beginning on page 16 and continuing on pages 10 and 11
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Padilla, Jose—See **Civil Liberties: General, Padilla Case.**

  means that articles about Jose Padilla can be found by going to the subject head **Civil Liberties** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Padilla, Jose.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading. Those articles that refer to the U.S. occupation of Iraq will be found under **IRAQ: U.S. War and Occupation**
- Articles on protests or repression that take place on a campus will generally be found under the subject of the protest or repression. Repression on miscellaneous subjects will be found under **CAMPUS REPRESSION**.
- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign**.
- Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  - C: Correction
  - CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
  - E: Editorial Note
  - L: Letter
  - R: Review
  - S: Series
  - W&R: *Women and Revolution* article
  - YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

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